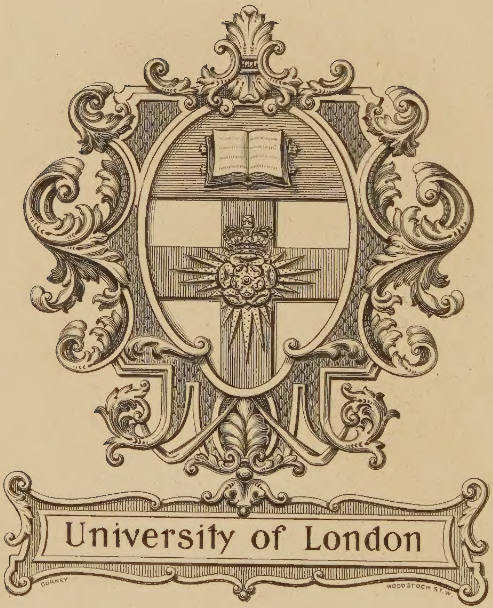
THIS BOOK
MUST NOT BE REMOVED
FROM THE LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON LIBRARY

REFERENCE ONLY

PARL. PAPERS
FOR REFERENCE ONLY.



Presented by
the Worshipful Company
of Goldsmiths.
1903.

620068

HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF
WILLIAM IV.

34° VICTORIÆ, 1871.

VOL. CCV.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM
THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF MARCH 1871,
TO
THE FIRST DAY OF MAY 1871.

Second Volume of the Session.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY CORNELIUS BUCK,
AT THE OFFICE FOR "HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,"
23, PATERNOSTER ROW. [E.C.]

1871.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TO

VOLUME CCV.

THIRD SERIES.

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15.

Page

Railway Companies Bill [Bill 5]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*) 1

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now" and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months," —(*Mr. Leeman.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now,' stand part of the Question:" —After long debate, Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Denison,*)—put, and *negatived.*

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question.

But it being now a quarter to Six of the clock, Further Proceedings *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Salmon Fisheries Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Dodds, Mr. Liddell, Colonel Amcotts, Earl Percy, Colonel Edwardes*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 75] 40

LORDS, THURSDAY, MARCH 16.

University Tests Bill (No. 26)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Kimberley*) .. 40

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly.

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MARCH 16.

ART AND SCIENCE MUSEUM (EAST LONDON)—Question, Mr. Reed; Answer, Mr. Ayrton 46

WINES IN BOND—Question, Sir James Lawrence; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 46

LICENSING BILL (IRELAND)—EXCESSIVE DRINKING IN PUBLIC HOUSES—Question, Mr. Pim; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 47

DESTRUCTION OF HISTORIC MONUMENTS—Question, Captain Dawson-Damer; Answer, Mr. Bruce 48

ARMY—NON-PURCHASE CORPS—Question, Major Arbuthnot; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 48

THE JUDICATURE COMMISSION—Question, Sir Thomas Lloyd; Answer, Mr. Bruce 49

ARMY—HENRY-MARTINI RIFLE—Question, Mr. Muntz; Answer, Sir Henry Storks 49

NAVY—THE "MEGÆRA"—Question, Mr. Kavanagh; Answer, Mr. Goschen 49

GREECE—FINANCIAL COMMISSION—Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Viscount Enfield 50

[*March* 16.] *Page*

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION—PASSED CANDIDATES—Question, Mr. Cubitt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 51

METROPOLIS—NEW BUILDINGS FOR LEARNED SOCIETIES, PICCADILLY—Question, Lord John Manners; Answer, Mr. Ayrton 51

QUEEN'S MESSENGERS—Question, Mr. Stopford-Sackville; Answer, Viscount Enfield 52

ARMY—VOLUNTEERS AND YEOMANRY—Question, Mr. Hambro; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 52

TREATY OF PARIS (1856)—THE CONFERENCE—Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 53

THE EDUCATION ACT—CHAIRMEN OF SCHOOL BOARDS—Question, Mr. Watkin Williams; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 54

NAVY—THE "MEGÆRA"—Question, Mr. F. Walpole; Answer, Mr. Goschen 54

NAVY—DOCKYARD COAL CONTRACTS—Question, Mr. A. Guest; Answer, Mr. Goschen 55

MILITARY ATTACHES—Question, Colonel White; Answer, Viscount Enfield 56

Army Regulation Bill [Bill 39]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [6th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time;" and which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the expenditure necessary for the national defences and the other demands on the Exchequer do not at present justify any Vote of Public Money for the extinction of Purchase in the Army,"—(*Colonel Loyd Lindsay,*)—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 57

After long debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Colonel North:*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 187, Noes 284; Majority 97.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:—After some discussion, *Moved,* "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Robert Fowler:*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 147, Noes 256; Majority 109.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate arising:—*Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir James Elphinstone:*)—Question put, and *agreed to.*

Moved, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock,"—(*Mr. Russell Gurney:*)—*Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach:*)—The House *divided;* Ayes 104, Noes 238; Majority 134.

Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock:"—*Moved,* "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir John Hay:*)—The House *divided;* Ayes 101, Noes 220; Majority 119.

Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock:"—Debate arising:—*Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Earl Percy:*)—The House *divided;* Ayes 92; Noes 208; Majority 116.

Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock:"—*Moved,* "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Lord Garlies:*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 80, Noes 190; Majority 110.

Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock:"—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn:*—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Gas Works Clauses Act (1847) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Arthur Peel*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 76] 151

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LORDS, FRIDAY, MARCH 17.

Page

ARMY—POWDER IN STORE—ADDRESS FOR RETURNS—

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for the following Returns :—

1. Amount of serviceable cannon Powder of all sorts in store on the 1st January 1869, specifying the quantities under the heads of L.G., R.L.G., Pellet, and Pebble Powder, and distinguishing the amount in made-up ammunition :
2. Ditto, on 1st January 1871 :
3. Amount of R.F.G. Powder for small arms on 1st January 1871 :
4. Colonel Younghusband's Report on the supply of Gunpowder, dated March 1869, and any subsequent Report by Colonel Younghusband on the same subject,—(*The Earl of Carnarvon*) 152

After debate, Motion amended, and *agreed to.*

Address for—

"1. Amount of serviceable cannon Powder of all sorts in store on the 30th September 1868, specifying the quantities under the heads of L.G., R.L.G., Pellet, and Pebble Powder, and distinguishing the amount in made-up ammunition:

"2. Ditto, on 30th September 1870 :

"3. Amount of R.F.G. Powder for small arms on 30th September 1870."—(*Parl. Paper*, No. 71.)

Prison Ministers Bill (No. 37)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Morley*) .. 163

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

County Property Bill (No. 35)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Duke of Richmond*) .. 167

After short debate, Second Reading *put off* to *Thursday* next.

Lunacy Regulation (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord O'Hagan*); read 1ª (No. 47) 168

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MARCH 17.

COUNTY COURT JUDGES—Question, Mr. G. B. Gregory; Answer, The Attorney General 168

INDIA—LAHORE AND PESHAWUR RAILWAY—Question, Mr. Ridley; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 169

POST OFFICE—NEW POSTAGE AND MONEY ORDER SCHEMES—Question, Mr. Neville-Grenville; Answer, Mr. Monsell 170

INDIA—INDIAN CIVIL ENGINEERING COLLEGE—Question, Mr. Plunket; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 171

ITALY—DISTURBANCES IN THE CHURCH OF THE GESU, ROME—Question, Mr. Synan; Answer, Viscount Enfield 171

FRANCE—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST PESTILENCE—Question, Mr. Assheton Cross; Answer, Viscount Enfield 172

ARMY—TRANSFERS FROM THE LINE TO THE MILITIA—Question, Colonel C. Lindsay; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 172

ARMY—SMALL POX—3RD SURREY MILITIA—Question, Mr. Peek; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 173

WORKSHOP REGULATION ACT (1867) AMENDMENT BILL — Question, Mr. Macfie; Answer, Sir David Salomons 173

POST OFFICE — TELEGRAPH SERVICE AT PORT MADOC — Question, Mr. Holland; Answer, Mr. Monsell 174

NAVY—H.M.S. "MEGÆRA"—Question, Mr. Kavanagh; Answer, Mr. Goschen 174

NAVY—WORKING OF SHIPS GUNS—MONCRIEFF'S PLAN—Question, Major Walker; Answer, Mr. Goschen 176

ORDER IN DEBATE—PERSONAL EXPLANATION—Observations, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Reply, Mr. A. Peel 176

POSTPONEMENT OF NOTICES OF MOTION — Observations, Mr. Gladstone; Reply, Mr. J. Lowther 178

[*March* 17.] Page

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

CONVENTUAL AND MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the existence, number, increase, and regulation of Conventual and Monastic Institutions in Great Britain; into the income, property, and estates acquired, received, held, or possessed by or for such institutions, or by or for members thereof; and, further into the Laws affecting such institutions; and, whether adequate legal securities or means exist for ensuring the personal freedom of the inmates thereof,"—(*Mr. Newdegate,*)—instead thereof 179

After debate, Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 196, Noes 79; Majority 117.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," by leave, *withdrawn:*—Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

Army Regulation Bill [Bill 39]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [6th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time;" and which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the expenditure necessary for the national defences and the other demands on the Exchequer do not at present justify any Vote of Public Money for the extinction of Purchase in the Army,"—(*Colonel Loyd Lindsay,*)—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 203

After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday* next.

County Justices Qualification Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Sir Roundell Palmer, Sir George Grey, Mr. Spencer Walpole, Mr. George Gregory*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 77] 259

TURNPIKE ACTS CONTINUANCE—

Select Committee *appointed,* "to inquire into the eighth and ninth Schedules of 'The Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1870,'"—(*Mr. Winterbotham:*)—List of the Committee 259

CONVENTUAL AND MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS—

Select Committee *appointed,* "to inquire into the state of the Law respecting Conventual and Monastic Institutions or Societies in Great Britain, and into the terms upon which income, property, and estates belonging to such Institutions or Societies, or to members thereof, are respectively received, held, or possessed,"—(*Mr. Villiers*) .. 259

LORDS, MONDAY, MARCH 20.

Justices Procedure (England) Bill (No. 31)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Lord Cairns*) .. 260

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Friday* the 31*st instant.*

GREECE—MURDER OF BRITISH SUBJECTS BY BRIGANDS—MR. F. NOEL—Question, The Earl of Rosebery; Answer, Earl Granville:—Short debate thereon 262

IRELAND—THE WESTMEATH, &c. (UNLAWFUL COMBINATIONS) COMMITTEE—Question, The Marquess of Clanricarde; Answer, Earl Granville .. 263

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

COMMONS, MONDAY, MARCH 20.

Page

CIVIL SERVICE—PENSIONS' COMMUTATION ACT (1869)—Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Baxter 265

ARMY—EMPLOYMENT OF SOLDIERS IN TRADES—Question, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 265

CURRENCY—HALF-CROWN PIECES—Question, Sir David Salomons; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 266

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE—INFANT SCHOOL GRANTS—Question, Mr. Davis; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 267

THE PURCHASE SYSTEM—HIGH POLITICAL OFFICES—Question, Mr. Stacpoole; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 267

METROPOLIS—CAB REGULATIONS—Question, Mr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Bruce 268

POOR LAW—MILK SUPPLIES TO UNIONS—Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answer, Mr. Stansfeld 268

POST OFFICE—COUNTRY POSTMASTERSHIPS—Question, Mr. Kavanagh; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 269

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE—Questions, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Spencer Walpole; Answers, Mr. W. E. Forster 269

ARMY—COMMISSIONS—Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, Mr. Cardwell .. 272

NAVY—KEYHAM FACTORY—Question, Mr. J. D. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Goschen 272

EMIGRATION—Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen 272

FRANCE—STATE OF PARIS—Question, Mr. Goldsmid; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 273

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY—Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 273

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

ARMY RETIREMENT—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in order to check the creation of vested interests which would have to be considered in arranging a sound and equitable system of retirement, no appointment should in future be made to the paid colonelcy of a regiment which did not involve the active command of the regiment,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan,*)—instead thereof .. 274

After short debate, Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:—The House *divided;* Ayes 204, Noes 111; Majority 93.

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

ARMY—PROMOTION BY SELECTION—Observations, Mr. Stapleton .. 288

After debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Mundella:*)—After further debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," again proposed:—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £211,642, be granted to Her Majesty, for the Civil Services which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1871."

[Then the Services are set forth at length] 308

After short debate, Vote agreed to

(1.) £5,800, Portland Harbour (Supplementary sum).

(2.) £9,500, Public Record Repository, Acquisition of Lands (Supplementary sum).

(3.) £3,819, British Consulate and Embassy Houses, Constantinople, &c. (Supplementary sum).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 309

(4.) £1,254, National Debt Office (Supplementary sum).

(5.) £3,350, Office of Works (Supplementary sum).

(6.) £3,026, Poor Law Commission, Ireland (Supplementary sum).

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

(7.) £4,000, Law Charges (Supplementary sum).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* ... 309
(8.) £4,800, Bankruptcy Court (Supplementary sum).
(9.) £2,500, Miscellaneous Legal Charges, England (Supplementary sum).
(10.) £11,000, Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland (Supplementary sum).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 309
(11.) £75,000, National Gallery (Supplementary sum).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 310
(12.) £1,467, Commissions for Suppression of the Slave Trade (Supplementary sum).
(13.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £21,865, be granted to Her Majesty, to pay certain Miscellaneous Expenses, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1871" 316
Moved, "That the proposed Vote be reduced by the sum of £800,"—(*Mr. Monk.*)
After short debate, Question, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £21,065, be granted to Her Majesty, to pay certain Miscellaneous Expenses, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1871," put, and *negatived.*
Original Question again proposed:—*Moved*, "That the proposed Vote be reduced by the sum of £83 5*s.*,"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)
Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £21,781 15*s.*, be granted to Her Majesty, to pay certain Miscellaneous Expenses, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1871."—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
(14.) £6,031, Compensation to sufferers by fire at Pera.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 320
(15.) £8,030, Compensation to Owners of "La Have."
(16.) £50,200, Relief of Paris.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* ... 321
(17.) That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £148,265, be granted to Her Majesty, for the following Revenue and Post Office Packet Services, which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1871, viz.:—

	£
Inland Revenue	30,000
Post Office Packet Service	118,265
	£148,265 ... 322

(18.) That a sum, not exceeding £63,973 9*s.* 11*d.*, be granted to Her Majesty, to make good Excesses of Expenditure beyond the Grants for the following Civil Services for the year ended on the 31st day of March 1870, viz.:—
[Then the Services are set forth at length] 323
Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Pauper Inmates' Discharge and Regulation Bill (*Lords*) [Bill 70]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Stansfeld*) .. 323
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (HOUSE OF COMMONS)—RESOLUTION—
Moved, "That when Papers are presented by Command, or in pursuance of an Order of this House, or in answer to an Address, the same shall be laid upon the Table in such a form as to ensure a speedy delivery thereof to Members,"—(*Mr. Eastwick*) 325
Motion *agreed to.*

Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Supplemental Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Arthur Peel*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 79] 327

LORDS, TUESDAY, MARCH 21.

Incorporation of Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland Bill (No. 41)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Cairns*) .. 327
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly.

Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society of Ireland Regulation Bill (No. 42)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Cairns*) .. 330
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª.

[*March* 21.]

Page

Benefices Resignation Bill (Nos. 7, 43)—

Amendments *reported* (according to Order) 331
After short debate, Bill to be read 3ª on *Thursday* next; and to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 52.)

Prison Ministers Bill (Nos. 37, 53)—

House in Committee (according to Order) 332
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 53.)

UNITED STATES—RECOGNITION OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY—Question, Lord Houghton; Answers, Earl Granville, The Duke of Somerset .. 332

Sequestration Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Bishop of Winchester*); read 1ª (No. 54) 334

COMMONS, TUESDAY, MARCH 21.

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE—Question, Mr. Birley; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 334

EDUCATION—THE CENSUS—RETURNS OF CHILDREN—Question, Mr. Bowring; Answer, Mr. Winterbotham 335

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE—ARTICLE 32 (a) 2—Question, Mr. Dodds; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 335

FRANCE—BRITISH SUBJECTS IN PARIS—Question, Mr. Cadogan; Answer, Viscount Enfield 336

ARMY—ARTILLERY RETIREMENT—Question, Major Arbuthnot; Answer, Captain Vivian 336

IRELAND—GALLEY HEAD—Question, Mr. M'Carthy Downing; Answer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue 337

ENGLISH SHIPS SUNK BY THE PRUSSIANS—Question, Mr. Goldsmid; Answer, Viscount Enfield 338

NAVY—DEPTFORD DOCKYARD—Questions, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir James Elphinstone; Answers, Mr. Goschen 339

NAVY—H.M.S. "MEGÆRA"—Question, Mr. F. Walpole; Answer, Mr. Goschen 339

HARBOURS OF REFUGE—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to direct that the recommendations of the Harbours of Refuge Commissioners of 1858 be carried into effect so far as relates to the construction of a Harbour of Refuge at Filey in Yorkshire,"—(*Lord Claud John Hamilton*) .. 340
After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 89, Noes 124; Majority 35.

Customs and Inland Revenue Duties Act (1869) Amendment Bill [Bill 69]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the second time,"—(*Mr. Bourke*) .. 403
After short debate, Second Reading *deferred* till *Tuesday*, 18th April.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [March 20] *reported* 406
After short debate, Resolutions *agreed to.*

West African Settlements Bill (*Lords*) [Bill 57]—

Order for Consideration read 406
After short debate, Bill, as amended, *considered;* to be read the third time upon *Friday*.

Sequestration of Benefices Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. Bouverie, Sir John Pakington*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 80] 407

[*March* 21.] *Page*

Weights and Measures (Metric System) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. John Benjamin Smith, Sir Charles Adderley, Mr. Graves*) 407

New Forest Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Baxter, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 81] 407

Landrights and Deeds (Scotland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Gordon, Mr. Charles Dalrymple*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 84] 407

Sea Fisheries Act (1868) Supplemental Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Arthur Peel*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 83] 407

Pilotage Bill—*Considered* in Committee:—Resolution *agreed to*, and *reported*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Arthur Peel*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 82] 408

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22.

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill [Bill 9]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Carnegie*) .. 408

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Sir Graham Montgomery*.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:" —After debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Ellice*:)—After further debate, Question put, and *negatived*.

Question put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided*; Ayes 105, Noes 186; Majority 81:—Words *added*: —Main Question, as amended, put and *agreed to*:—Bill *put off* for six months.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 445

Ways and Means—Resolution [March 21] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baxter*); *presented*, and read the first time 447

Registration of Partnerships Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Norwood, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Monk, Mr. Serjeant Simon*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 86] .. 447

LORDS, THURSDAY, MARCH 23.

FRANCE—STATE OF PARIS—Question, The Duke of Richmond; Answer, Earl Granville 448

Lunacy Regulation (Ireland) Bill (No. 47)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Lord O'Hagan*) .. 448

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

METROPOLIS — THE WELLINGTON MONUMENT — Question postponed, Earl Cadogan 450

IRISH MILITIA REGIMENTS—Questions, The Earl of Limerick, The Marquess of Exeter; Answers, Lord Northbrook 452

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MARCH 23.

IRELAND—POOR LAW—IRISH POOR REMOVAL—Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 454

WINES IN BOND—Question, Sir James Lawrence; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 454

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE—ARTICLE 90—Questions, Lord John Manners, Mr. Samuelson, Mr. St. Aubyn; Answers, Mr. W. E. Forster .. 456

CORRUPT PRACTICES ACTS—Question, Mr. James; Answer, The Attorney General 457

[*March* 23.]

Page

Clerks of Lieutenancy—Question, Mr. W. Egerton; Answer, Mr. Cardwell .. 457
Murder of Captain Wilfred Speer—Question, Mr. Cubitt; Answer, Viscount Enfield .. 458
Epping Forest—Verderers' Court—Question, Mr. Peek; Answer, The Attorney General .. 458
Prussia—Treaty of Prague—Question, Mr. M. T. Bass; Answer, Viscount Enfield .. 458
Army—Supercession of Colonels—Question, Colonel Anson; Answer, Mr. Cardwell .. 459
China—Hong Kong Gambling Houses—Question, Mr. Bowring; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen .. 459
Poor Law—Adulteration of Milk—Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answer, Mr. Stansfeld .. 460
Army—Sandyhurst—The Queen's and East Indian Cadets—Question, Major Allen; Answer, Mr. Cardwell .. 461
Sabbath Observance Act—Question, Mr. Brady; Answer, Mr. Bruce .. 461
Army—Militia Officers—Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, Mr. Cardwell .. 462
Railway Accident—Alleged Collision at Burton-on-Trent—Question, Mr. M. T. Bass; Answer, Mr. A. Peel .. 462
Norwich Voters Disfranchisement—Question, Mr. C. S. Read; Answer, The Attorney General .. 463
Education—The New Code—Question, Mr. Liddell; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster .. 463

Supply—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Army Estimates—Resolution—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, whilst approving the abolition of Purchase in the Army, is of opinion that the Army may be put in a state of efficiency without increasing the ordinary Military Estimates of last year,"—(*Mr. Mundella,*)—instead thereof .. 463

After long debate, Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 294, Noes 91; Majority 203.

After further debate, Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Supply—Army Estimates—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 135,047 Men (including an average number of 6,385 all Ranks to be employed with the Depôts in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland of Regiments serving in Her Majesty's Indian Possessions), be maintained for the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, from the 1st day of April 1871 to the 31st day of March 1872, inclusive" .. 517

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 115,047 Men, &c.,"—(*Mr. Leatham:*)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 74, Noes 304; Majority 230.

Original Question again proposed:—After further debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) 1,760 Native Indian Troops.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,411,900, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge of Pay, Allowances, and other Charges of Her Majesty's Land Forces at Home and Abroad, exclusive of India, which will come in course of payment from the 1st day of April 1871 to the 31st day of March 1872, inclusive" .. 533

Moved, "That the Item of £37,231, for 'Agency,' be omitted from the proposed Vote,"—(*Mr. Lea.*)

After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 87, Noes 160; Majority 73.

SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

Original Question again proposed:—Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,397,170, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge of Pay, Allowances, and other Charges of Her Majesty's Land Forces at Home and Abroad, exclusive of India, which will come in course of payment from the 1st day of April 1871 to the 31st day of March 1872, inclusive,"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

After further debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 51, Noes 168; Majority 117.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Poor Removal (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Downing, Sir Hervey Bruce, Colonel Knox, Mr. Maguire*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 87] 544

LORDS, FRIDAY, MARCH 24.

CHINA — THE TIEN-TSIN MASSACRE — TREATY OF 1858 — ADDRESS FOR PAPERS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Copies or Extracts of Correspondence relative to the revision of the Treaty of 1858 with China,"—(*The Earl of Carnarvon*) 545

After debate, Motion *agreed to.*

VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY — ARMS — Question, Earl Vane; Answer, Lord Northbrook:—Short debate thereon 565

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MARCH 24.

WALES—EDUCATION—BUILDING GRANTS—Question, Mr. Raikes; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 568

FRANCE AND GERMANY—THE WAR—CAPTURE OF BRITISH SHIPS—Question, Mr. White; Answer, Viscount Enfield 569

EDUCATION — BALANCE SHEETS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. Carter; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 570

FRANCE AND GERMANY—THE WAR—COMPENSATION TO BRITISH SUBJECTS—Question, Mr. Cadogan; Answer, Viscount Enfield 570

METROPOLIS—HYDE PARK—Question, Mr. Brogden; Answer, Mr. Ayrton 571

ARMY — HOUSEHOLD TROOPS — Question, Major Gavin; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 571

MEAT SUPPLY—THE ORDER IN COUNCIL—Question, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 572

INDIA—RAILWAYS—Question, Mr. Waterhouse; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 573

ARMY — ORDNANCE MAPS—Question, Mr. H. B. Sheridan; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 573

LONDON REPUBLICANS—Question, Mr. G. Bentinck; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 574

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

IRELAND—LABOURERS' RESIDENCES—RESOLUTION—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that measures should be taken, in the present Session of Parliament, to improve the condition of agricultural labourers' habitations in Ireland,"—(*Mr. William Henry Gregory,*)—instead thereof 575

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

EDUCATION—NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND)—Observations, Mr. Raikes; Reply, The Marquess of Hartington:—Short debate thereon 596

POST OFFICE — MAILS BETWEEN BRISTOL AND CORNWALL — Question, Observations, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Reply, Mr. Monsell:—Short debate thereon 603

Supply—Order for Committee read—*continued.*

Metropolis—Communication between St. James's and Westminster—Motion for an Address—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to direct that the road by the East end of Saint James's Park may be opened for carriage traffic from Marlborough House Gate to Storey's Gate,"—(*Viscount Royston,*)—instead thereof 606

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Parliament—Private Bill Legislation—Court of Hustings (London) Abolition Bill—Motion for a Select Committee—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders to consider and report whether any further Standing Orders are necessary to protect the public against abuse of the Private Bill system,"—(*Mr. William Henry Smith,*)—instead thereof 609

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," by leave, *withdrawn*:—Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

SUPPLY—Army Estimates—Resolutions [March 23] *reported* .. 619

First Resolution read a second time.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "135,047," in order to insert "125,047,"—(*Lord Elcho,*)—instead thereof.

After debate, Question, "That '135,047' stand part of the Resolution," put, and *agreed to*:—Resolution *agreed to*:—Subsequent Resolutions *agreed to.*

Trades Unions Bill [Bill 28]—

Order for Committee read 638

After short debate, Committee *deferred* till *Tuesday* next.

Mutiny Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Secretary Cardwell, The Judge Advocate*) .. 638

Ways and Means—Resolution *reported,* and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baxter*); *presented,* and read the first time .. 638

LORDS, MONDAY, MARCH 27.

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill (No. 38)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Penzance*) .. 639

An Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now") and insert ("this day six months,")—(*The Duke of Northumberland*) 649

After short debate, on Question, that ("now") stand part of the Motion? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 71, Not-Contents 97; Majority 26:—*Resolved* in the *Negative;* and Bill to be read 2ª *on this day six months.*

Division List, Contents and Not-Contents 653

Judgments (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord O'Hagan*); read 1ª (No. 59) .. 655

COMMONS, MONDAY, MARCH 27.

Inland Bills of Exchange—Adhesive Stamps—Question, Mr. Fothergill; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 655

Army—Martini-Henry Rifle—Question, Colonel Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 656

West Coast of Africa—Dutch Guinea—Questions, Mr. Magniac, Mr. Baillie Cochrane; Answers, Viscount Enfield 657

[*March* 27.] *Page*

ARMY REGULATION BILL—EXCHANGES—Question, Mr. O'Reilly; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 657

ARMY REGULATION BILL—COLONELS ON HALF-PAY—Question, Lord Garlies; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 658

WRITERS IN THE CUSTOMS—Question, Mr. Macfie; Answer, Mr. Baxter .. 658

INDIA—THE LOOSHAIS—Question, Mr. Magniac; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 658

SPAIN—THE "TORNADO"—Question, Mr. Grieve; Answer, Viscount Enfield 659

GREECE—THE GUARANTEED LOAN—Question, Mr. Mills; Answer, Mr. Baxter 659

ARMY REGULATION BILL—Questions, Sir Tollemache Sinclair; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 660

ARMY — EDUCATION OF ARTILLERY OFFICERS — Question, Mr. Somerset Beaumont; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 661

IRELAND—BOARD OF EDUCATION—MONASTIC AND CONVENTUAL SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. Dixon; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 661

NAVY ESTIMATES—Postponement of Motions 662

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

DEFENCE OF COMMERCIAL HARBOURS—RESOLUTION—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to make additional provision for the defence of the Commercial Harbours of this Country, by building, without delay, gun vessels of a light draught, armed with heavy guns, which may, in case of emergency, be manned by any existing local or other force,"—(*Mr. Graves*,)—instead thereof 663

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

NAVY—DEPTFORD DOCKYARD—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the transfer of the Dockyard at Deptford to the Corporation of London should be postponed till the circumstances of the sale be considered by a Committee of this House,"—(*Sir James Elphinstone*,)—instead thereof 680

After short debate, Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 141, Noes 64; Majority 77.

PARLIAMENT—COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Observation, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer:—Short debate thereon 685

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) 61,000 Men and Boys, Sea and Coast Guard Services, including 14,000 Royal Marines.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* 689

(2.) £2,693,336, Wages, &c. 734

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

LORDS, TUESDAY, MARCH 28.

RESERVE FORCES — THE LORDS LIEUTENANT — MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the law respecting the control of the Reserve Forces in the several counties of Great Britain,"—(*The Lord Vivian*) 734

After debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the *Negative.*

Army—Military Education—Address for Returns—

Moved "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for, Returns of the number and statements of service of garrison instructors, and copies of instructions given to them for the execution of their duties by the Secretary of State for War, as well as copies of any instructions given by him or of communications made by the Royal Commission on the military education of officers of Her Majesty's army consequent on the Commissioners' report on that subject,"—(*The Lord Strathnairn*) 752

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

COMMONS, TUESDAY, MARCH 28.

Post Office—Parcel Post to India and the Colonies—Question, Mr. D. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. Monsell 766

Commission on Coal Supply—Question, Mr. Samuelson; Answer, Mr. Hussey Vivian 766

Army—Report of the War Office Committee—Question, Mr. D. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 767

Volunteer Drill in Hyde Park—Question, Mr. Harvey Lewis; Answer, Mr. Ayrton 768

Case of the "Epaminondas"—Question, Mr. Plimsoll; Answer, Mr. Bruce 768

Army—Officers in the Reserve Forces—Question, Mr. O'Neill; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 770

Military Attache at Paris—Resignation of General Claremont—Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Viscount Enfield 770

Prospective Strength of the Army—Motion for a Return—

Moved, "For an Address for a Return of the Normal Peace Establishment, exclusive of Colonial Corps and Native Indian Troops, contemplated by the Government scheme when after twelve years the Reserves will be full,"—(*Mr. Dickinson*) 771

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Gibraltar—Armament—Motion for a Return—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, a Return of the number of Guns mounted on the Fortress of Gibraltar,"—(*Mr. Arthur Guest*) .. 771

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Munitions of War—Resolution—

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to endeavour to arrive, in conjunction with Foreign Powers, at a settlement of the question of the export of arms and munitions of war from neutral to belligerent States,"—(*Mr. James Lowther*) 781

After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Salmon Fisheries Bill [Bill 75]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 801

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday,* 25th April.

County Justices Qualification Amendment Bill [Bill 77]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 806

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* to be *printed,* as amended [Bill 89]; *re-committed* for *Tuesday,* 18th April.

Trades Unions Bill [Bill 28]—

Order for Committee read 808

Moved, "That it be an *Instruction* to the Committee, that they have power to divide the said Bill into two Bills,"—(*Mr. Secretary Bruce*)

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee.

After some time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

Marine Mutiny Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Shaw Lefevre*); *presented,* and read the first time 821

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29.

Page

Consolidated Fund (£462,580 9s. 11d.) Bill—
Read 3^a (according to order), and *passed.*

Consolidated Fund (£5,411,900) Bill—
Brought from the Commons; read 1^a; and to be read 2^a *To-morrow;* and Standing Orders Nos. 37. and 38. to be considered in order to their being dispensed with.

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29.

Parochial Councils Bill [Bill 10]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Viscount Sandon*) 822
Amendment proposed,
To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is inexpedient to hamper the free development of co-operation between the clergy and the laity according to the local circumstances of different parishes by uniform and unelastic legislative provisions,"—(*Mr. Beresford Hope,*)—instead thereof.
Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn:* —Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for this day six months.

Mutiny Bill—
Order for Committee read 875
After short debate, Bill *considered* in Committee:—Bill *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time upon *Friday.*

Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Baxter, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 91] .. 876

Marriage Law (Ireland) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, The Marquess of Hartington*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 93] .. 876

Public Health (Scotland) Act (1867) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Bruce*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 92] .. 876

LORDS, THURSDAY, MARCH 30.

Public Parks, &c. (Land) Bill—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Earl of Harrowby*) .. 877
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

ARMOUR-CLAD VESSELS—COAST AND HARBOUR DEFENCES—MOTION FOR A RETURN—
Moved that there be laid before this House, Return of the number of Armour-clad Vessels at present available for Coast and Harbour Defence not drawing more than sixteen feet water, and capable of resisting shot from the present guns of twelve and eighteen tons at 500 yards, direct fire, right angle,—(*The Earl of Lauderdale*) .. 878
After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

Promissory Oaths Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Chancellor*); read 1^a No. 64) .. 884

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MARCH 30.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—CAMBUSNETHAN ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOL—Question, Mr. O'Reilly; Answer, Mr. Bruce 885
MIDDLESEX REGISTRY OF DEEDS—THE VACANT REGISTRARSHIP—Question, Mr. Cubitt; Answer, The Attorney General 886
SCOTLAND—SUPERANNUATION FUND OF THE GREENOCK POLICE—Question, Mr. Grieve; Answer, Mr. Bruce 887
IRELAND—CLOTHWORKERS' COMPANY—Question, Mr. Maguire; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 887

[*March* 30.] *Page*

THE WAR AND DISPUTED INVENTIONS OFFICE—Question, Mr. Candlish; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 888
IRELAND—SILVER COIN—Question, Mr. Dudley Fortescue; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 888
ARMY—BREECH-LOADING SMALL ARMS FOR ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS—Question, Mr. Headlam; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 888
COLONIES—RELIGIOUS EQUALITY—Question, Mr. Crum-Ewing; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen 889
POST OFFICE—MONEY ORDERS—Question, Mr. Stacpoole; Answer, Mr. Monsell 890
ARMY—MILITIA DRILL—Question, Lord Garlies; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 890
ARMY—VALUE OF BREECH-LOADING FIELD GUNS—Question, Colonel Sykes; Answer, Sir Henry Storks 891
NATIONALITY OF BERWICK-ON-TWEED—Question, Mr. Stapleton; Answer, Mr. Ayrton 891
ARMY—SMALL-POX AND THE MILITIA—Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 891
POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPH SYSTEM IN ESSEX—Question, Colonel Brise; Answer, Mr. Monsell 892
ARMY—RETIREMENT OF COLONEL SHUTE—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 892
IRELAND—CIVIL SERVICE—Question, Mr. Plunket; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 893
ARMY REGULATION BILL—INDIAN ARTILLERY AND ENGINEERS—Question, Sir Charles Wingfield; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 893

CONFERENCE OF LONDON—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That this House regrets that Her Majesty's Government accepted a proposition for the assembling of a Conference under the circumstances disclosed in the Papers relating to Prince Gortchakof's Circular Note, which have been laid before Parliament,"—(*Sir Charles Dilke*) 894

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the course taken by Her Majesty's Government in accepting a proposal for the assembling of a Conference upon the Treaty of Paris of 1856 was consistent with the honour and interests of this Country, and calculated to promote the maintenance of the peace of Europe,"—(*Mr. Rylands,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.

After long debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Otway*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After further short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

After further short debate, Original Question put, and *negatived.*

Trades Unions Bill [Bill 28]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 28th March*] 976

After short time spent therein, Report, That the Committee had divided the Bill into two Bills.

Rectory of Ewelme Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Solicitor General*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 96] 979

LORDS, FRIDAY, MARCH 31.

NEW PEER—The Right Honourable Sir William Henry Lytton Earle Bulwer, G.C.B., Baron Dalling and Bulwer of Dalling in the county of Norfolk.
ARMY—ASSEMBLY OF THE MILITIA—Question, The Earl of Sandwich; Answer, Lord Northbrook 980

Envoys of Prince Kassa, of Abyssinia—Question, The Earl of Derby; Answer, Earl Granville 981

Bankruptcy Disqualification Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Chancellor*); read 1^a (No. 65) 983

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MARCH 31.

Terminable Annuities—Question, Mr. Candlish; Answer, Mr. Baxter .. 983

Army Regulation Bill—Exchanges—Question, Mr. Stapleton; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 984

Education—The New Code—Article 19—Question, Mr. C. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 985

Ireland — Waterford Industrial School — Question, Mr. Delahunty; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 985

West Indies—Island of Nevis—Question, Mr. Peek; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen 985

Navy—Ships of the "Blanche" Class—Question, Mr. Laird; Answer, Mr. Goschen 986

India—Madras Medical Fund—Question, Mr. Barclay; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 987

West India Islands—Consolidation of Governorships—Question, Sir Charles Adderley; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen 987

Army—Abolition of Purchase—Question, Mr. Gathorne Hardy; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 987

Merchant Shipping Bill—Question, Mr. Rathbone; Answer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue 988

Wine Measure—Bottles—Question, Sir James Elphinstone; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 988

Supply—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

France and Prussia—The Conditions of Peace—Resolution—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House having learnt the conditions of Peace imposed by Prussia on France, trusts that Her Majesty's Government will, in the interest of the future tranquillity of Europe, use their good offices, before the negotiations of Peace are finally closed, to obtain from the Imperial Government some mitigation of the severity of these conditions,"—(*Mr. Baillie Cochrane,*)—instead thereof .. 989

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Case of Martha Torpey—Observations, Mr. Osborne Morgan:—Debate thereon 1013

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £70,000, on account of the Post Office Telegraph Service .. 1028
(2.) £1,786,100, on account of Civil Services 1028

After short debate, Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons) Bill [Bill 78]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Bruce*) .. 1041

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday*, 20th April.

[*March* 31.] Page

Bank Holidays Bill [Bill 88]—

Order for Third Reading read 1041
After short debate, Order *discharged;* Bill *re-committed.*
Bill *considered* in Committee.
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

TRIBUNALS OF COMMERCE—

Select Committee *appointed,* "to inquire into the expediency of establishing Tribunals of Commerce, or of otherwise improving the administration of justice in causes relating to commercial disputes in England,"—(*Mr. Whitwell.*)
And, on May 1, Committee *nominated:*—List of the Committee 1042

Charters Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. William Edward Forster, Mr. Solicitor General*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 97] 1043

COMMONS, MONDAY, APRIL 3.

SALE OF DAMAGED TEA AND COFFEE—Question, Sir James Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Baxter 1043
COURT OF CHANCERY—COMMITTAL OF PERSONS OF UNSOUND MIND—Question, Mr. J. Lowther; Answer, Mr. Bruce 1044
ARMY REGULATION BILL — PROMOTION AND RETIREMENT—Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1044
NAVY—HARBOURS AND COAST DEFENCES—Question, Sir James Elphinstone; Answer, Mr. Goschen 1045
WEST COAST OF AFRICA — Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen 1045
POST OFFICE—SALARIES—THE TELEGRAPH SERVICE—Question, Mr. Campbell; Answer, Mr. Monsell 1046
METROPOLIS—THAMES EMBANKMENT—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Baxter 1047
INDIA—RAILWAY GAUGE—Question, Mr. Kinnaird; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 1047
TENANT FARMERS—THE PROPERTY TAX BILL—Question, Mr. Baker; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1048
INDIA—THE NAWAB NAZIM—Question, Mr. Haviland-Burke; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 1048
INCOME TAX AND INHABITED HOUSE DUTY (METROPOLIS)—Question, Mr. Morley; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1049
NAVY—COMMITTEE ON DESIGNS OF SHIPS OF WAR—Question, Mr. Corry; Answer, Mr. Goschen 1049
EASTER RECESS—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—*Moved,* "That the House, at its rising To-morrow, do adjourn till Monday the 17th instant,"—(*Mr. Gladstone:*)—Motion *agreed to* 1050

Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal) Bill [Bill 54]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the second time,"—(*Mr. W. E. Forster*) 1050
After debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

EXCISEABLE LIQUORS (LICENSING)—

Considered in Committee 1062
After long time spent therein,
(1.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient, from the 1st day of October 1871, to repeal the Duties of Excise charged in England in respect of Licences authorising the sale by retail, and not (except in the case of Publicans' Licences) by wholesale, of intoxicating liquors, and of Licences to keep Refreshment Houses, imposed by the several Acts relating thereto.
(2.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to grant to Her Majesty, from the 1st day of October 1871, the following Duties of Excise to be payable in England (that is to say):—
[Then the Duties are set forth.]

[*April* 3.] Page

Exciseable Liquors (*Licensing*)—continued.

(3.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to authorise the imposition on holders of Certificates from Justices authorising those holders to obtain a Publican's General, a Publican's Limited, an Inn or an Eating House Licence, of a Licence Rent bearing such proportion to the annual gross value of the licensed premises as may be fixed by or in pursuance of any Act to be passed in the present Session.

(4.) *Resolved,* That it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to the sale of Exciseable Liquors in England.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

Rating and Local Government Bill—

Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Rating and Local Government,"—(*Mr. Goschen*) 1115

After long debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—

Returns *ordered,* "in tabular form, showing the number of Notices discussed on going into Committee of Supply (excluding Fridays), with the number of pages of 'Hansard' occupied each evening in the discussion of these Notices, for the Sessions 1868-9 and 1870:"

"And, of the number of Morning Sittings held before the 1st day of July in each year, showing the number of hours occupied in each Sitting before 7 P.M., and the number of pages of 'Hansard' occupied in discussion in each Sitting before 7 P.M., in the Sessions 1868-9 and 1870,"—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck*) 1143

Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation Bill—*Considered* in Committee:—Resolution *agreed to,* and *reported:*—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Arthur Peel, Mr. Chichester Fortescue*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 101] 1144

Representation of the People Acts Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hardcastle, Mr. Bayley Potter, Mr. Gilpin*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 98] .. 1144

Charity Commissioners Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 99] 1144

Bath City Prison Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 100] 1144

COMMONS, TUESDAY, APRIL 4.

BOARD OF TRADE RETURNS—Question, Mr. Eaton; Answer, Mr. A. Peel 1145

METROPOLIS—MUSEUM OF PRACTICAL GEOLOGY—Question, Mr. Fletcher; Answer, Mr. Ayrton 1145

METROPOLIS—HAMILTON GARDENS—Question, Mr. Denison; Answer, Mr. Ayrton 1145

FRANCE AND GERMANY—THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AT BRUSSELS—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Viscount Enfield 1146

POOR LAW—THE SMALL-POX—Question, Mr. M'Carthy Downing; Answer, Mr. Stansfeld 1146

ARMY—UNATTACHED OFFICERS—Question, Colonel Taylor; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1147

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND TAXATION—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Goschen 1147

Inclosure Law Amendment Bill [Bill 32]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [23rd February], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1148

After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee,"—(*Colonel Barttelot:*)—After further short debate, Bill *committed* to a Select Committee.

List of the Committee 1173

Trades Unions Bill [Bill 94]—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 1173
After short debate, Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday* 17th April.

Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen) Bill—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 1175
After short debate, Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday*, 17th April.

Exciseable Liquors (Licensing) Bill—Resolutions *reported*, and *agreed to* :—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Winterbotham*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 104] 1179

Rating and Local Government Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Goschen, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. William Edward Forster*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 106] 1179

Local Taxation Bill—Debate [April 3] *resumed* :—*Ordered* (*Mr. Goschen, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. William Edward Forster*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 105] 1179

Debtors (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, The Marquess of Hartington*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 108] 1179

Bankruptcy (Ireland) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, The Marquess of Hartington*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 109] ... 1179

Court of Chancery Funds Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Baxter, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. William Henry Gladstone*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 107] ... 1180

Anatomy Act (1832) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 110] 1180

COMMONS, MONDAY, APRIL 17.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, no scheme of Army reorganisation is satisfactory which does not form the reserves for the defence of this Country by men passed through the ranks of the regular Army,"—(*Captain Beaumont*,)—instead thereof ... 1180

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it would be inexpedient to vote any sum of money towards the defrayment of the proposed increase of expense of the Military System of this Kingdom until a scheme having for its object the efficient reorganisation of our Regular and Auxiliary Forces has been introduced by Her Majesty's Government,"—(*Lord Garlies*,)—instead thereof 1196

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—ARMY ESTIMATES.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £46,400, Divine Service.
(2.) £28,900, Martial Law.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1200
(3.) £248,300, Medical Establishments and Services—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1200
(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £957,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Militia Pay and Allowances, which will come in course of payment from the 1st day of April 1871 to the 31st day of March 1872, inclusive" 1207

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £720,084, &c.,"—(*Mr. Rathbone*.)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 16, Noes 92; Majority 76:—Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Supply—Army Estimates—Committee—*continued.*

(5.) £81,700, Yeomanry Cavalry.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* ... 1222
(6.) £485,700, Volunteer Corps.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1225
(7.) £129,200, Army Reserve Force.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* ... 1238

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes Bill [Bill 91]—

Order for Second Reading read 1240
After short debate, Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday.*

COMMONS, TUESDAY, APRIL 18.

Glebe Land (Ireland) Act—Question, Mr. Stacpoole; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1241
Khiva—Concentration of Russian Troops—Question, Mr. Eastwick; Answer, Viscount Enfield 1241
Army—The Volunteers—Question, Mr. Eastwick; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1241
Ireland—Westmeath, &c. (Unlawful Combinations)—Question, Mr. Gathorne Hardy; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1242
Bills of Exchange—Question, Mr. Watkin Williams; Answer, Mr. Baxter 1242
Army—Regiments with Muzzle-Loaders—Question, Colonel North; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 1243
The New Forest—Question, Sir Harry Verney; Answer, Mr. Baxter .. 1243

British North America (Public Works)—Resolution—

Moved, "That it is desirable, in order to put an end to misunderstanding, to define clearly the responsibility attaching to such undertakings as Railways and Public Works in British North America,"—(*Mr. Whatman*) 1244

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Pensions Commutation—Resolution—

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to extend the provisions of 'The Pensions Commutation Act, 1869,' to all the Departments of the Civil Service," —(*Mr. Monk*) 1253

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Post Office—Sunday Labour—Resolution—

Moved, "That the employment by the State of upwards of twenty thousand persons in the department of the Post Office on the Sabbath Day, is not justified by any public necessity; and that, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the exemption from Sunday labour enjoyed by the Letter-carriers of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast, and one hundred and fourteen other Post Towns, should be extended to all Letter-carriers and Rural Messengers throughout the United Kingdom,"—(*Mr. Charles Reed*) 1259

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Then it was *moved,*

"That this House deems it desirable to reduce, by all prudent means, the Sunday labour now performed by public servants; and that it is expedient that an official inquiry should be instituted, with a view to ascertaining how far it may be practicable to effect a further reduction of the labour now performed on Sunday by the Letter-carriers and Rural Messengers in the service of the Postmaster General,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

After further short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Navy—Sir Spencer Robinson—Motion for a Select Committee—

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the circumstances which led to the dismissal of Vice Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson from the post of Third Lord of the Admiralty by the Prime Minister,"—(*Lord Henry Lennox*) 1280

Afer long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 104, Noes 153; Majority 49.

Private Chapels Bill [Bill 37]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 1332
Amendments made:—Bill to be read the third time upon *Tuesday* 2nd May, and to be *printed.* [Bill 112.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19.

Page

Trial by Jury (Ireland) Bill [Bill 47]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Lambert*) .. 1335

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Maguire.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:" —After short debate, Amendment and Motion, by leave, *withdrawn:* —Bill *withdrawn.*

Game Laws Abolition Bill [Bill 51]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. P. A. Taylor*) 1349

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Hardcastle.*)

After debate, Question put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 49, Noes 172; Majority 123:— Words *added:*—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *put off* for six months.

Game Laws (Scotland) Amendment (No. 2) Bill [Bill 21]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. M'Lagan*) .. 1380

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Craufurd:*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 106, Noes 37; Majority 69:—Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* 8th May.

Gas Works Clauses Act (1847) Amendment (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Arthur Peel, Mr. Chichester Fortescue*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 113] .. 1381

LORDS, THURSDAY, APRIL 20.

The Chairman of Committees—Observations, Lord Redesdale .. 1381

United States—The Joint High Commission—The Fishery Question—Question, The Duke of Richmond; Answer, Earl Granville .. 1381

COMMONS, THURSDAY, APRIL 20.

Recruits for India—Question, Colonel Sykes; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 1382

The Jury System—Question, Mr. Lopes; Answer, The Attorney General 1383

The Lottery Act—Question, Mr. Charley; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1383

Army—Colonels Promoted to Staff Employment—Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1384

Poor Law—Vagrant Wards—Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Hibbert 1384

Army—Commissions to Passed Candidates—Question, Major Allen; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1385

Prussia—British Representative at Berlin—Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Viscount Enfield 1386

Spain and Mexico—Question, Mr. Laird; Answer, Viscount Enfield .. 1386

Education—The New Code (1871)—Attendance at Infant Schools—Question, Mr. Raikes; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1387

Persia—British Officers—Question, Mr. Eastwick; Answer, Viscount Enfield 1387

Criminal Law—Imprisonment of a Child at Tamworth—Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Mr. Bruce 1387

Public Schools Act, 1864—Fellowships at Winchester College—Question, Mr. J. D. Lewis; Answer, The Solicitor General .. 1389

Committee on Public Business—Question, Mr. Bouverie; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1390

Tables of Lessons Bill—Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Bruce .. 1391

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—

WAYS AND MEANS *considered* in Committee 1391

Financial Statement of *The Chancellor of the Exchequer* on moving the First Resolution—

"That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged and paid for and upon every box or other enclosure of Lucifer Matches, Fusees, or other Matches prepared so as to be capable of being ignited by friction or otherwise than by the application of actual fire or heat (hereinafter called 'Matches'), whether manufactured in or imported into the United Kingdom, which shall be sold, or exposed to sale, or be offered or kept ready for sale, in the United Kingdom, on or after the 10th day of May 1871, a Duty of Excise as follows (that is to say):

Where the box or other enclosure contains Matches which, independently of the substance for ignition are composed wholly of wood— £ *s.* *d.*

If the number of Matches therein contained does not exceed 100 . 0 0 0½

If the number of Matches therein contained exceeds 100, then for every 100, and also for any fractional part of 100, of such number . 0 0 0½

Where the box or other enclosure contains Matches which, independently of the substance for ignition, are composed wholly or partially of a material other than wood—

If the number of Matches therein contained does not exceed 50 . 0 0 0½

If the number of Matches therein contained exceeds 50, then for every 50, and also for any fractional part of 50, of such number . . 0 0 0½

And the Duties upon boxes or other enclosures of Matches shall be denoted by, and collected by means of, Labels to be affixed upon such boxes or other enclosures."

After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 201, Noes 44; Majority 157.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons) Bill [Bill 78]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 1455

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, no change in the Law with regard to the reading of Holy Scripture in the Church of England is desirable which withholds from the officiating clergyman the power of reading such portions of the Old and New Testament at Morning and Evening Prayer as to him may seem most suitable,"—(*Mr. J. D. Lewis,*) —instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 195, Noes 41; Majority 154.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday* 4th May.

Metropolis Water Bill [Bill 40]—

Order for Second Reading, read 1463

After short debate, Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

LORDS, FRIDAY, APRIL 21.

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate— [House adjourned.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, APRIL 21.

ARMY — VOLUNTEER OFFICERS — Question, Mr. Charley; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1464

ARMY — ROYAL SUSSEX MILITIA — THE SMALL POX — Question, Major Dickson (for Major Walker); Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1465

NAVY—SHIPS' BOOKS AND ACCOUNTS—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Goschen 1465

[*April* 21.] Page

ARMY REGULATION BILL—THE MILITIA—Question, Mr. Stacpoole; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1466
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT—NEW SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. Beresford Hope; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1466
ARMY—ROYAL CORNWALL RANGERS MILITIA—COLONEL EDGCUMBE—Question, Sir John Pakington; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1467
NAVY—COAST GUARD—Question, Viscount Mahon; Answer, Mr. Goschen 1467
IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN CATTLE—Question, Mr. Carter; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1467
ARMY—CADETS AT SANDHURST—Question, Mr. Dickinson; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1469
MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL—Question, Sir John Pakington; Answer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue 1469

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

DECLARATION OF PARIS, 1856—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the maintenance of British maritime rights being essential to the power, prosperity, and independence of the Empire, this House is of opinion that Her Majesty's Government should forthwith withdraw from the articles of 'The Declaration of Paris, 1856,' which are numbered respectively 1 and 2, and which are expressed in the terms following:—1. Privateering is and remains abolished; 2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war,"—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck,*)—instead thereof 1469

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE CHARITY COMMISSION—EXEMPTION OF ENDOWED CHARITIES FROM INCOME TAX—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "discontinuing the exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax is the only method of carrying out the decision of this House against the payment of the expenses of the Charity Commission out of public funds,"—(*Mr. Andrew Johnston,*)—instead thereof 1505

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "discontinuing the exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax is a suitable method of carrying out the decision of this House against the payment of the expenses of the Charity Commission out of public funds,"—instead thereof.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question," put, and *negatived:*—Words *added:*—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—*Resolved,* That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply 1514

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

COLONIAL GOVERNORS' PENSIONS ACT—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working of the Colonial Governors' Pensions Act,"—(*Mr. Baillie Cochrane,*)—instead thereof 1515

After short debate, Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question," put, and *agreed to.*

SCOTLAND—DEFENCES OF THE FIRTH OF FORTH—Observations, Mr. Macfie 1520

After short debate, Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," by leave, *withdrawn:*—Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

WAYS AND MEANS—REPORT—Resolution [April 20] *reported* .. 1528
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Resolution be now read a second time."
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dixon*:)—The House *divided*; Ayes 50, Noes 116; Majority 66.
Original Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 113, Noes 51; Majority 62:—Resolution read a second time, and *agreed to*.
Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baxter*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 116.]

Pauper Inmates (Discharge and Rgeulation) Bill (*Lords*) [Bill 70]
Bill *considered* in Committee 1538
On Question, "That the Preamble be postponed."
Moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Joshua Fielden*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 11, Noes 79; Majority 68:—Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Tuesday* next.

Dogs Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 114] 1547

Local Government Supplemental (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 115] 1547

LORDS, MONDAY, APRIL 24.

IRELAND—WESTMEATH, &c. (UNLAWFUL COMBINATIONS)—Notice of Bill (*The Earl of Kimberley*) 1548
Message to the Commons for the Report of and Evidence taken before the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of Westmeath and certain parts adjoining of Meath and King's County, the nature, extent, and effect of a certain unlawful combination and confederacy existing therein, and the best means of suppressing the same.

EMANUEL CHARITY, WESTMINSTER—THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSIONERS—Observations, Earl Granville; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury:—Debate thereon 1549

Bankruptcy Disqualification Bill (No. 65)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) .. 1575
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

Promissory Oaths Bill (No. 64)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) .. 1579
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

Incorporation of Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland Bill [H.L.] & **Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society of Ireland Regulation Bill** [H.L.]—
Bills *referred* to a Select Committee:—List of the Committee 1580

COMMONS, MONDAY, APRIL 24.

IRELAND—WESTMEATH, &c. (UNLAWFUL COMBINATIONS)—Observations, Mr. Gladstone 1580
ARMY REGULATION BILL—COMPENSATION TO GENERAL OFFICERS—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1581
ARMY—CHAPLAINS IN CAMP—Question, Major Walker; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1581
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION—BUILDING GRANTS—Question, Mr. Simonds; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1582

[*April* 24.] Page

INDIA—COST OF EUROPEAN RECRUITS—Question, Colonel Sykes; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 1582
THE NEW FOREST—FELLING TIMBER—Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Mr. Baxter 1583
ORDNANCE SURVEY — NORTH WALES — Question, Mr. Williams Wynn; Answer, Mr. Ayrton 1583
ARMY—OFFICERS OF THE COMMISSARIAT, &c., DEPARTMENTS—Question, Viscount Mahon; Answer, Sir Henry Storks 1584

WAYS AND MEANS—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

NATIONAL EXPENDITURE—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the additional taxation proposed by Her Majesty's Government will entail burdens upon the people which are not justified by existing circumstances,"—(*Mr. James White,*)—instead thereof 1585

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 257, Noes 230; Majority 27.
Division List, Ayes and Noes 1673

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

WAYS AND MEANS *considered* in Committee:—Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

LORDS, TUESDAY, APRIL 25.

POST OFFICE (IPSWICH)—MOTION FOR A PAPER—

Moved, "That there be laid before this House the Reports laid before the Postmaster General on the state of the Post Office at Ipswich, with the Correspondence relating thereto,"—(*The Lord Kinnaird*) 1677

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

HABITUAL CRIMINALS ACT (1869)—SUPERVISION OF CRIMINALS—Observations, Question, The Earl of Carnarvon; Reply, The Earl of Morley: —Debate thereon 1678

COMMONS, TUESDAY, APRIL 25.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE MATCH MAKERS' PROCESSION—Questions, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Baillie Cochrane; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 1684
WAYS AND MEANS—FINANCIAL PROPOSALS OF THE GOVERNMENT—Notice (*Mr. Disraeli*) 1685
WAYS AND MEANS—THE TAX ON MATCHES—Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Reply, Mr. Disraeli 1685
IRELAND—RAILWAY SYSTEM—Question, Mr. William Ormsby Gore; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1686
POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION—Question, Mr. Gore-Langton; Answer, Mr. Monsell 1686
INDIA—"POLITICAL PLEA" IN INDIAN AFFAIRS—Question, Major General Forester; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1687
ARMY—OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY—Question, Colonel Anson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1688
METROPOLIS—ORNAMENTAL WATER IN ST. JAMES'S PARK—Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Ayrton 1689
ARMY REGULATION BILL — COLONELS OF ARTILLERY — Question, Major Arbuthnot; Answer, Captain Vivian 1689
CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE—Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1689
IRELAND—SEA FISHERIES—Question, Mr. M'Carthy Downing; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1690

[*April* 25.] Page

LAND SETTLEMENT—RESOLUTION—
Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, the present Law of Land Settlement is opposed to public policy, by diminishing the investment of capital in the soil and preventing the freedom of sale and purchase,"—(*Mr. Wren-Hoskyns*) 1690
After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 49, Noes 79; Majority 30.

VALUATION (IRELAND)—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—
Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Constitution and Management of the Department of the General Valuation of Ireland, the cost of the Townland and Tenement Valuation, and all matters connected with the Annual Revision thereof,"—(*The O'Conor Don*) 1718
After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

HACKNEY CARRIAGE REGULATIONS—RESOLUTION (*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck*) 1721
[House counted out.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26.

Sunday Trading Bill [Bill 8]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Thomas Hughes*) 1723
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Taylor.*)
After short debate, Question put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 47, Noes 80; Majority 33:—Words *added:*—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to:*—Second Reading *put off* for six months.

Public Prosecutors Bill [Bill 35]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Russell Gurney*) 1744
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. West:*)—After debate, Question put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 129, Noes 89; Majority 40:—Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—Select Committee *appointed* and *nominated:*—List of the Committee 1766
LAW OF RATING (IRELAND)—Select Committee *nominated:*—List of the Committee 1767

LORDS, THURSDAY, APRIL 27.

EPPING FOREST — Question, Viscount Midleton; Answer, The Lord Chancellor 1767

Protection of Life and Property in certain Parts of Ireland Bill [H.L.]—
Presented (*The Earl of Kimberley*); read 1ª (No 77) 1768

COMMONS, THURSDAY, APRIL 27.

METROPOLIS—HYDE PARK—ALBERT MEMORIAL—Question, Mr. Hardcastle; Answer, Mr. Ayrton 1768
ARMY—MUSKETRY DRILL AT CHATHAM—Question, Mr. Malcolm; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1769
SMALL-POX AT HOUNSLOW—THE FOURTH MIDDLESEX MILITIA—Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1769
MINES REGULATION BILL—Question, Mr. Wentworth Beaumont; Answer, Mr. Bruce 1770
METROPOLIS—KENSINGTON GARDENS—Questions, Lord Elcho; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Ayrton 1771

[*April* 27.]

Page

METROPOLIS — CHELSEA EMBANKMENT — Question, Mr. Harvey Lewis; Answer, Dr. Brewer 1773
UNITED STATES — BRITISH CLAIMS—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Viscount Enfield 1773
THE MATCH MAKERS' PROCESSION—LAW OF PUBLIC PROCESSIONS—Questions, Mr. Baillie Cochrane, Mr. Samuda, Mr. Eykyn; Answers, Mr. Bruce 1774
ARMY—INSPECTORS OF THE RESERVE FORCES—Question, Mr. H. R. Brand; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1777
LOCAL TAXATION BILL—SEWERS—Question, Mr. Wingfield Baker; Answer, Mr. Goschen 1778
SCOTLAND—PEDLARS' CERTIFICATES—Question, Mr. Dyce Nicol; Answer, Mr. Bruce 1778
CATTLE DISEASE (METROPOLIS)—WATERSIDE CATTLE MARKET—Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster 1779
THE LECTURER MURPHY—Question, Mr. Holt; Answer, Mr. Bruce .. 1779
LICENSING BILL—POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Bruce 1779

WAYS AND MEANS—
Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. William Ewart Gladstone*) 1780
After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn:*—Committee *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

CONTROLLERSHIP OF THE NAVY—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,
To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is expedient that the Controller of the Navy should be relieved of a portion of his responsibilities by giving more independent authority to the local officers of the Dockyards,"—(*Mr. Brassey,*)—instead thereof 1810
Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

NAVAL SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,
To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, a small Committee, composed of scientific and naval men, be appointed permanently, to investigate the designs of all ironclad and other vessels proposed to be built for the service of the Royal Navy, and to report to the Board of Admiralty as to their stability, and fitness in other respects, to fulfil the purposes for which they are intended,"—(*Sir James Elphinstone,*)—instead thereof ... 1822
Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

NAVY—CASE OF COMMANDER CHEYNE—Observations, Sir John Hay; Reply, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre:—Short debate thereon 1830

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £1,038,202, Victuals and Clothing (Seamen and Marines) .. 1835
After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir James Elphinstone:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn:*—Vote *agreed to.*
(2.) £67,103, Scientific Departments 1843
After short debate, Vote *agreed to.*
On Motion to report Progress, Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

[*April* 27.] *Page*

Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes Bill [Bill 91]—

Order for Committee read 1844

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have the power to introduce provisions into the Bill making the Law uniform as to the days upon which bills falling due upon Holidays shall be payable,"—(*Mr. Watkin Williams.*)

After short debate, Question put, and *negatived*:—Bill *reported*, with an amended Title; as amended, to be *considered* upon *Monday* next.

Dogs Bill [Bill 114]—

Order for Second Reading read 1846

After short debate, Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

Lunatics (Scotland) Bill—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Adam*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 117] 1846

Vaccination (Scotland) Bill—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Adam*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 118] 1847

Metropolitan Poor Act (1867) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Hibbert*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 119] 1847

LORDS, FRIDAY, APRIL 28.

PRIVATE BILLS—

Their Lordships met;—and it was—

Ordered, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after *Thursday* the 15*th day of June* next:

That no Bill authorizing any inclosure of lands under special report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a second time after *Tuesday* the 20*th day of June* next:

That no Bill confirming any provisional order shall be read a second time after *Tuesday* the 20*th day of June* next:

That when a Bill shall have passed this House with amendments these orders shall not apply to any new Bill sent up from the House of Commons which the Chairman of Committees shall report to the House is substantially the same as the Bill so amended.

and their Lordships having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate— [House adjourned.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, APRIL 28.

ARMY—EXAMINATIONS AT WOOLWICH—Question, Mr. Neville-Grenville; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1848

WAYS AND MEANS—THE INCOME TAX—DEDUCTIONS FROM DIVIDENDS—Question, Mr. W. Ormsby Gore; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Crawford 1848

ARMY — EQUIPMENTS FOR VOLUNTEERS — Question, Colonel C. Lindsay; Answer, Sir Henry Storks 1849

ARMY—VOLUNTEERS—MUTINY ACT—Question, Colonel C. Lindsay; Answer, Mr. Cardwell 1850

CASE OF MR. MURPHY—Question, Mr. Whalley; Answer, Mr. Bruce .. 1850

SOUTH YORKSHIRE COAL OWNERS' RAILWAY — Question, Mr. Buckley; Answer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue 1851

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

EPPING FOREST—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is expedient that measures be adopted, in accordance with the humble Address presented to Her Majesty in February 1870, for preserving as an open space accessible to Her Majesty's subjects for purposes of health and recreation, those parts of Epping Forest which have not been enclosed with the assent of the Crown or by legal authority,"—(*Mr. Cowper Temple*,)—instead thereof 1852

Supply—Epping Forest—Resolution—continued.

After short debate, Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 96, Noes 197; Majority 101:—Words *added:*—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Supply—*Resolved,* That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply 1871

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Secretary Cardwell:*)—

Army—Martini-Henry Rifle—Motion for a Select Committee—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the merits of the Martini-Henry Rifle, particularly as to its lock arrangement and mode of stocking; and whether it is the most suitable rifle as compared with others now manufactured to arm our troops with,"—(*Colonel Barttelot,*)—instead thereof 1872

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 137, Noes 72; Majority 65.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," by leave, *withdrawn:*—Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

Ecclesiastical Titles Act Repeal Bill—

Select Committee *nominated:*—List of the Committee 1910

LORDS, MONDAY, MAY 1.

China—Missions in China—Question, The Earl of Carnarvon; Answer, Earl Granville 1911

Trades Unions Bill (No. 68)—
Criminal Law Amendment (**Violence, Threats, &c.**) **Bill**—

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read 1911

After debate, *Moved,* "That these Bills be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Morley.*)

Motion *agreed to:*—Bills read severally 2ª, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* the 15*th instant.*

United States—The Island of San Juan—Question, The Earl of Lauderdale; Answer, Earl Granville 1921

Charters (Colleges) Bill (No. 73)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal*) .. 1924

After short debate, on Question, *Resolved* in the *Affirmative:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

Released Fenian Convicts—William Mackay—Question, Earl Grey; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley 1925

COMMONS, MONDAY, MAY 1.

Scotland—Administration of Justice—Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1926

Small-Pox (Metropolis)—Returns of Vaccination—Question, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answer, Mr. Bruce 1928

Army—Small Arms for the Militia—Question, Mr. Ridley; Answer, Sir Henry Storks 1929

Ireland—County and Convict Prisons—Question, The O'Conor Don; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1929

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

[*May* 1.]

Education—London School Board—The Census—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Bruce 1930
Metropolis—Street Tramways—Question, Sir Henry Hoare; Answer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue 1930
Clerks of the Custom House—Question, Sir Henry Hoare; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1931
The Match Tax—Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1931
Case of Thomas West—Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, Sir Henry Storks 1932
New Forest Bill—Question, Mr. Hambro; Answer, Mr. Baxter:—Short debate thereon 1933
Inhabited House Duty—Question, Mr. Eykyn; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1933
Missionaries in China—Questions, Mr. Magniac, Mr. Macfie; Answers, Viscount Enfield 1934
Vaccination Act—Penalties—Question, Mr. T. Chambers; Answer, Mr. Bruce 1935
Army Expenditure—Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, Mr. Cardwell .. 1935
India—Indian Mutiny Medals—Question, Mr. Kinnaird; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff 1936
The Charity Commission—Exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax—Question, Mr. Cubitt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1936
Education (Scotland) Bill—Question, Mr. Craufurd; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1937

Supply—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Ways and Means—Committee—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is inexpedient that the Income Tax should be increased to the extent contemplated in the Financial proposals of Her Majesty's Government,"—(*Mr. William Henry Smith*,)—instead thereof 1937

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 335, Noes 250; Majority 85.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 2035

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered* in Committee.

Moved, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for one year, commencing on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, for and in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act passed in the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, for granting to Her Majesty Duties on Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices, the following Duties (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of all such Property, Profits, and Gains, (except those chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,) the Duty of Sixpence;

And in respect of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act:

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value thereof;

In England, the Duty of Three Pence; and

In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of Two Pence Farthing;

Subject to the provisions contained in section three of the Act of twenty-sixth Victoria, chapter twenty-two, for the exemption of Persons whose whole Income from every source is under One Hundred Pounds a-year, and relief of those whose Income is under Two Hundred Pounds a-year,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) 2039

[*May* 1.] Page

Ways and Means—Committee—continued.

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again," —(*Mr. Robert Fowler*:)—Question put, and *negatived*:—Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*:—Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday*.

Treasurers of Rates Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Donald Dalrymple, Sir William Bagge, Mr. Dodds*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 120] 2040

LORDS.

NEW PEER.

Friday, March 31, 1871.

The Right Hon. Sir William Henry Lytton Earle Bulwer, G.C.B., created Baron Dalling and Bulwer of Dalling, in the county of Norfolk.

SAT FIRST.

Thursday, March 23, 1871.

The Lord Walsingham, after the Death of his Father.

Thursday, March 30.

The Lord Ker (the Marquess of Lothian), after the Death of his Brother.

COMMONS.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

Thursday, March 23, 1871.

For *Tamworth*, *v.* Right Hon. Sir William Henry Lytton Earle Bulwer, now Baron Dalling and Bulwer.

Friday, March 31.

For *Norfolk* (Southern Division), *v.* Edward Howes, esquire, deceased.

Friday, April 21.

For *Durham City*, *v.* Right Hon. John Robert Davison, deceased.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

Thursday, March 30, 1871.

Tamworth—John Peel, esquire.

Thursday, April 20.

Norfolk (Southern Division)—Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, baronet.

Monday, May 1.

Durham City—John Lloyd Wharton, esquire.

HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

THIRD SESSION OF THE *TWENTIETH PARLIAMENT* OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*,
APPOINTED TO MEET 10 DECEMBER, 1868, AND THENCE
CONTINUED TILL 9 FEBRUARY, 1871, IN THE THIRTY-
FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

SECOND VOLUME OF THE SESSION.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 15th March, 1871.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Salmon Fisheries* [75].
First Reading—Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 2)* [73].
Second Reading—Railway Companies [5], *deferred* till *To-morrow;* Bank Holidays* [50].
Committee—Report—Public Parks, &c. (Land)* [25]; Workshop Regulation Act (1867) Amendment* [58-74]; Poor Law (Loans)* [68]; Income Tax Assessment* [64].
Third Reading—Stamp Act (1870) Amendment* [46], and *passed*.

RAILWAY COMPANIES BILL—[BILL 5.]

(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Hinde Palmer, Mr. Rowland Winn.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, that any man who touched such a great interest as the railway system of this country ought not to do so carelessly or unadvisedly, and he felt all the responsibility which attached to him for having brought this measure before the House. But there were other interests to be considered in connection with the subject-matter of the Bill other than those of the railway companies—a strong feeling of doubt had grown up in the public mind of late years whether the security of railway travelling had increased with the facilities for travelling. In time past a temporary thrill of horror ran through society on the occurrence of an alarming railway accident; but as these accidents seemed to be, for the most part, the inevitable results of working great and complicated systems, the painful feelings soon subsided. But a few years since occurred the dreadful accident at Abergele, by which many persons lost their lives in a most horrible manner; and the inquiry which followed was very protracted and searching, and brought public opinion to bear much more on the management of railway affairs. The Report of the Inspector of of the Board of Trade upon that accident revealed a state of things which—though he believed it was exceptional—made the public feel that there was much more insecurity in railway travelling than they had before realized. It was shown that there was a siding upon that line of railway which was quite unfit in its extent, and in its means of safety, for the work expected from it; that had it not existed the accident could not have occurred, and that it was being worked by the railway company without the sanction of the Board of Trade; having, in fact, been constructed since the section of the Chester and Holyhead line, on which they were situate, had been opened. But the Report went further, for Colonel Rich, the Inspector, said he feared it was only too true that the rules printed and issued by railway companies to their servants, and which were generally very good, were made principally with the object of being produced when accidents happened from the breach of them, and that the companies systematically allowed many of them to be broken daily without taking the slightest notice of the disobedience. The breach of the regulation which led to this sad accident—namely, shunting within 10 minutes of the arrival of a passenger train, might be observed constantly at stations. This accident, and the disclosures consequent to it, led the public to consider whether they did not, when travelling by railway, run unnecessary risks, originating in three causes—first, the neglect of rules on the part of railway servants; second, the length of hours' service which some companies imposed upon their servants; and third, the want of proper inspection by competent authorities. With reference to the first point—the neglect of rules—an instance was to be found in a collision which happened at the Preston Station of the Lancashire and Yorkshire line. Colonel Yolland, the Inspector, said that no effort was made to have the rules enforced, and that when violations of the rules took place under the eyes, and, indeed, by the order of the officers of the company whose duty it was to see them carried out, it was impossible to avoid the conclusion that the discipline of the company was by no means what it ought to be. In another accident at Rochdale, Colonel Yolland, the Inspector, reported that the guard had admitted that he should have looked out for a signal, but that it was not usual to do so; while the signalman said he was justified in shunting across one line or shunting carriages upon it just before a passenger train was expected. Colonel Yolland remarked upon that, that, strange to say, the company's regulations did not prohibit shunting even when a mail train was momentarily expected. With these two instances before them it seemed that on one line of railway at least—but he feared the case was not singular—great risk was incurred by passengers in consequence of official neglect of rules. Then, as to the second point — the overworking of servants. That was a point as to which there were many and great difficulties. No doubt many lines in the country were not financially successful; and as an additional staff of servants naturally meant increased expenditure, such companies were sometimes led, from motives of false economy, to limit the number of their servants, and to prolong their hours of labour. It was a frightful thing that human life should be placed in hourly danger from considerations such as this. Many of those servants were placed in positions of great responsibility in regard to the public safety, and hours were enforced upon them which rendered it almost hopeless for them properly to discharge their duties. Within the last few months several very serious cases of this sort had come to light. An accident occurred on the Caledonian Railway, where two people were killed and 11 injured, and Colonel Hutchinson, the Inspector, reported that the porters' hours were very long, extending in winter from half-past 4 in the morning until the station closed at 9 at night — but that the duties were not severe. In the case of another accident, at Wigan, Colonel Hutchinson reported that the signalmen in one cabin were on duty once every other week for 23 hours at a spell; and after the inquiry arising out of the Sydenham accident Colonel Yolland reported that the guard of the train had sent in his resignation on the ground that the number of hours he was required to work were too long, amounting sometimes for two or three days consecutively to 18 hours a-day. This state of things, Colonel

Yolland said, was not fair to the man, nor right to the public. Another case occurred last year, resulting in the death of a station-master, named Henry Addey, on the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, and at the inquest the station-master's wife stated that her husband had sole charge of the station, and had no one to help him; and that though he had applied for assistance, as the business of the station had increased, none had been given to him. That man had sometimes been kept at work until 1 o'clock in the morning, and had to be up again at 5 o'clock, for the line was a single one, and required great attention. He (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) did not wish to raise any feeling against the railway companies; he wanted to point out that these things did exist, that they were prejudicial to the public safety, and that they formed a strong argument for some better system of inspection than now existed—an inspection entirely apart from the actual machinery of railway companies. At present the Government inspection was limited to the inspection of lines previous to their being opened, and to the power of inspecting the permanent way of any line on a representation of the necessity for such inspection being made; but the Board of Trade had no power to enforce the adoption of any recommendation that might result from their inquiries. Even where a line had been inspected by the Board of Trade before it was opened, its system might be entirely changed to one less conducive to public safety, after it was opened, without any reference to the Board of Trade. Remonstrances and recommendations made by the Board of Trade to railway companies were, in point of fact, only valuable as showing that the Board was doing its work, but were not at all valuable as weapons or instruments by which the Board could act upon railway companies. In the case of the London and North-Western, and Lancashire and Yorkshire joint railway station at Preston, Colonel Tyler, one of the most experienced of the Board of Trade Inspectors, said it was hopeless and useless to recommend any partial alteration, and that the Board had often remonstrated with both companies in regard to the general condition of their station. Before the Committee which sat last year Mr. Grierson, of the Great Western Railway, said the block system had never been adopted on any portion of that line, in consequence of the recommendation of the Board of Trade. Here was a case in which a grave accident occurred, and which the directors admitted might have been prevented if a certain system of working the lines had been in force. The Board of Trade had recommended that it should be put in force, but months after it was proved that they had never been influenced by the recommendations of the Board, but were still considering the question and acting upon their own ideas. The railway directors, and particularly the directors of old companies, would, no doubt, allege that these were commercial undertakings, and that it would be unjust to subject them to interference and to supervision other than those which were imposed by the Acts which created them. But he did not think that objection of much weight. The case had very much changed since the older companies were created. Let the House look at the enormous increase of traffic on the lines. The Returns showed an increase of 18,000,000 in the number of passenger tickets issued between 1867 and the last Returns—the gross receipts on goods traffic had risen from £5,500,000 in 1849, to £13,200,000 in 1859, and £22,262,000 in 1869. The consequence of this increase of traffic was necessarily a corresponding increase in the number of trains and miles run, and in the danger to the public which was never contemplated when the existing Acts were passed. If such a state of things had been contemplated when the companies obtained their Acts, he felt sure that Parliament would have taken larger powers for the central inspection of railways, and would have provided for greater publicity in regard to the details of railway management. This being so, he thought he now had good ground for saying that some legislation was necessary in the interests of the public. The directors might say that they were bound by their Acts of Parliament to certain fares, and that unless a dividend was guaranteed no one had a right to interfere with the machinery by which they conducted their work. But, although he did not dispute that, he might say that the fares laid down in the Acts were never enforced—that the companies were working at a rate below that which they might work;

so that that argument did not possess the value some attached to it. In considering the question of railway direction and management through their own boards, the public had a right to ask if it was altogether an impartial direction. Now, when the board had to consider the question of a dividend for the next general meeting, and the interests of the shareholders, they were to a certain extent biassed against improvements. The system of railway management was greatly subdivided. The directors were mainly dependent for information both as to the material and the working of the line on the superintendents of departments. These superintendents were naturally anxious to keep down the expenses of their particular departments; and he had been informed by several of them that they had, on the recommendation of the Board of Trade, pointed out certain improvements which would greatly conduce to the working of the lines and the safety of the public; but that, after making one or two suggestions on the subject, they had received an intimation from the secretary, or some other official, that they were beginning to be troublesome and had better not interfere further. That was another argument in favour of the necessity of adopting some system of inspection which would have the power of making public the recommendations made with respect to particular railways, and pointing out those which had been neglected. One thing was quite clear—that, whether the system of management was right or wrong, the fact of the increase of accidents was a sad truth. As traffic increased, accidents increased, but he greatly feared that the precautions did not travel quite so fast as the disaster. He might be met by the argument that, considering the enormous amount of traffic, the proportion of accidents was infinitesimal. The last Returns showed that the number of passenger tickets issued last year was 305,000,000; whereas, in France, in 1869, the whole number of passengers did not amount to 90,000,000. Now, he did not say that the number of accidents was large in proportion to the traffic; but he did say that a large number of the accidents were preventable, and that in such cases companies could hardly be considered as doing their duty to the public if they did not avoid them. He had a table which showed the number of accidents which occurred in 1867, 1868, 1869, and 1870. He had endeavoured to separate what he could call "collisions proper"—what in railway phraseology was known by the less elegant term of a "pitch-in"—from other classes of accidents. In 1867 the number of avoidable collisions was 65, and of accidents from all other causes 41—total 106. In 1868 the number of avoidable collisions was 46, and of accidents from other causes 55—total 101. In 1869 the number of avoidable collisions was 77, and of accidents from other causes 47—total 124. In 1870 the number of avoidable collisions was 97, and of other accidents 35. The deaths from the avoidable collisions in 1867 were 27, and from other accidents, 8. The deaths from avoidable collisions in 1868 were 41, and from other accidents, 8. The deaths in 1869 from avoidable collisions were 15, and from other accidents, 17. The deaths from avoidable collisions in 1870 were 62, and from other accidents, 26. The number of persons injured from avoidable collisions in 1867 was 544, and from other accidents, 213. The number injured from avoidable collisions in 1868 was 409, and from other accidents, 156. The number injured from avoidable collisions in 1869 was 923, and from other accidents, 226. The number injured from avoidable collisions in 1870 was 969, and from other accidents, 231. Thus in the course of four years the number of deaths from avoidable collisions was 145 as against 59 from all other accidents. The number injured from avoidable collisions was 2,845 as against 826 from all other accidents. Between the 14th of November and the 16th of December last year the number killed from avoidable collisions was 27, and the number seriously injured was 108. It was not surprising that the public feeling had been somewhat roused on this subject; and the inquiry arose, was it not possible to adopt some plan by which avoidable accidents should be prevented, and which would not diminish the efficiency of the working of our railways throughout the country? And he should like to ask whether anything had been recommended which carried out the idea that greater security might be effected? He could refer to the opinions of those highly scientific and experienced gentlemen, the Inspectors of the Board of Trade, who were likely to form more impartial judgments than the directors, founded on a little more knowledge of what was taking place on different lines. These gentlemen had constantly recommended the adoption of the block system, which was a system of maintaining intervals between trains, as the most effectual means of avoiding collisions. In 1868 and 1869 they 28 times recommended the block system to different boards of directors, and in most of these instances they stated that the accidents to which their Reports referred might have been prevented if the absolute block system had been in operation. Whilst in 1870 the Reports showed that they had 25 times recommended it to boards of directors. Colonel Yolland, in one of his Reports, expressed a hope that the Legislature would compulsory introduce the absolute block system on all railways, or empower some public department to make it compulsory. Captain Tyler, Colonel Rich, and Colonel Hutchinson had also impressed on directors the necessity of adopting the block system as the best security against accidents. And the jury appointed to investigate the causes of the Harrow accident expressed an opinion that in all cases an absolute block system should be legally enforced, and that the hours of working of the signalmen were excessive. With regard to break-power, the value and importance of a sufficiency of break-power had been repeatedly pointed out by the Inspectors. They had repeated, again and again, in their various Reports that if a continuous break-power had been in the hands of the persons conducting the train, certain accidents might not have occurred, and that these serious effects might have been greatly diminished. For example, with reference to the collision in Watford tunnel, Colonel Hutchinson said that collision again pointed to the value of continuous breaks; that the servants of the London and North-Western Company in the mail train seemed to have done their duty on the occasion, in promptly using the means they had at their disposal for stopping the train, and yet it ran 870 yards past the distant signal, and 70 past the main signal, with a remaining velocity of 10 miles an hour. As to the Brighouse collision, on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, through which 1 person was killed and 20 injured, Captain Tyler said it was fortunately due to the circumstance that the guard was provided with ample break-power that 20 or 30 passengers instead of one were not killed. He (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) thought few people would deny that continuous break-power applied to a train did materially assist those in charge in stopping the train in case an accident should be imminent, because the break could be worked both by the driver and the guard. The directors might meet his argument by saying—"We are aware of the advantages of the block system—we admit that it is a great improvement, but we wish you to leave it to us—we do not wish to have the interference of any central authority, and prefer carrying out the system on our own lines as fast as we can." He (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had no doubt that the directors of many of the lines entertained that opinion, and were setting to work in real earnest. But it was not those lines that his Bill would affect—he wished to touch those lines the directors of which had set their faces against the working out of that system, and he thought some authority ought to be established to enforce the carrying out of a system which must be so greatly to the advantage of the public. To show that railway travelling was not so safe as many people imagined, and that some better protection was necessary for public safety, he would refer to the Report of Captain Tyler on the working of a portion of the Lancashire and Yorkshire line. After pointing out the immense number of trains running over that portion of the line in the course of a day, he states that the following regulation exists:—

> "The signalman will observe that passenger trains are timed to run at intervals of two, three, four, or five minutes; they are, therefore, requested to stop any second train which may arrive within the five minutes, and inform the engine-driver what he has got before him."

Now, what was the position of an engine-driver with a train two minutes in front of him, and another only three minutes behind him? Why, it was almost impossible to avoid accidents. The public generally were not aware that rules existed allowing trains to run under such perilous circumstances. Captain Tyler went on to say that such a system of working was not safe on any line, but it was most objectionable on a line of heavy gradients, and on which the view was obstructed. That was the result of allowing directors to act entirely upon their own views. If any proof were wanting of the advantages of the block system, he would refer to a comparison drawn between some of the lines worked on that system and those which were worked in the present manner. He had taken seven lines which were worked in part on the block system during the past year. The London, Brighton, and South Coast have, with 351 miles of working, had 128 miles of the block system. The number of collisions in 1870 was 2, in which 1 person was killed and 45 were wounded. On the Great Western line, of 1,387 miles, 368 miles under the block system, there had been 1 collision by which 7 persons had been injured. On the London and South Western line, of 657 miles, with 174 miles under the block system, the number of collisions was 1, and 2 persons had been killed and 1 wounded. On the Great Northern line, of 609 miles, with 68 miles under the block system, there had been 2 accidents and 1 person was killed and 5 injured. On the Midland line, of 947 miles, with 85 miles under the block system, there had been 9 collisions, in which no persons were killed and 84 wounded. On the Lancashire and Yorkshire line, of 423 miles, with 27 miles under the block system, there had been 10 accidents, by which 2 persons had been killed and 79 wounded. On the London and North Western line, of 1,477 miles, with 69 miles under the block system, there had been 29 collisions, by which 13 persons had been killed and 310 injured. He would now take two lines, on which there were no blocks, or comparatively none. The Manchester and Sheffield had 333 miles, and no system of block, as far as he was aware, and there had been 2 accidents, with 15 persons killed and 73 wounded. The North Eastern had 1,275 miles, and no block; there had been 11 accidents, with 4 persons killed, and 71 wounded. Let them now turn to the companies in which the block system prevailed. The South Eastern had 327 miles blocked. There had been no collision last year at all. The North Staffordshire had 182 miles blocked, and there had been no collision. The London, Chatham, and Dover had 139 miles, all under block; there had been no collision. The Rymney Railway had 25 miles blocked; no collision. The North London, 12 miles long, and blocked, but carrying an immense traffic, had had only 1 accident, in which 3 persons were injured. The Metropolitan line, 15 miles long, and all blocked, had had 2 accidents, in which 18 persons were injured. These statistics would speak clearly enough for the advantages of the block system. He might, perhaps, be told that the traffic on the southern lines was not a mineral, but principally a passenger traffic. That was true; but the passenger traffic on these six lines was enormous. On the six lines 93,299,000 tickets were issued last year, as against 146,000,000 on the other 9 lines. The block system had been shown to be quite possible to work with enormous traffic, and without hindrance to it. He would next turn to an important point—namely, railway compensation, and it came before the Committee last year. The railway directors had issued a circular on the point — which was not altogether accurate — in which they said that this Bill was promoted by the minority of the Committee. It was true that they were in a minority; but the House would remember that after he had given Notice of his Committee, the hon. Member for the Eastern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. Denison) stepped into his place and also moved for a Committee, which was accepted by the Board of Trade, and he (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had only been able, in conjunction with the hon. Member for Lincoln (Mr. Hinde Palmer), to move an Instruction to the Committee that it should also inquire into the causes of railway accidents. The Bill, however, was not the Bill of the minority of that Committee, though he had endeavoured to prepare it in a friendly spirit, so far as he could do so consistently with his views on the subject. The Bill had arisen out of the attempts that he had been making during the last three years to call attention to this subject, and he was prepared even if the Committee had not sat, to do what he could to enlist the feeling and interest of the public on the subject. The witnesses who had been called before the Committee were for the most part gentlemen who came there for a particular object; but of 12 called by the railway interest, nine gave evidence in favour of the block system, and only two—namely, the managers of the North Eastern and the Great Western

—distinctly stated that they had an objection to it. The evidence would leave no doubt in the mind of any reasonable man that, in the opinion of the most competent and practical men, the block system might be adopted with eminent advantage to the public safety. In regard, also, to the system of continuous breaks the superintendent of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway said that he had worked it, and with success, notwithstanding that they were obliged to break their trains up more than any other company. He believed that if the principles of this Bill were accepted, they would make railways as safe as they could reasonably be. Perfect immunity from accident no one expected; but the public had the right to demand that all reasonable precautions should be adopted. In framing the Bill he had aimed at giving a greater amount of power to a central authority; but if the feeling of hostility was too strong on the score of centralization, the Bill was drawn in such a way that the clauses 4th, 5th, and 6th on the subject might be withdrawn. The 7th clause enlarged the powers of inspection which the Board of Trade already possessed in a qualified form, and gave authority to enforce penalties after inspection, with the right of appeal, however, on the part of the railway companies. Power was also given to examine into the question of long hours, but in that particular without authority to enforce penalties, because he held that once public opinion was brought to bear on railway companies through the publication of the results of inspection, these companies would be unable to resist its pressure. He had altered the provision with regard to the tribunal that was to award compensation in order to meet the statements made before the Committee of last year, that the present tribunal subjected companies to grievous frauds, and that in many cases the verdicts were anything but in accordance with the justice of the case. He proposed, therefore, to establish a court of arbitration similar to that which existed with respect to working men's trains on many lines, and he ventured to think that such a court would prove a very successful check to cases of fraud and injustice against railway companies. As a private Member he had endeavoured to grapple with a subject which ought properly to be dealt with by the Government. He had, perhaps, been led into that error by his success on another question; but if the Government would only say that they were ready to take it up he should be satisfied to leave the matter in their hands, his only object being that greater security for the public should be provided.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

Mr. LEEMAN, in moving that the Bill be read a second time upon that day six months, said, he would endeavour to remove a very unnecessary degree of alarm which might be excited in the public mind by the speech of the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson). He avowed that he represented the railway nterest in the opposition he should offer to the measure. He denied in the strongest manner that the question of expense ever prevented the railway directors from carrying out what they deemed to be improvements; indeed, the fact was that men who had a practical knowledge of the working of railways had been obliged in many respects to disagree with the engineers of the Board of Trade, not one of whom had ever had practical experience of the working of railways. The managers of the different railways had given evidence entirely different in its effect from that which the hon. Baronet had deduced; and were it not that he did not wish to weary the House, he (Mr. Leeman) could show by that evidence that they had instructions from the directors to adopt all such improvements as they believed to be real. Indeed, if railway directors were satisfied of the soundness of the improvements suggested, it would be to their interest that they should be made; for when an accident occurred the companies had to meet the claims, in many cases exaggerated, of the injured and of the relatives of those who were killed. He asked the House to give railway directors—many of whom, like himself, had been connected with railway management for 25 years—credit for ordinary business knowledge, and for common sense. The evidence of Colonel Yolland and Captain Tyler had been referred to. But what were the facts? Why, Colonel Yolland and Captain Tyler when examined before the Committee differed in most important points; and when that was the case the directors felt that they would be doing harm rather than good if they were to adopt many things which had been recommended. There was no doubt that collisions had occurred upon the large northern railways; but the House must be aware of the difference between the working of railways in the northern and southern portions of the kingdom. When the hon. Baronet spoke of the 97 collisions or train accidents which had occurred it would have been only fair to give the actual work which was done upon the lines where these collisions took place. A great run had been made against the London and North-Western. That railway had no less than 1,500 miles of line; it traversed districts where the population was most dense; there were necessarily a vast number of junctions; and altogether there was no railway in the kingdom, except a portion of the North-Eastern, where greater difficulty in the working existed. The hon. Baronet had said that 29 collisions had occurred on the London and North-Western in the course of last year. But then it should be remembered that the London and North-Western had from 1,300 to 1,500 locomotive engines, and between 3,000 and 4,000 passenger carriages in daily running. That company ran daily 2,000 coal waggons of its own, not to speak of the waggons belonging to coal-owners and other companies, about 2,000 cattle waggons, 20,000 goods waggons; a total of 30,000 vehicles. The engines of that railway had run over 25,000,000 miles in the course of the year, and carried 30,000,000 passengers and 23,000,000 tons of goods and minerals. That being so, and seeing that only 29 collisions had occurred, some of them very insignificant in their character, he thought he might adopt the language of Captain Tyler and say that "it was a perfect marvel." On the North-Eastern there had been 11 collisions. But the House should bear in mind the country through which the North-Eastern passed. It traversed the whole district between the Humber and the Tweed, embracing the great coal districts on the Tees, the Wear, and the Tyne. It had 1,300 miles of line, 800 locomotives; it ran daily 1,500 passenger carriages and vans, 25,000 coal waggons, nearly 1,500 cattle waggons, and 15,000 goods waggons; making a total of 45,000 vehicles. That company ran 16,000,000 of miles, and carried 13,000,000 of passengers, and 23,000,000 of tons of goods and minerals last year. The Midland, to which the hon. Baronet had referred, ran over nearly as populous a district as any in the kingdom; it had 937 miles of rail, 850 locomotives, 1,750 passenger carriages, 1,000 of its own coal waggons, besides those of coal-owners, 1,600 cattle waggons, 16,000 goods waggons, and a total of about 20,000 vehicles. It ran during the year over 17,000,000 miles, and carried 16,000,000 passengers, and yet the number of collisions was only 9. He came next to the Lancashire and Yorkshire, which traversed a district reminding one of a great beehive, embracing Liverpool, Manchester, and several of the large towns of the West Riding, and on which there was a junction at almost every two or three miles. It had a mileage of 428 miles, it possessed 483 locomotive engines, 1,600 passenger carriages, 790 coal waggons, 13,000 goods waggons, and 1,100 cattle waggons. The distance traversed was 9,500,000 miles, the number of passengers carried was 23,000,000, and the quantity of merchandise carried amounted to almost the same number of tons. The number of collisions on the line was 12. The Caledonian traversed the great line between Carlisle and Edinburgh and Glasgow, and ran over 8,500,000 miles annually, and carried 9,000,000 passengers, and almost as many tons of goods, and upon it there were 9 accidents. The North-British ran about 6,000,000 of miles annually, and upon it the number of collisions was 5. On the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire line there were 3 collisions, there being nearly 4,000,000 miles traversed annually, and the number of passengers carried being about 7,000,000. The Great Western, which traversed the West of England and part of South Wales, had 738 miles of railway, it ran over 16,000,000 miles, and carried 23,000,000 passengers, and there were 3 collisions. The Great Northern ran through a great mineral district of Yorkshire, and took the towns of Leeds and Bradford. It ran over 9,000,000 miles in the year, and carried 9,500,000 passengers, and many millions of tons of goods, and the entire number of collisions on the Great Northern Railway was 3. The South-Western had 657 miles of railway. It ran over 6,500,000 miles annually, and carried 13,000,000 passengers, and the number of accidents was 2. He was anxious to put the House in possession of these statistics, inasmuch as the railways he had quoted constituted 10 of the great lines on which the collisions complained of had taken place during the last year.

Mr. BASS said, that the hon. Member had not mentioned the number of collisions of goods trains.

Mr. LEEMAN said, that was not the point to which the attention of the House had been directed. What they were considering was the safety of human life and limb. They were not considering the safety of the barrels of beer which were transported in such quantities from the hon. Member's brewery at Burton. The hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had called attention to the loss of lives of railway servants, and to their long hours of working. He (Mr. Leeman) denied the allegation that the companies were indifferent as to the safety of their servants, and those who had inquired into the matter had found how devoid of weight was that charge. The hon. Baronet had said that on the 4,000 miles of the southern lines there had not been the proportion of accidents which there were on the northern lines. But that was easily accounted for when the relative amount of traffic was considered. There was not the same amount of traffic, and consequently there was not the same difficulty in working the lines. When the hon. Baronet told the House that the various officials called before the Committee of last year were one and all in favour of adopting the block system —for that was the impression sought to be produced on the House—he forgot to state the fact that not one of them, not even Captain Tyler himself, but was obliged to admit that the block system was one about which differences of opinion existed among the most experienced of the railway managers. If the 4th, 5th, and 6th clauses of the Bill of the hon. Baronet, which seemed to have been introduced by way of a sop to the Board of Trade, were to pass into law the result would be that the officers of the Board of Trade would be empowered to enter and examine the premises of the railway companies throughout the entire kingdom, and that men in the position of Colonel Yolland and Captain Tyler would have authority to make changes in the construction of all their locomotives and rolling stock, the products of the genius of such men as Stephenson. [Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson was understood to say that it was not his intention to press the clauses to which the hon. Gentleman referred.] If the clauses were to be withdrawn, and they had been proposed merely in a speculative spirit, then there was, he maintained, great reason why hon. Members should look with suspicion on the remaining portions of the Bill—such as the clauses which would enforce on all railway companies the adoption of the block system, whether they deemed it to be right or wrong. The short answer of those companies, he might add, to the measure of the hon. Baronet was that if, as the result of the labours of the Select Committee of last year, which had conducted its inquiry into the subject with the greatest impartiality, it was thought expedient that legislation should follow, that legislation ought to have proceeded from the Board of Trade and the Government, and not from a private Member, who sought to carry out the views of what was, after all, only a minority of the Committee which had considered the question. The railway companies asked for nothing but that in favour of which the Committee itself had reported. The railway interest was prepared to adopt the Report of the Committee, but the hon. Baronet wished them to put in action the opinion of the minority. He thought the hon. Baronet had formed very extraordinary ideas as to the evidence of witnesses with reference to the working of the block system. Mr. Allport, the manager of the Midland Railway, had probably had the greatest experience of any man in England on these subjects. That gentleman, in the course of his evidence, did not deny that the block system had its advantages as applied to main lines; but he denied that it could be put into operation over every branch line of railway. Both Mr. Allport and Mr. Cawkwell, the manager of the London and North Western, would tell the hon. Baronet that it would be impossible to adopt the system indiscriminately. He was surprised that the hon. Baronet should suppose that Mr. Cawkwell was in favour of the block system as it had been advocated by the hon. Baronet. Mr. Allport, no doubt, admitted that, to some extent, it would diminish the chance of accidents; but unless they could make men perfect they must by no means imagine that the adoption of the block system would prevent accidents; and if, under it, accidents did happen, they would probably be frequently of a worse character. No doubt the adoption of the block system would cause additional cost to railway companies; but he (Mr. Leeman) denied that it was the habit of directors to refuse to spend money for the purpose of promoting the security of the public.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that witnesses brought in favour of the railway companies admitted the advantages of the block system.

Mr. LEEMAN contended that the universal application of the block system, which the hon. Baronet sought to enforce, was not desirable, and that in some cases it would be impracticable. A very strong objection existed to lodging in the hands of the Board of Trade such exclusive powers as those with which it had been proposed to invest them. Mr. Allport, in his evidence, also said that he differed from many of the opinions of the Board of Trade Inspectors; and added, that he could mention several accidents—and serious one, too—which had taken place where the block system was in operation. It might be very well for Parliament to order railway companies to adopt particular systems, but would the Board of Trade and Parliament take the responsibility that might result, or was all the responsibility still to be left upon the companies? Even the Board of Trade Inspectors did not agree among themselves. Colonel Yolland had stated his opinion to be entirely in accordance with that of the hon. Baronet who had brought in this measure—that the adoption of the block system should be forced upon railway companies; whilst Captain Tyler said that he did not agree with Colonel Yolland. Caplain Tyler said that he did not agree that it was desirable that the Board of Trade should have power to compel railway companies to do certain things. He thought that this would have a very mischievous tendency; that it would take responsibility from the directors and put it upon the Board of Trade. Captain Tyler further said that he was quite opposed to the principle of the Board of Trade saying to a railway company—"You shall do this, or you must not do that." He (Captain Tyler) thought that if the Board of Trade were to interfere in the details of the management of railways, they should take them altogether in their own hands, and manage them; but that anything short of that would be very mischievous. In answer to another question, he said that the less they interfered with the working of railways the better, because if they interfered the responsibility must fall upon the Inspector. Captain Tyler conceived it to be an entirely wrong principle that they, who were not daily watching events on each particular railway, should control the management. It would be ridiculous for anybody to interfere with the management of railways unless they had the control from day to day. Railways required supervision from hour to hour, and from minute to minute, and for anybody who had not the perfect control of the railways to attempt to manage them from Whitehall, would be a perfect absurdity. Having heard such evidence, the Committee, he (Mr. Leeman) need hardly say, declined to report in favour of any such proposals as those which were contained in the Bill before the House. They stated that they had received evidence in support of the block system, as well as in reference to signals and the system of continuous breaks, and concluded by saying that they recommended that evidence to the careful consideration of boards of directors. At that point their Report stopped, and the Government had not since deemed it to be their duty to enforce such rules as the hon. Baronet recommended. The railway companies had, however, paid every deference to the Report of the Committee, and the block system was gradually being brought into operation on all the great main lines throughout the country. The London and North-Western Company had, so far as their main line was concerned, adopted the system very extensively, and the same observation applied to the Midland, the Great Northern, the Great Western, and the South-Western lines. The railway companies, however, objected to the Bill, inasmuch as its effect would be to produce an interference on the part of the Board of Trade, which, according to the evidence of Captain Tyler, was calculated to be most mischievous, while they were prepared to have recourse to the block system wherever, as practical men, they thought it would work advantageously. The same remark applied to a system of continuous breaks, as to the safety of different descriptions of which the greatest difference of opinion prevailed among engineers; and to show that the great railway companies were not opposed to the introduction of improvements, he might state that there was under consideration an invention of a French engineer of a nature entirely distinct from those breaks to which the hon. Baronet had referred, by means of which a more powerful break would be put on the engine itself than any which had hitherto been devised. Any legislation of this character must have the effect of preventing the adoption on railways of mechanical improvements which might from time to time be made. With regard to the third head of the Bill, relating to compensation, the railway companies were perfectly willing to adopt the principle of the Report of the Committee of last year, when a measure embodying it was brought forward by a responsible Minister. The railway interest was one of the most important in the kingdom, involving a capital of £600,000,000. He need hardly apologize for defending such an interest.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Leeman.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. DODSON said, they were much indebted to the hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex for the care and attention he had devoted to this subject, and for the able manner in which he had brought it before the House. He had, indeed, given them three Bills in one—*tria juncta in uno.* As to the first part, entitled the "Traffic Regulation," it proposed to compel railway companies to work on the block and continuous break system, and it gave power to the Board of Trade to order railways to adopt other improvements. Now, it was evident that these systems of working were matters upon which the opinions of experts differed. The Railway Commissioners entered into the question most elaborately some years ago, and they decided in favour of leaving to the companies the responsibility of working their lines in their own way; and the Committee of last year were evidently of the same opinion, for having taken evidence, they simply recommend it to the attention of directors. As one of the public, he (Mr. Dodson) entirely concurred in that view, and thought that they must leave to those who had the management of railways the selection of the mode and the instruments by which they would work them. It appeared to him that to give to the Board of Trade power to order the adoption of any kind of break, or any other machinery or instrument in the working of railways, must have an injurious effect by relieving the directors from responsibility. And it would certainly place a check upon the ingenuity of inventors, for if any central power had authority to order the adoption of a particular system upon all lines there would not be so much chance as there now was for a new invention. Therefore, he was opposed to the first part of the Bill, even with the modifications which the hon. Baronet was willing to introduce. The second part of the Bill related to the system of inquiries respecting railway accidents. The law on that subject was now very imperfect and unsatisfactory. Under the Act of 1840 the Board of Trade was empowered to call upon railway companies to make Returns of accidents attended with personal injury. Under the Act of 1842 the Board had power to call for Returns of "serious" accidents, whether attended with personal injury or not. By another clause in the same Act it was also provided that railway companies should, within 48 hours after the occurrence of an accident attended with serious personal injury to a passenger, notify the same to the Board of Trade, who might order an inquiry into the causes of the accident. The Board also had powers to inspect railways, and to ascertain before a new line was opened that it was fit for traffic. These inquiries were, he believed, optional on both sides, the Board of Trade not being obliged to institute them, while the railway companies were not bound to furnish information. How imperfect were the Returns of accidents obtained by the Board of Trade was apparent from a comparison between the Reports of accidents annually laid before the House by the Board of Trade and the Reports of the Registrar General. Thus, in 1868, according to the Reports of the Board of Trade, the deaths in England and Wales from railway accidents were stated at 150. According to the Report of the Registrar General the number of persons killed by railways in the same year was 797. Such a statement was of itself conclusive evidence that some amendment was required in the law respecting inquiries into railway accidents. He, therefore, cordially approved of the principle of the second part of the Bill.

In the third part, that dealing with compensation for accidents, the hon. Baronet had grappled boldly with a very difficult and complicated subject, and proposed extensive changes in the law. As it stood, every impartial person must admit that the law bore hardly on railway companies. Carriers of goods on land had the benefit of a limit of value beyond which they could not be liable, except in the case of enumerated goods, where the consignor notified their character and paid higher rates. Again, carriers by sea could in a measure specify beforehand the conditions on which they would convey the goods and the risks for which they would not be answerable. But in the conveyance of passengers railway companies enjoyed no such protection. Practically their liability was unlimited. They must carry everybody that came—whether a labourer whose life, in a pecuniary point of view, was of little value, or a professional man earning an enormous income whose life was of very great value; and the administration of the law was such that a railway company was liable for every accident unless it could show it to have been unavoidable, or to have arisen from some act of negligence on the part of the passenger himself. The railway companies complained of the administration of the law in this respect even more than they did of the law itself; for juries were disposed to show scant mercy to those whom they regarded as wealthy companies. To meet this state of things a variety of remedies had been proposed. The Royal Commissioners of 1857, among other things, recommended a maximum of compensation according to the class of passengers injured, beyond which railway companies should not be liable. The Committee of last year recommended the establishment of a special tribunal or court of arbitration without a jury to settle these questions, but did not propose to limit the liability of railway companies. Yet it was impossible to close our eyes to the fact, that while the law was hard upon the companies, that which constituted their danger formed, in a great measure, the security of the public against acts of carelessness. Parliament must, therefore, be extremely careful in any changes which might be adopted. The case of workmen's trains had been quoted as an instance in point. But the limit of £100 fixed in these cases as compensation was only allowed in return for the obligation imposed upon suburban railway companies of running workmen's trains at specified hours, and at extremely low fares — namely, 1*d.* per journey for distances of five, six, and in one instance of very nearly eight miles. The hon. Baronet proposed to give the companies the benefit both of the limitation or concession which had been recommended by the Railway Commissioners and of that approved by the Committee of last year. It appeared to him (Mr. Dodson) that in this, as in other parts of his Bill, the hon. Baronet had run into extremes. For his part, if he were to make a selection between the two alternatives which had been proposed, he preferred the appointment of a special tribunal without a jury. Such a court would diminish the expenses of litigation, now very heavy, amounting often to one-fifth or even one-fourth of the amount of compensation awarded. But he would not limit the amount of compensation to be awarded, because the unlimited liability of railway companies afforded a wholesome protection for the public, and kept a sword over the heads of the companies in cases of accidents arising from their own carelessness. He thought, too, that railway companies would find it ultimately to their advantage that claims for compensation should be settled by a Court without a jury, and without a maximum, rather than by a jury with a maximum; for juries would probably very often solve the difficulty by awarding the maximum. Moreover, if no maximum were fixed there would be no necessity to enter upon the consideration of any system of insurance of the passenger by the railway company. To the first part of the Bill, then, he was entirely opposed; as regarded the second part, that relating to inquiries, he entirely approved of the principle of it; and as regarded the third part of the Bill—that relating to compensation—he approved of the principle of it generally, and was prepared to adopt several of the provisions for giving effect to it. But the body that was to carry out both the second and third parts of the Bill was the Board of Trade, and it appeared to him that the Board should propose the machinery necessary for that purpose. If the Board of Trade were prepared to introduce a measure adopting the principles, contained in the second and third parts of the Bill, he thought the hon. Baronet might be satisfied and withdraw the measure. But if the Board of Trade declined to take that course, or if their "trumpet blew an uncertain sound," he should be prepared to vote for the second reading, as a protest in favour of the principles contained in the second and third parts, reserving to himself the right of opposing at a future stage the parts of the Bill to which he objected.

MR. HINDE PALMER said, it had been alleged against the present Bill that it had emanated from the minority of the Committee, and discredit was thrown upon it in consequence. The Committee was proposed in the interest of the railway companies, and its inquiries were directed to cutting down the limit of responsibility by the companies to the public; and the present Bill originated from a rider which he (Mr. H. Palmer) had proposed to the terms of the reference, whereby a vast amount of evidence had been elucidated in the course of the inquiry in regard to the precautions which should be adopted by the railway companies in favour of the public. The Committee having been moved for with the view to diminish the responsibility of railway companies in the amount of damages, it was not to be expected that those who suggested the rider he had referred to would be able to carry any strong Report in favour of the adoption of the precautions they deemed necessary; and it was, consequently, a legitimate course on their part to attempt now to obtain something by direct legislation. That part of the Bill which conferred additional power on the Board of Trade in case of railway accidents was most valuable, and would, no doubt, be accepted by the House. Whatever objections might be entertained to it could be urged in Committee on the Bill; but he certainly thought that if the railway companies were to be exempted from full liability in cases of accidents, they must be compelled to adopt necessary precautions for the security of life and person. A very large amount of damages had been awarded as compensation against companies, and he found that in 1868 the amount was nearly £500,000; and in 1869, £469,255. But that was not all, because there was a large amount of destruction and injury to the rolling stock. The House, however, must not take these figures as relating to passengers only, because they had relation to injury for goods destroyed on the line. The amount of compensation in 1869 to passengers amounted to £333,000; but though the amount was so large, it furnished no substantial check on the railway companies. These injuries were increasing instead of diminishing. In 1869 the total number of passengers killed was 39 only; but in 1870, there were 90 passengers killed. This increase was the reason why some preventionary system should be adopted to protect the interests of the public. The hon. Baronet had referred to some mechanical precautions, and particularly to the "block system," the evidence in favour of which was most overwhelming. Though the "block system" did not prevent all accidents, it undoubtedly tended to diminish their number greatly, and therefore it was desirable that all railway companies should be compelled to adopt it. If the Government could not undertake to deal with this question, he thought the Bill should be pressed to a second reading, with the view of having it amended in Committee in the manner which the House thought most beneficial to the public, without neglecting the fair claims of railway companies.

MR. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE said, that after the alarming railway accidents of last year, he was not surprised that the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) should have thought it his duty to bring before the House, as he had done in a most candid and public-spirited manner, the painful subject of the largely increased amount of railway accidents. He thought the public had a right to complain of the extent to which railway accidents had increased of late, and were justified in thinking that, with a reasonable degree of care, they might be prevented. The fact that railway accidents had largely increased during 1870 was one which the hon. Baronet was justified in bringing under the notice of the House, and to which the House, as well as railway directors, were bound to give their best attention. With regard to the Bill, he must say that in the second and third parts there were many matters well deserving the careful attention of the House. In the first part the hon. Baronet, like a bold man, attempted to prevent these lamentable railway accidents by the direct influence of Governmental and Parliamentary interference. That was the portion of the measure with which it was necessary mainly to deal. He (Mr. C. Fortescue) was not prepared to preach a doctrine of absolute non-intervention between the House on the one side and the railway companies on the other, for he did not see how it was possible, under present circumstances, for the House to maintain the principle of "peace at any price." They would have to look to their position, and satisfy the public that they had done their best to prevent a recurrence of those accidents which had caused such a terrible loss of life and property. At the same time, the policy of compulsory intervention advocated by the hon. Baronet was beset with dangers and difficulties. Even in a more modified form his proposal would be attended with disadvantages. The Government, acting from the outside upon the management of a railway company, could not obtain that amount of power which would be equal to the responsibility that the hon. Baronet attempted to impose. It was essential that the power should remain with the managing body of these great enterprizes, and interference by a Government Department in the manner provided by the Bill would have the effect of separating responsibility from power. As the Chairman of Committees (Mr. Dodson) had pointed out, an attempt to apply to railway companies such appliances as Parliament might think necessary would be attended with the great danger of paralyzing all attempts to introduce improvements and new inventions on the part of those who were responsible for the management of railways, and if they were told that they must adopt a certain piece of mechanism, he was not without apprehension that in some future accident the public would be maimed and mangled in strict compliance with the Act of Parliament. This was a difficulty of a serious nature lying in the way of the legislation proposed by the hon. Baronet. He did not quite understand why the hon. Baronet had sought to lower the authority of the Committee of last year; but, at any rate, that Committee thoroughly investigated the subject of the "block system," and he wished to place before the House specimens of the evidence given in reference to the proposals embodied in the Bill. Upon this point Captain Tyler, the eminent Railway Inspector, stated, in his evidence before the Committee—

"I am quite opposed to the principle of the Board of Trade saying to a railway company you shall do this, or you must do that; I think that is a wrong principle. . . It would take the saddle from the right horse and put it on the wrong one."

Again—

"It is not that I am at all afraid of responsibility, but that I conceive it to be an entirely wrong principle."

He would next quote the opinion of a gentleman who at one time was an important member of the Board of Trade. Mr. Samuel Laing said—

"If the Board of Trade can see their way to take the responsibility of saying what shall be done, and therefore assuming the principal responsibility for the safety of the public on railways, I, as a railway director, should not object. . . . . I should be very glad, indeed, if the Board of Trade would pronounce authoritative decisions. I should feel that I was free from responsibility if I obeyed."

He would also refer to the evidence of a gentleman, who was not merely an experienced manager of English railways, but who also had a large experience of foreign railways. Mr. Forbes, who was now the manager of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, which had adopted the "block system," said—

"Having worked in Prussia and in Holland and having seen in many parts of Germany the operation of very stringent codes prepared by the State for carrying on the details of a railway, I am quite satisfied that they do more harm than good. I think it would imperil the safety of a railway, if any Government Department were to attempt to interfere in the details of its administration."

What, then, did the present Bill propose to do? Clause 4 gave the most unlimited powers to the Board of Trade—but he would not dwell on that point, as the hon. Baronet had signified his intention not to insist on it; but the hon. Baronet asked Parliament to enact, by the aid of his Bill, that the absolute "block system" should be established on all railways subject to a discretionary power in the Board of Trade to excuse its adoption in certain cases. But what did the enactment that railways should adopt the "block system" amount to? It was a provision of as vague a character as if it were enacted that railway companies should carry all their passengers safely. The "block system" to be worth anything, depended on a thousand things—on mechanical appliances, on good regulations, and on careful *employés*. Captain Tyler, who was a great advocate of the "block system," said—

"The block system is not in itself a panacea for the prevention of railway collisions, nor is it even the principal remedy required. It becomes valuable only when it is applied under good regulations, with suitable apparatus, in the hands of trustworthy servants, and with the aid of good discipline. It requires also to be employed and properly maintained in combination with many other appliances, sufficient sidings, carefully adopted signal and point arrangements, ample break power, observance of signals," &c.

Captain Tyler enumerates 15 remedies against accidents, of which the "block system" was only one; and therefore simply to enact the "block system" uncombined with the other remedies would be a mere delusion. It was not his wish to express any doubt as to the good effect of the "block system," for, from all he had learnt at the Board of Trade, from independent authorities, and the evidence of railway managers, he did not question the advantage of the adoption of the "block system" on main or crowded lines. That could not be treated any longer as an open question, and the "block system" ought undoubtedly to be adopted on all crowded and upon almost all main lines. In his opinion, it ought to have gained ground more rapidly than it had on such a line, for instance, as the London and North-Western; upon which, however, having been unfortunately the chief offender last winter, it had at last been decided to introduce the "block system," and he was also glad to learn that it was intended to lay down upon the same railway a fourth line of rail to a considerable distance from London, so as to relieve some of the long traffic. He could not think that the directors and managers of that line had been as prompt as they ought to have been in meeting the requirements of the traffic, with a view to the reasonable safety of passengers. Having said so much of the first part of the hon. Baronet's Bill, he now came to the latter part of it. He would not dwell at any length on the third part of the Bill. He could not say that this was a very happy moment to introduce the subject of the limitation of the liability of railway companies. The present system was undoubtedly not satisfactory; but railway companies would be in a better position to urge their claims in that respect upon Parliament and the public when they had succeeded in providing a greater amount of safety for the public. He was quite willing, however, to say—and he did so with all sincerity—that that part of the hon. Baronet's Bill was deserving of full consideration, both as to the tribunal before which the cases should be brought and the limit of the liability. That consideration he hoped to give it. With respect to the second part of the Bill—the liability to inspection and inquiry, such as was necessary for the purpose of securing full and immediate publicity as to the condition of any railway and accidents occurring on it, he thought the hon. Baronet was perfectly right in attaching great importance to that part of the Bill. He (Mr. C. Fortescue) was prepared to say that upon these matters the present state of the law and the powers possessed by the Board of Trade were anything but satisfactory. Companies were only bound to report accidents occurring to passengers, and not accidents occurring to their own servants. He did not see why that legal obligation should not be extended. He thought it would be a most wholesome thing that that obligation on railway companies should be largely extended. They should be required to report every accident of every kind, no matter whether the sufferer from it was a person in their immediate employment or a passenger. The accident in either case might be of a most vital kind in its bearing on the general safety of the line, and it was highly desirable that the Board of Trade should be informed of every one of the accidents on its occurrence. As to the power of inspection by the Board of Trade, they were enabled at any time to inspect a line or part of a line; but their powers did not enable them to require production of the evidence and information which might be desired. He did not see why these powers should not be made more extensive, enabling them at any time to inspect and require the production of evidence. Then, as to the system of inquiry pursued by the Board of Trade when accidents occurred, he was surprised to find that there was no legal power in his Department of requiring the production of witnesses, books, papers, and material objects concerned in the inquiry. He could not see why these inquiries, if they were to be of any use—and they had already been of great use, and might be of much greater advantage—should not be made legal, statutory, solemn, and judicial. Railway companies themselves would admit that these inquiries, and the recommendations which often resulted from them, had been of great use, directing attention to weak points, and contributing both to the interests of the railways and the public. To put them, therefore, on a legal and responsible footing would, he thought, greatly add to their moral weight and power; and the fact of a public judicial inquiry, held by a competent person, the result being at once published to the world, would bring public opinion to bear in a most efficient way on railway companies, and prove as much to the interest of railway companies as of the public. In that direction he was quite prepared to endeavour to travel with his hon. Friend opposite. He was not able to assent to the second reading of this Bill, differing, as he did, from the first part of it; and, however valuable the other portions of the Bill might be for the consideration of the Government, he thought it would be more in accordance with the duty of a Member of the Government if, instead of simply agreeing to them in their present shape, he should undertake to give them his best attention, with the hope of making proposals in regard to the second part of the Bill. The hon. Baronet said he wished to act as a spur to the Government and the Board of Trade; for himself, he might say he was quite ready to make use of that spur, but he must be allowed to act towards the hon. Baronet as the bridle. He believed on these conditions the proposals of the hon. Baronet would be of use, and while quite unable to agree to accompany him as far as he desired to go in the policy of Government and State interference with the management of railways and dictation to them, he was able to go along with him to a very considerable extent in other parts of his Bill, and would give them his best consideration.

Mr. STEPHEN CAVE said, that having formerly represented the Department over which the right hon. Gentleman now presided, he wished to make a few observations. The right hon. Gentleman had said that railway companies had been slow in adopting well-ascertained improvements. In that he entirely agreed, and that was the whole question; if they were so slow in adopting the machinery necessary for the safety of the travelling public, there certainly ought to be some method of compelling them to do so. The hon. Member for York (Mr. Leeman) — whose re-appearance in Parliament gave additional strength to the railway interest—told them that very few accidents occurred on railways in proportion to their enormous traffic; this he admitted, but the question was whether they could not be fewer; and he must say the examination into every accident showed that there ought to be fewer — railway accidents being generally caused by preventible circumstances. What were the causes of railway accidents generally? Either bad regulations, or good regulations badly carried out. Bad regulations were much less frequent now than formerly, but good regulations were still very often badly carried out. It would be impossible to prevent accidents so long as human nature is what it is; but care should be taken not to over-work human nature; and when they heard of signalmen and others being kept for so many hours continuously at their work, they could not expect the "block system" or any other system entirely to answer. Besides these causes, there were defects in the permanent way and rolling stock, and —especially in the North — the overcrowding of the lines. Parliament was, to some extent, responsible for these things. They were responsible for the enormous capital which had been expended, and for much of the waste of money. The directors were often between Scylla and Charybdis. They had their half-yearly meetings to look to, and they had often to choose between presenting a meagre dividend to their shareholders and allowing a faulty state of things to go on too long. There was also the jealousy of competing lines; for in every railway direction there was what was called a foreign office, where the best and most active of the directors were engaged in looking to what other lines were doing, and taking care they did not trench too much on them; whereas the inferior directors only were employed in the general direction of the line. The right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken said he objected to compulsory interference with railways; but the telegraph system had long been enforced on single lines, as was that of facing points, that of communication between passengers and guards, of smoking carriages, and some others. The weak point in the system of the Board of Trade was this, that although before a line was opened they could compel the adoption of any improvements which might be thought necessary, yet, when the line was once opened, they had no power whatever. One or two cases had been brought before him, in which it was proved that the railway company ought to make certain improvements in the line with reference to dangerous crossings and dangerous stations; over and over again the company was recommended to make them; he was answered very civilly, but the recommendations were not carried out, and all he could say, which he did frankly, was that unless they were adopted, he hoped, in case of accident, the jury would remember it in assessing the damages. The hon. Member for York had made a very awkward admission. He had told them that several improvements had been carried out since the appointment of the Committee of last year. This showed the advantages to the public of a little pressure from without upon railway companies. With regard to the third part of the Bill, he did not think the limitation of the liability of railway companies would be a good thing. It had been called appraisement of human life according to the valuation of railway directors, which he thought was a very good definition. Shipowners and common carriers were not placed in a more favourable position as the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Dodson) appeared to think, because they were subject to unlimited liability in case of wrong on their own part. He admitted that the tribunal was not satisfactory at present; juries were often very severe on railways, and the damages were excessive. He thought any amelioration of the tribunal would be very valuable. So far he went with his hon. Friend. There were other points to which he might have alluded; but they had been mentioned by previous speakers. He objected to the first part of the Bill; he did not think they ought to interfere so much with the management and details of railway companies. Railways, as he had already stated, were too slow in adopting perfectly recognized improvements, and to that extent there ought to be pressure upon them. He thought his hon. Friend might very well be satisfied with the effect of having introduced this Bill, and the discussion upon it. He should be prepared to vote for the second reading if it were pressed to a Division; but it was quite certain the Bill would be entirely changed in Committee, and his hon. Friend would do no good by pressing it further at that moment. The President of the Board of Trade had said as much as could be expected of him under the circumstances; and, so far, he might congratulate his hon. Friend on the result of the discussion—the public would be indebted to him for travelling with greater security in future.

MR. M. T. BASS said, that reference having been made to the tendency of juries to give excessive verdicts in the case of accidents against railway companies, he had heard the opinion of a very eminent Judge, once a Member of that House, that in all his experience, both as a Judge and a barrister, he found that juries were not only just in their intention with regard to the verdicts they gave in railway cases, but that they were also generally judicious; and that when he was leader on the Northern Circuit it was very common for him, being engaged against a railway company, after the case had been stated and witnesses examined, not to trouble the jury with any address, so confident was he in the principles of justice by which they were generally guided. The House had been congratulated on the small number of railway accidents last year, there being only 286 persons killed and 1,239 wounded. He (Mr. Bass), however, did not consider that an accurate Return. According to the Report of the Registrar General, although the Board of Trade only reported 150 people killed by railways in 1868, they figured in the Registrar General's Report at 800. The number reported for 1870 was 286, and, taking the same proportion from the Report of last year, it would increase the number of the killed to 1,500. He (Mr. Bass) should now proceed to show from genuine documents furnished him by servants engaged on railways how those servants generally were treated. The borough which he had the honour to represent (Derby) was the centre of a great railway system, and he felt especially interested in this question. He had been applied to by between 400 and 500 railway servants on the Midland lines to interfere with the directors on their behalf, with a view to a reduction of their onerous labour, and for more liberal wages. They stated that they had themselves applied to the directors, but without success. He mentioned their case at the last half-yearly meeting; but, he was sorry to say, with no more favourable result. The men complained of being employed from 12 to 15 hours a day habitually without intermission, excepting the half-hour or so allowed them for their meals. Even on Sunday they were generally employed 14 hours. Some few months ago the drivers on the Midland Railway applied to him to interfere with the directors because they were required to do an amount of continuous labour that was absolutely incompatible with the performance of their duty to the public, to their employers, and to themselves. They were engaged frequently 15, 16, or 17 hours a-day, with an interval of only six or seven hours allowed them for repose. The manager, however, of the railway in question, in reply to his representations, said that the men had nothing whatever to complain of. Not satisfied with this state of things, the men sent him a statement of the nature and period of their services during the previous month and the month before that. It appeared that there were 30 or 40 drivers of the Midland Railway who had worked nearly double the time usually assigned to them. The usual time was 10 hours; but they had worked during the months referred to 19½ hours a-day, and in one instance a man had never left his engine for 29½ hours. Now those facts could not be doubted, for they were taken from the books of the company. How, with such a state of things, was it possible that the "block" or any other system could ensure the safety of the public? The Report presented to the House regarding railway accidents represented the Midland Railway as being free from accidents, occasioning loss of life either of passengers or servants, last year; but, at the last meeting of the company which he attended, he was informed that there had been killed on that railway a man a week on an average last year, and he had since been informed that at one station of that railway four persons had been killed between the 20th May and 4th December last. Now, it was a remarkable fact that not one of those cases had been publicly noticed. The servants were warned against furnishing such information on pain of being instantly discharged. Indeed, he had an account given him of the servants that had been discharged because they had given such information, made some complaints against the company, or had gone to a society for the mutual protection of railway servants. When he found fault with the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson), for confining his statement of railway accidents to passenger trains, the hon. Baronet said—"Oh, who cares for the casks of beer that were spilled about the roads." But he (Mr. Bass) was prepared to show that there were hundreds of people killed by accidents to goods trains as well as passenger trains, and the widows and children of the unfortunate victims were left without a penny compensation. Now why, he asked, did not the Bill make all railway and other employers liable to compensation to the relatives of the deceased in the case of the destruction of their servants from want of care or caution on the part of the employers? According to facts communicated to him that morning it appeared that one servant of the Midland Railway had been 25 years in their employ at a wretched salary of only 16*s.* a-week. Pointsmen were worked 16 hours a-day when trains kept time, and when they did not for 18 or 19 hours. One guard of the Midland Railway, after 24 years' service, had been dismissed for no assigned reason except that he had joined a society that was not agreeable to the management. In the case of the man Evans, who was tried for manslaughter at Warwick about a week ago, in connection with a railway accident that occurred some time since, the jury acquitted him, it was stated, because their minds were influenced in his favour by the fact that this man had been required to work for a great number of hours together, and one time he had actually worked 36 hours at a stretch when a fellow-servant was sick or away. In another case, three men were obliged to do the work of four, each for 36 hours at a stretch. On one occasion a man was stated to have been 66 hours on duty without any interval of repose, and except on Good Friday, when there were fewer trains, was obliged to have his wife beside him to keep him awake all the time, otherwise he should have been unable to perform his duty. How could collisions be avoided—how could fatal accidents be prevented when the energies of railway *employés* were over-taxed to such an extent? The Committee of last year had been referred to; but the bulk of its Members were interested in railways. The Committee consisted of four railway directors, one or two of whom were chairmen, and of two lawyers who had been brought up at the feet of directors; and therefore it might be reasonably doubted whether the interests of the public were sufficiently represented. It was the duty of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade to promote legislation on this matter; and if he would not accept the Bill of the hon. Baronet he ought to bring in one of his own, or else a year hence he might have to answer for a hundred preventible deaths. Of all Government Departments the Board of Trade seemed to him to be the slowest, and he was convinced we should never have the railway system placed upon the footing most consistent with the interests and the safety of the public until it was put under a special Department, one which might be constructed in such a way as to avoid the evils of improper patronage, and which ought to be empowered to see that we were treated as well by railways as people were on the other side of the Channel.

Mr. G. BENTINCK said, he had listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade with great regret, considering that he admitted the great increase of accidents last year from causes that were preventible, and yet proposed to do nothing. The Government must be made to bear the entire responsibility, for it was the whole source from which any security to life and property could be derived. He could not understand the argument which said—"We, the Government, will not interfere, because by doing so we shall destroy the responsibility of the directors." He asserted that that was a complete delusion and misconception. Surely if the Board of Trade insisted upon the observance of certain regulations by the railway companies, the non-observance of any of these regulations by such companies must be laid to the responsibility of the directors. He wished he had more time to consider the subject. Short, however, as the time was, he would say one word more. Looking at the enormous number and the frightful character of the accidents which occurred on railways, and the utter hopelessness of looking to any other source for a cure, he contended that the whole responsibility of these accidents rested on the Government from this time forth. It was the Government alone that were able to deal with the subject, and if they declined the task they were wholly and solely responsible for every accident that could not be attributed to causes beyond human control. The country was fully alive on the subject, and he hoped the House would express its opinion in such a manner that it could not be disregarded.

Mr. HEADLAM said, that having been Chairman of the Committee to which reference had been made, it would be his duty to address a word or two on the important question now before the House; and as that Committee had been more or less reflected upon he must say, on their behalf, that a more fair Committee could not have been appointed, nor one with a more earnest desire to do their duty in the inquiry which had been committed to them. There were undoubtedly three railway directors on the Committee; but that was only in accordance with a practice which had grown up of allowing Members of the position of those whose conduct was impugned a seat on the Committee to whom the inquiry was entrusted; but the rest of the Committee were as unbiassed as he was himself. His only bias was that railways should be well managed. He was perfectly certain that the true interests of the public and of the railway companies were identical. The desideratum was that the law should be right and true and fair between the parties. The public could not get any benefit from the punishment of the railway directors. The President of the Board of Trade said the subject should have his best consideration; but in his (Mr. Headlam's) opinion the subject was one which demanded the action of the House.

Mr. W. P. PRICE said, the charges brought by the hon. Member for Derby against the Midland Railway Company ought not to pass without some answer. He was not quite prepared to meet them all in detail, because the hon. Member had given him notice of the charges he intended to make only that day, and he refused to give him such particulars as would enable the officers of the company to investigate them. The complaints which had been made referred to two distinct classes of servants, the pointsmen and the engine-drivers. He (Mr. Price) did not hesitate to say, in the most emphatic language he could use in that House, that there was not a shadow of a foundation for the charge. [*A laugh.*] He meant literally what he said, that there was not the shadow of a foundation for the charge made against them. He did not mean to say that engine-drivers might not have been on the engine for 30 hours; but these would be exceptional cases, and the result of accident, and not cases that might be introduced against the Midland Railway Company as the foundation of a general charge.

Mr. M. T. BASS rose to explain. His hon. Friend had accused him of misrepresentation. He had the name of every train, and the list was entirely at his service.

Mr. W. P. PRICE said, it would have been more to the purpose if the hon. Member had made him that offer yesterday, in which case he might have had time to have made an inquiry, and offer an explanation. He (Mr. Price) again repeated that the hon. Member for Derby could not substantiate the charge which he had brought against the company. He held in his hand the correspondence between the company and the hon. Member for Derby, and the hon. Member had been conceded liberty to publish it, provided he published it in its entirety—but probably that was not a satisfactory condition.

Mr. C. DENISON said, that as the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) would require for reply more than the few minutes which remained, he would move the adjournment of the Debate.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Denison,*)—put, and *negatived.*

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he thought the House would have done right in adjourning the Debate—

But it being now a quarter to Six of the clock—

Further Proceedings *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

SALMON FISHERIES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Dodds, Bill to amend the Laws relating to Salmon Fisheries in England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Dodds, Mr. Liddell, Colonel Amcotts, Earl Percy, and Colonel Edwardes.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 75.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 16*th March* 1871.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Fairs * (44); Stamp Act (1870) Amendment * (45).

Second Reading—University Tests (26).

Report—Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons) * (29).

UNIVERSITY TESTS BILL—(No. 26.)

(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said: My Lords, it will not be necessary for me to trouble the House at any length by dwelling upon the main question, inasmuch as the subject has been very frequently and recently before your Lordships, and as I believe the second reading of the measure is not likely to be opposed. Your Lordships will remember that last year the Motion for the second reading, made by my noble Friend the President of the Council (Earl De Grey and Ripon), was met by a Resolution, proposed by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury), and carried by a majority of 14, in favour of a Select Committee which should consider certain points of the Bill. In the present Session the Bill which I now ask your Lordships to read the second time, and which is identical with that of last year, has very rapidly passed the other House; while the Committee appointed by your Lordships last year has been re-appointed. I think, however, the noble Marquess will admit that now to read the Bill a second time will not be inconsistent with the Resolution which he moved last Session. Several points will, no doubt, be raised at a subsequent stage by those who dislike the Bill in its present form; but as the Committee, of which I am a member, will close the evidence before Easter, and will consider its Report immediately after Easter, so as to enable the Bill to be committed soon after that date, it is more convenient that I should avoid referring to matters which may be discussed hereafter. As regards the general principle of the measure—the abolition of tests at the Universities—whatever your likings or dislikings may be, your Lordships must, I think, admit that the time has arrived when that principle can no longer be resisted. The long time during which this subject has now been agitated, and the large majorities which have approved the measure in the other House, are facts which are of themselves sufficient to furnish a weighty argument in favour of the Bill becoming law—indeed, when you admitted Dissenters to receive their education at Oxford and Cambridge and allowed them to proceed to certain degrees, the whole question was in principle decided. It is exactly the same as with the Roman Catholic Emancipation. When you admitted Roman Catholics to the electoral franchise it was a mere question of time as to admitting them to be represented in Parliament by Members of their own persuasion. I can quite understand that as long as you confined University education to members of the Church of England you could logically maintain a system of tests; but after admitting Nonconformists to University education it became impossible for any length of time to exclude them from University honours and privileges. It may be objected to this Bill that it would force on the Universities a system to which they are opposed; but, although considerable difference of opinion no doubt exists, it is a remarkable fact that there is a large body of graduates, both at Oxford and Cambridge, in favour of the Bill. At Oxford, indeed, a majority, I believe, of the tutors in the different Colleges, who may be supposed to have special means of forming a sound opinion on the question, are in favour of the removal of tests. Assuming that the principle of the removal of tests is admitted, it may be objected that the Bill will diminish the possibility of giving a sound religious education at the Universities, that it will injure the Church of England, and that it will do injury to religion itself. This, I admit, is a grave charge against the Bill, and it is natural and right that it should be carefully considered. As regards the Church of England, there will, of course, be many who will regret the loss of the exclusive privileges which it has hitherto enjoyed. I think, however, it will be felt on reflection that that loss will be by no means so great as may at first sight be supposed. The Church of England lives in the affections of the people as a Reformed Church; and the admission into the Universities of a number of Nonconformists is by no means likely to impair its character in that respect. Two great movements have proceeded from Oxford of late years, and have occasioned considerable controversy; and these, it is maintained by some persons, will receive encouragement from the abolition of tests. One is generally known as the High Church movement, which was led by men of great eminence and excited much difference in the Church of England—if, indeed, it did not expose it to much danger. That movement is not at all likely to be strengthened by the admission of Nonconformists. The other movement, as we are told, though I think its force is considerably exaggerated, is in favour of freethinking. Now, of all bodies in the country, Nonconformists are the most unlikely to support that movement; for whatever we may think of their particular opinions, nobody acquainted with them will deny that they hold their religious opinions with great firmness, and are of all persons the least likely to countenance religious insincerity or indifference. A Nonconformist element therefore is more likely to diminish than to increase the strength, whatever it may be, of the movement. If, moreover, as we are told, there is so much danger from the prevalence of infidelity, it should be remembered that it is not by direct attack that assaults on Christianity are made, but by the inculcation of principles inconsistent with the fundamental truths of Christianity, the inroad of which principles tests are unable to prevent. The passing of this Bill, then, will not, I think, bring about the dangers which are apprehended, and which, were they really likely to arise, would, no doubt, be a serious objection to it. The measure will, on the other hand, be a great advantage to the Universities, by making them national institutions, and by increasing the affection which is generally felt for them throughout the country; while it will put an end to a course of long-continued differences, and will enable the Universities to apply themselves without distinction to the great objects for which they were founded—the promotion of sound and useful learning in every branch of knowledge.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2a."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

The Marquess of SALISBURY: My Lords, in July last your Lordships passed a Resolution to the effect that you could not allow this Bill then to proceed, as it was necessary that before the House considered it an inquiry should be held as to the best means of reconciling its provisions with the maintenance of religious teaching at the Universities. It would be inconsistent with the Resolution which I then pressed on the House were I now to oppose the second reading, for the circumstances which necessitated opposition to the second reading at that time do not now exist. The inquiry which I urged on your Lordships was immediately undertaken: the Committee was appointed immediately afterwards—it pursued its investigations during the remainder of the Session, and was re-appointed at the beginning of the present Session. The inquiry is nearly complete, and there is nothing to prevent your Lordships from having the advantage of their investigations when you come to consider this Bill in Committee of the Whole House. There is, therefore, no objection to passing the second reading, and taking a fuller discussion when the Bill reaches the stage of Committee. I shall not, on that account, trespass further on your Lordships' time with reference to the provisions of the Bill, especially as my arguments would in great measure be drawn from evidence which has been taken by the Committee, but to which, as it has not yet been laid on the Table, it would be out of order for me to refer. I will, therefore, only make one or two remarks on the speech of the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley(, in order that it may not pass altogether without comment. I would entreat those who are inclined to listen to what is called the argument of the Sibylline Books, and to accept one instalment of change in order to prevent further changes, to take to heart and digest thoroughly the noble Earl's argument about the consequence of accepting a measure in principle. When we were asked some 16 or 17 years ago to admit Dissenters to degrees at the Universities, it was stoutly and earnestly argued by those who agree with the noble Earl that it was quite a mistake to regard the measure as a prelude to or a necessary cause of further change; and this is the case with every change which is urged on this House. We are always told that it is unnecessary to look beyond the Bill before us; that the actual proposition of the moment is the utmost limit which the Government intend to go, and that we need not trouble ourselves about the future or pursue the theoretical consequences of a principle which it is not intended to carry further. When, however, we have yielded to that reasoning and a few years have passed, we are told by the same persons that we have admitted a principle which must be carried to its extreme conclusions, and that we are precluded by our former concessions from opposing its logical consequence. The noble Earl's argument is perfectly logical—that if you are tempted to attempt and begin a change the end of it is not far off; but it is an argument which we have heard before and which we shall hear again, and for the benefit of the Conservative side of the question in further debate I hope your Lordships will carefully note the principles he has laid down to-night. That which the noble Earl regards as the real principle of the Bill is not the result against which we are mainly struggling. He sees no harm, but rather a benefit, to religion from the introduction of a certain number of Nonconformists. I ventured last year to say that those on whose behalf I was speaking were not desirous to resist any further the admission of Nonconformists to the honours and emoluments of the Universities; but that what they were anxious to secure was that such a change should be made consistently with the full maintenance of Christian teaching. I may, though it is not strictly in order, quote the words of a distinguished minister of the Church of England, who gave evidence before the Committee, and who said that the question of University Tests is not a question between Church and Dissent, but between Christianity and unbelief. That is the question we desire to fight in dealing with the provisions of this Bill. I believe that on this particular point the opinion of the country is not insufficiently informed, and that the large majorities in the House of Commons do not represent the actual opinions of the constituencies for which the Members sit. My ground for saying this is that the position we are maintaining is that position of religious education which the country, and especially the large towns, by very large majorities affirmed in the course of the autumn. The country has declared in unmistakable tones—very much to the surprise of some of its so-called representatives—that it will not allow the education of the poor to be conducted on any other principle than that of religious teaching. Now, the principle which I am here to maintain in the case of this Bill is that the same doctrine which has governed the education of the poor shall not be withheld from governing the education of the rich, and that for the rich, as for the poor, religion shall be held a primary and indispensable element in any education which may be regulated by the State. This will be the object I shall have in view in any Amendments I may propose to this Bill; but for the maintenance of this object it is not necessary for me to offer any opposition to the second reading.

Motion *agreed to:* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

* * *

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 16*th March,* 1871.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—Letters Patent, *nominated;* Westmeath, &c. Unlawful Combinations, Mr. Chichester Fortescue and Mr. Plunket *added.*

Public Bills — *Ordered — First Reading*—Gas Works Clauses Act (1847) Amendment * [76].

Second Reading—Army Regulation [39], *debate resumed and further adjourned.*

Considered as amended—Poor Law (Loans)* [68].

Third Reading—Income Tax Assessment * [64], and *passed.*

ART AND SCIENCE MUSEUM (EAST LONDON).—QUESTION.

Mr. REED asked the First Commissioner of Works to explain the causes of delay in completing the Museum of Art and Science in the East of London, for which a Vote of £20,000 was taken in the year 1867; and whether, out of consideration that this is the only museum provided for the education and recreation of the people east of Temple Bar, an assurance can be given to the House that it will be opened without further loss of time?

Mr. AYRTON, in reply, said, he felt especially interested in having this Museum completed; because he was the first to suggest its construction. It was not, however, the case that a Vote of £20,000 was taken for it three or four years ago. An Estimate to that amount was laid on the Table, and a small Vote was taken on account. Since then from year to year other small Votes had been introduced into the Estimates to carry on the building on a system common in the conduct of public works, but which he trusted would not be continued—namely, of beginning the work, and pursuing it by slow degrees, so that it might not assume a formidable appearance in the Estimates. The consequence had been that this comparatively small work had taken a long time. However, in the Estimate for the ensuing year, the amount necessary to complete the building would be inserted, and as soon as the Vote was taken the work would be carried on with energy. It would, he hoped, be finished within three months from that time, and it would then be his pleasureable duty to hand it over to the President of the Council, who would deal with it in his Department with the view of making it publicly useful.

WINES IN BOND.—QUESTION.

Sir JAMES LAWRENCE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Board of Customs have been authorized to sanction the admixture with wines in bond of tannin, ether, and other chymical preparations, provided the owners declare that such admixture is necessary for fining and flavouring the wines?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: No, Sir; there is no such authority.

LICENSING BILL (IRELAND)—EXCESSIVE DRINKING IN PUBLIC HOUSES.

QUESTION.

Mr. PIM asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the circumstances connected with the death of William Keely, who, as stated in the "Dublin Freeman's Journal" of March 8th, died of apoplexy after drinking "more than a pint of new whiskey," given him

> "In a public house which was re-opened by a new proprietor, who, as it seems is usual with the trade on such occasions, supplied to all comers 'drinks' gratis :"

whether the Law affords any means of preventing such an objectionable mode of advertising the opening of a new public house, or of punishing the trader who supplies spirits in such quantity as to be equivalent to poison; and whether, in case the present Law does not afford the means of prevention or of punishment, he will consider the subject with the view of providing a remedy under the Licensing Bill which is intended to be brought in for Ireland?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, his attention had been called to the circumstances. With reference to the statement that the man had drunk more than a pint of new whiskey, he was informed that nothing of the kind was proved at the coroner's inquest. No doubt Keely had drunk to great excess at the opening of this house, and being an habitual drunkard he died in the course of the night. The explanation made by his hon. Friend rendered it unnecessary for him (the Marquess of Hartington) to add that the most respectable publicans in Dublin entirely denied that any such custom as free drinking prevailed on the opening of new public houses. The law did afford the means of punishing a person guilty of the irregularity which was said to have occurred on that occasion. He had a report from the police to the effect that the proprietor had been summoned for allowing drunken and disorderly conduct in his house. The house had been placed under restriction, and the proprietor had since left it, and given it up to another man. No doubt the law could provide effectual means of making parties so offending amenable.

DESTRUCTION OF HISTORIC MONUMENTS.—QUESTION.

Captain DAWSON-DAMER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the destruction of Ancient Camps and Remains such as of those situated near Dorchester, Oxfordshire, and Wimbledon Common; and, if so, whether he can recommend any means, by law or otherwise, of protecting them, such as that adopted in France, for instance, where a sum of £60,000 per annum is voted for their preservation; and, if he has received any Statement or Petition to that effect from the Archæological Society?

Mr. BRUCE, in reply, said, it was to be regretted that our historical monuments were occasionally destroyed. As a general rule, he believed it was within the experience of everyone that our historical monuments, whether castles, abbeys, camps, or other relics, were preserved with care by their proprietors. There were exceptions, and with respect to them he had received a memorial from the Archæological Society. The Government certainly would not undertake to preserve these monuments at the national expense; but they would be ready to consider any other means that could be suggested.

ARMY—NON-PURCHASE CORPS.

QUESTION.

Major ARBUTHNOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is his intention to submit any scheme to Parliament this Session framed with the view of meeting the stagnation in the Non-purchase Corps, and calculated to secure a flow of promotion for the future?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, the right to retire on permanent half-pay after 25 years' service now enjoyed by the Line, will be extended without limit to the Engineers and the Artillery. In the Engineers promotion to the extent of one battalion is conferred at the charge of India, in consequence of the number of officers added to the corps for service in India. In the Artillery it is proposed that the lieutenant-colonels about to be employed in the Reserve Forces shall be supernumerary, and a sum is taken in the Estimates to be distributed in annuities to officers who form a portion of the block caused by the abnormal increase made in the time of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny who may be willing to accept them.

THE JUDICATURE COMMISSION.

QUESTION.

Sir THOMAS LLOYD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When it is probable that the Report of the Judicature Commission will be laid before Parliament; and, whether, in the event of a consolidation of any of the Welsh Counties being recommended in the said Report, Her Majesty's Government will solicit the opinion and consult the wishes of the magistrates in Quarter Sessions assembled, before any final arrangement is determined upon?

Mr. BRUCE, in reply, said, the Report of the Judicature Commission would be presented to the House soon after Easter. In the event of a consolidation of any of the Welsh counties being recommended, the opinion of the magistrates in quarter sessions assembled would be ascertained, and any representations they might make would be carefully attended to.

ARMY—HENRY-MARTINI RIFLE.

QUESTION.

Mr. MUNTZ asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Henry-Martini Rifle now adopted is the same as those which were manufactured at Enfield in 1869; and, if any alteration has been made, whether Members of this House would be allowed to inspect the sealed pattern?

Sir HENRY STORKS replied that the Henry-Martini rifle now recommended for adoption was the same in general principle as that manufactured at Enfield in 1869, but various modifications had been introduced. No pattern was yet sealed, but as soon as the pattern was sealed there would be no objection to its inspection by Members of the House.

NAVY—THE "MEGÆRA."—QUESTION.

Mr. KAVANAGH asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, With respect to Her Majesty's ship "Megæra," the number of officers and men, also the quantity of cargo or stores, it has been found necessary to land at Queenstown; whether it is not true that, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Captain of the vessel, the Admiral, on the report of a carpenter who he had sent to see to her defects, ordered her ports to be closed, caulked, and pitched, with a statement that they might be opened when the ship got into the tropics; with regard to the over crowded condition of the officers, it is not true that the fact of landing stores or cargo did not improve it, as the vessel has only berth and mess accommodation for 22 officers, whereas there are 33 on board; whether the three medical officers on board the vessel had not stated in writing that the ship, in her present state, was unfit for such a long voyage, and whether he will produce the statement so made by them; and, to ask who is responsible for this ship being allowed to leave with defective ports in such an overladen and overcrowded state; and, if he has taken into his consideration whether in future Her Majesty's Troop Ships, when embarking men for Foreign Stations, might not be submitted to the survey of the Government Emigration Officers as to space and condition of ship and outfit?

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he had got most of the information required to answer the Questions of the hon. Member, but in one point it was still deficient. He had telegraphed to-day to Queenstown on the subject, and if the hon. Gentleman would be so kind as to put the Question to-morrow he trusted he would then be in a position to answer it.

GREECE—FINANCIAL COMMISSION.

QUESTION.

Mr. MONK asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House the Reports of the Financial Commission for the Kingdom of Greece, which was presided over by the late Sir Thomas Wise in the years 1857, 1858, and 1859, on the Collection of Taxes, the Customs, and the administration of the Army of Greece?

Viscount ENFIELD said, in reply, that the Papers referred to were so voluminous as to comprise 12 folio volumes. Applications had been made for them as far back as 1860; but his predecessor, the then Under Secretary, Lord Wodehouse, declined to present them on the score of expense. There was, however, a condensed Report, in which all the essential information would be found.

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION—PASSED CANDIDATES.—QUESTION.

MR. CUBITT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, When candidates for the Civil Service, who were examined in January last, and Gazetted on February 13th as having passed the first class preliminary examination, will be called upon to undergo their final examination?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am very sorry, Sir, that I cannot state when they will be called up for final examination, because that examination can only be held when vacancies occur, and at present there are no vacancies. I am afraid considerable inconvenience, which I hope will not occur again, will be caused to the candidates, owing to the introduction of the new system. It is asserted that great defects in the education of the candidates for the higher class of appointments have been discovered. Out of about 180 candidates who came up, I think 120 were plucked in the elementary subjects of reading, orthography, and arithmetic. I hope there may be appointments soon, but they will be very few in number, and I cannot say with confidence when they may be. As soon as any appointments are to be made, early intimation will be given, and, of course, that will be as soon as possible.

METROPOLIS — NEW BUILDINGS FOR LEARNED SOCIETIES, PICCADILLY.

QUESTION.

LORD JOHN MANNERS asked the First Commissioner of Works, What has occasioned the suspension of the works at the new buildings for the Learned Societies in Piccadilly; when they are likely to be recommenced, and when finished?

MR. AYRTON said, in reply, that the construction of the buildings was committed to competent contractors in 1868. The works proceeded until a short time ago, when the contractors last employed in 1869 suspended payment. A reasonable time was allowed them to resume the works if they could give security for their completion according to contract, which was fixed for March in the ensuing year. They failed to do that, and therefore it became necessary to relet the contract. He hoped that would be done in the course of the month; and, supposing suitable contracts were obtained, they would, he thought, be able to finish the works in about 18 months from the present time.

QUEEN'S MESSENGERS.—QUESTION.

MR. STOPFORD SACKVILLE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is not the fact that during the late war Queen's Messengers have been required to start on journeys after having applied for sick leave and sent in medical certificates of their unfitness to travel; whether this has been the consequence of a recent reduction in the number of Queen's Messengers; and, whether the claims of these gentlemen will be in any way considered with reference to the extraordinary labours and expenses imposed upon them during the war?

VISCOUNT ENFIELD, in reply, said, it was quite true that in one case a Foreign Office Messenger had been obliged to undertake a journey after he had sent in a medical certificate; but the circumstances of the case were somewhat peculiar. It was necessary for all Foreign Office Messengers, if they wished to avoid a journey, to submit to a medical inspection by the medical officer of the Foreign Office; but this gentleman did not comply with the rule. It was, he believed, about six days after he sent in the certificate that he had to set out. With respect to the second branch of the Question of the hon. Member, he was obliged to acknowledge that the work of Queen's Messengers during the war had been very severe. Some had been arrested, and two or three had been in imminent danger of their lives; but he was afraid, notwithstanding the hardships and dangers which they had to encounter, it would not be in the power of the Foreign Office to give them any extra remuneration, as there were no funds available for such purpose. The extraordinary expenses, however, to which they had been put would be paid.

ARMY—VOLUNTEERS AND YEOMANRY.

QUESTION.

MR. HAMBRO asked the Secretary of State for War, If the Clauses of Reserve

Forces Circulars affecting Volunteers, just presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, have been sent to all Commanding Officers and Adjutants of Volunteers; and, if not, whether a Copy will be sent to each of them; what arrangements, if any, he has made to secure the proper efficiency of Field Officers, Captains, and Subalterns of Yeomanry Regiments; and, if it is his intention to make it compulsory that all Officers of Volunteer Reserve Forces, Yeomanry included, should pass an examination (if they have not already done so) to prove their efficiency?

Mr. CARDWELL: The circulars from which these clauses were extracted were sent to commanding officers of Volunteers. In sending circulars to the commanding officers of administrative regiments and corps having an adjutant, an additional copy is sent for use in the orderly room. Yeomanry officers will be permitted to be attached for instruction to cavalry regiments. It is intended to require, within a limited time, all officers of Yeomanry and Volunteers to acquire certificates of proficiency.

TREATY OF PARIS (1856)—THE CONFERENCE.—QUESTION.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What day he will fix for the Debate on the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in accepting the London Conference?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the Question of my hon. Friend leaves me in some uncertainty, which I cannot easily clear up. He asks what day I shall "fix for the Debate on the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in accepting the London Conference?" It is not the duty of the Government to fix a day for a debate on the Motion of private Members, unless in those cases where private Members propose a Vote of Censure on the conduct of the Government. Does my hon. Friend propose to do that? [Sir Charles W. Dilke: I propose to bring forward the Motion of which I have given Notice.] Well, that is a Vote of Censure, the carrying of which, of course, involves the retirement of the Government. I will find a day as soon as I possibly can; but that is not as soon as I could wish. We entertain an ardent desire to have the matter brought to issue, but our condition at present is that in consequence of the prolongation of the debate, which is, I hope, to terminate to-night—["No, no!" "Hear, hear!"]—well, then, if it is not to terminate to-night, I think we must ask the House to continue the debate from day to day until it does terminate. We have arrived at a period of the Session when we must endeavour to conclude the debate now in progress, which I still hope may end to-night. We must, then, consider—first, when certain Supplementary Votes for the service of the present year may be taken; and, secondly, certain Votes connected with the Army and Navy Estimates, without which the Mutiny Act cannot be passed. The moment these necessary Votes are taken, we will give the first day at our disposal to my hon. Friend, and the Bill for Secret Voting, the Licensing Bill, and the Local Rates Bill must stand over until my hon. Friend has worked his will upon the Government.

THE EDUCATION ACT—CHAIRMEN OF SCHOOL BOARDS.—QUESTION.

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether School Boards out of London may appoint as chairman a person not a member of the Board?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, it was not in his power to give an authoritative Answer to the Question of the hon. Member, as the Education Department was not empowered to interpret the law. His opinion, however, as to the operation of the law was, that as it gave power to the Department to fix the number of the members of the school boards at the first election, it was not open to the school boards to increase that number, so that if they appointed a chairman outside the board he could not be a member of it.

NAVY—THE "MEGÆRA."—QUESTION.

Mr. F. WALPOLE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he will state the date when the "Megæra" was built; when she was last employed in carrying troops, and the number carried upon each occasion; also whether, as seemed to be implied in the statement of the honourable Member for Montrose, she carried four hundred tons of stores at the same time she conveyed troops; with what description of stores she was laden when she lately sailed from Devonport; who is responsible for the defective state of her port-linings, which caused her decks to be flooded, and compelled her to put back into Queenstown; and, whether he will lay upon the Table the entire Despatch from Admiral Forbes, of which only extracts were quoted in reply to the question of the honourable Member for Carlow?

MR. GOSCHEN: Sir, the *Megæra* was built in May 1849, and has just been reported upon as being "sound and strong." When employed as a troopship up to 1863 she accommodated about 22 officers, 425 men, 26 women, and 56 children, in addition to her crew, consisting of 115 officers and men; but at such times she carried no stores as cargo. Last year she conveyed from Malta to England 270 naval and military passengers, being invalids and time-expired men, in addition to her crew of 92; and carried, at the same time, 337 tons of stores. In 1868 she conveyed from England to Rio and Ascension 478 tons of cargo and 114 naval passengers, in addition to her crew of about 115 persons. The description of stores with which she was laden before leaving Sheerness consisted of naval stores, such as cordage, sails, &c., as well as Navy provisions about 45 tons, and clothing 11 tons. On the point of the responsibility of the officers, I will reply to-morrow in answering the Question of the hon. Member for Wexford. I am prepared to lay a Copy of the Report of Admiral Forbes on the Table of the House.

NAVY—DOCKYARD COAL CONTRACTS. QUESTION.

MR. A. GUEST asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he will lay upon the Table of the House Copies of instructions or letters that have been sent to the Officers in charge of Her Majesty's Dockyards at Home and Abroad, with reference to the receipt of coal delivered from contractors, without verifying its quality and weight?

MR. GOSCHEN: Sir, in April last year the Admiralty, as a tentative measure, directed that coals need not be weighed prior to receipt in the dockyards, but that the usual merchant-like course of receiving them as per bill of lading should be adopted. To test this measure, about a month after coals were ordered to be weighed; and the Admiralty, finding they were losing by the practice they had recently adopted, rescinded their former order in June. As to quality, there is a distinct clause in the agreements that the dockyard officers have the power of rejecting inferior coals, and compelling the contractors to replace the rejected coals.

MILITARY ATTACHES.—QUESTION.

COLONEL WHITE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the appointments of "Military Attaché" at Berlin, Petersburg, and Vienna are five years' appointments or whether they are for an indefinite period, as that at Paris has recently been declared to be; what are the total emoluments of the former appointments, as compared to those of the Paris Military Attaché, received from both War and Foreign Office; and, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to recommend the Military Authorities to give the local and temporary rank of "Major General," recently conferred on the Berlin and Paris Military Attachés, to the former's senior officer, now holding a similar appointment at Petersburg?

VISCOUNT ENFIELD: Sir, the appointments of military *attaché* at Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin are held for five years, and may, in fact, be looked upon as Staff appointments. The total emoluments of the military *attachés* in those three cities are £500 a-year, with £100 in the shape of lodging allowance, which is charged in the Army Estimates. It is not the intention of the Government to confer the local rank of major-general on the military *attaché* at St. Petersburg, that rank having been conferred on Colonel Walker and Colonel Claremont because the French and German Armies were in the field. The military *attaché* at Paris receives £500 a-year, which is charged in the Diplomatic Estimates, and he also receives his half-pay as major, which is included in the Army Estimates, and any extra expense he incurs in Paris is paid out of the funds in the hands of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

ARMY REGULATION BILL.—[Bill 39.]

(*Mr. Secretary Cardwell, Sir Henry Knight Storks, Captain Vivian, The Judge Advocate General.*)

SECOND READING. ADJOURNED DEBATE.

[FOURTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [6th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time;" and which Amendment was,

> To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the expenditure necessary for the national defences and the other demands on the Exchequer do not at present justify any Vote of Public Money for the extinction of Purchase in the Army,"—(*Colonel Loyd Lindsay,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Viscount BURY, promising not to trespass long on the attention of the House, concurred with several previous speakers in expressing regret that the debate had dwindled down to the dimensions of a squabble on the question of purchase. It would, he thought, be more in accordance with the dignity of a great subject that it should have been discussed in a larger sense; but he could not, nevertheless, blame his hon. and gallant Friend the Mover of the Amendment (Colonel Loyd Lindsay) for having given the discussion a narrower direction because the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War, in introducing the Bill, and all those who had spoken on behalf of the Government had acknowledged that it was not so much a measure of Army organization as one for the abolition of purchase. That seemed to him, he must confess, a somewhat unfortunate state of things; but taking matters as he found them, he should at once proceed to deal with the principle of the Bill, promising that his remarks should be brief, and that he would not, on the fourth night of the debate, seek to fortify his opinions by quotations or statistics, as had been freely done already, when no sooner had one authority been brought forward in support of the views held on one side than another equally weighty had been adduced in opposition to it. The first night of the debate had been occupied by his hon. and gallant Friend the Mover of the Amendment, and by those who followed him, in dealing with the question of purchase, and when on the second night his noble Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) spoke, he thought the discussion would have been lifted out of the narrow rut in which it had been running, and that the question would be broadly argued on its merits. But the hon. and gallant Gentleman on the Treasury Bench (Captain Vivian) who answered the noble Lord had, with some dexterity, brought the matter back into the narrow groove in which it had been travelling and prevented the House from taking a broad view of the question. The same course was taken by another hon. and gallant Gentleman who spoke on the same side (Sir Henry Storks), and he (Viscount Bury) was somewhat amused on hearing that gallant officer refer to his own rapid rise in a profession of which he was so great an ornament as a reason against the purchase system. The right hon. Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington) seemed to have missed a point which he might have raised, for he might have followed the lead which the noble Lord gave him, but he also went back into the narrow groove. In the course of the debate a great variety of opinions had been expressed, and almost everyone who had spoken on the opposite side of the House had addressed some remonstrance or advice to what they called hon. Members sitting "below the Gangway." Now, below the Gangway there was probably as great a diversity of opinion as there was in any other part of the House; they were far from being a homogeneous whole; and it would be much better if they would signify the exact sections of opinion to which they referred, and not class them together. The Amendment which had been so long under consideration had not been discussed in the same way that it was discussed out-of-doors. Hon. Members did not speak out their minds, or tell the whole truth about it. Every hon. Member knew how an Amendment of that kind was concocted. They all knew that the obvious way of disposing of the second reading of a great Bill was to meet it with a direct negative. An

Amendment had sometimes this advantage, that it might catch a few stray votes, which would not be given for the direct rejection of the Bill. His hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Loyd Lindsay) was one of the most single-minded and straightforward men in the world, and no doubt believed that his Amendment, and no other, was the proper mode of meeting the Bill. But he (Viscount Bury) did not think that Amendments embodying mere abstract opinions often succeeded, because it was generally felt that, however true the abstract proposition might be, it was merely advanced as a piece of Parliamentary tactics, and it would be more straightforward to come to a direct vote upon the second reading of the Bill. He did not think the Amendment was sufficiently wide, and some hon. Gentlemen who agreed with him would not be able to vote for it. The Amendment of the noble Lord (Lord Elcho) being somewhat wider, might have got a few more supporters; but even that would have been injudicious, and it would be much better to give a direct vote upon the second reading of the Bill. He now came to the subject more immediately before the House—the question which had been proposed by the Government, or rather not as proposed by the Government, because it was too narrow; but the real issue which was before the country. What was our position? We found ourselves at a great crisis of our history in a somewhat defenceless position. Our Army would have been unable to take the field at any time during the late great struggle, and, although there were periods when we might almost momentarily have expected to be dragged into a struggle, it was obvious to independent observers that our tone was moderated, that the dispatches of the Foreign Office were couched in somewhat more guarded tones than they would have been if the Government had felt that there was behind them a nation in arms, or a sufficient armed force for England to have taken her old wonted place in the Councils of Europe. It was not only on the Continent of Europe that we had felt England's *prestige* somewhat diminished. Across the Atlantic, the Americans, our allies in name, were anything but friendly in the mode in which they treated us. They were constantly seeking occasions against us, and he could not but think that one of these fine days their words would turn into acts, and we should find ourselves opposed to America, she being probably allied with some European nation. ["No, no!"] That was a matter of opinion on which every hon. Member had a right to speak. That might not be the case; but, on the contrary, he thought that many hon. Members might live to see that this was not so impossible. There was a great *rapprochement* between Russia and America, which had shown itself in many ways. But he would not press that argument further. He had used it as a mere illustration, to show that it was necessary to be prepared, not only for Europe, but for America, and he had instanced America for this reason, that if we had any dispute with that country our fleet would be drawn away, and would be, at all events, less available for the defence of our shores. Then we should have to fall back, not on the Navy, our first line of defence, but on the Army, which, as at present constituted, was altogether unfitted to bear the strain that would be laid upon it, and he wished to consider whether it would be made any better by the present Bill. It seemed to him that the Government were the only persons in the country who did not see that a great emergency existed, and they treated the matter as if we had years before us to prepare to meet it. Now, if anything could be distinctly proved by the late war, it was that no time would be given for preparation. Prussia, within a fortnight after the declaration of hostilities, had 500,000 men in arms, and within another fortnight she had another 500,000 to back up those already in the field. She poured across the French frontier, in countless profusion, munitions of war, men, material, guns, and everything which we had not got. There was no time after an emergency arose for preparation. And what was the Government Bill but a declaration of what would be done in case of emergency? It had been stated that there was machinery for the Ballot for the Militia in case of emergency. Why, in case of an emergency, with the enemy actually at our gates, were we for the first time going to put into operation the great machinery of the Ballot—a Ballot with exemptions—and a second Ballot which had never been tried before, the creaking wheels of which would hamper us in every direction? The Bill did not place us in the position in which we ought to stand. Within a fortnight after the declaration of war we ought to be able, not only to put a large force in the field, but to supplement that force by a constant stream of Reserves. Reserves were, above all, the things we wanted, together with munitions of war; yet the Bill hardly touched the fringe of that question. France trusted, as an opposition to Prussia, to her military organization—trusted to her means of raising men after the war had begun—and what befel that country? If we adopted the plan of the Government in its entirety, we should present a feeble caricature of the French system, which had so utterly and lamentably failed. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, in introducing the Bill, stated the question most fully and fairly, and his (Viscount Bury's) only complaint was that the Bill had very little relation to his able and exhaustive speech. The right hon. Gentleman said that we had a standing Army, with its historical associations and glorious memory, recruited by free enlistment; a Militia, the theory of which was conscription, but the practice voluntary enlistment; and the Volunteers; and the combination of these different institutions into one whole was the desire of the House of Commons and of the English nation. He cordially endorsed the cheers which followed that remark. That was a fair and right statement of the question. But did the Bill carry it out? The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that he had to declare the views of the Government on the great question which underlaid all the details of military administration, and must be settled by Parliament before any Department would undertake, in a complete manner, the work of detailed organization. The right hon. Gentleman had explained that to mean that they must first get rid of the purchase system. The right hon. Gentleman said that the object he had in view was, first, to raise an Army of Reserve by short service in the ranks. No doubt that was a capital proposal, which the House would cordially assist in carrying out. Everybody agreed that short service in the ranks in the present state of public opinion, and in the present state of military science, was the best thing to have; but could not that be got without first getting rid of the purchase system? There was surely no connection between the manner in which officers received their promotion in the Army and the term of enlistment for which the men were chosen. The Secretary for War then referred to the Militia; but there was no doubt that that force might be increased on its present footing, or under any other system, to any required extent without first of all doing away with the purchase system. As to the organization of the Volunteers, that had nothing on earth to do with the purchase system. Though the right hon. Gentleman said that the organization of that force was one of the chief objects of the Bill, yet, neither in his speech nor in his Bill, was there to be found the slightest hint of what was intended to be done for the organization of the Volunteers. The right hon. Gentleman said the Volunteers were at present inefficient, and in that he (Viscount Bury) concurred; but they asked for nothing better than to be re-organized and put under a much sterner discipline. The Volunteers at present were almost entirely useless, not from their own default, but from the default of those who ought to organize them, and they could easily be converted into a very cheap and valuable addition to our standing Army, though that result would not be brought about under the present Bill. The Judge Advocate General (Mr. Davison) had told them that the abolition of purchase was the soul of the Bill, and he (Viscount Bury) would ask, if they took that soul away, what remained behind? The right hon. Gentleman's next point was to combine the whole service under general officers and colonels of the Staff; but that could certainly be done without abolishing the purchase system, with which it had nothing on earth to do. But in his next point the right hon. Gentleman did seem to have some little show of reason, for he proposed to fuse together the Regular and the Reserve forces of the country by appointing regular officers to commissions in the Reserves, and giving the Militia officers commissions as subalterns in the Line, and he argued correctly that that could not be done without abolishing the purchase system. But was it worth while to pay £10,000,000, or more, in order that young lieutenants might be exchanged from the Militia into the Line or *vice versâ?* And, besides, the consent of those officers would have to be obtained to these exchanges. The Bill of the Government proposed to estimate the present value of an officer's commission, and to pay to the officer that value when he retired from the service. But suppose an officer did not retire for 10 years, and during the course of that time was detailed for service in the Militia, how could he be dealt with if he refused to go? Suppose that officer said, "I entered the Army on certain definite terms; you have altered those terms without my consent. I have paid my money, not to my brother officers, but to the Government, by their order, and into the hands of their agent. You retain that money, and so long as you do that, you cannot alter the conditions upon which I entered the service. You cannot change my position without my consent, and I refuse to go into the Militia." Any court-martial would honourably acquit an officer charged with disobedience who had such a defence as that to offer. Such exchanges, then, could not be brought about unless, in addition to the abolition of purchase, as proposed by the Bill, the Government were prepared to pay down at once the amount at which each officer's commission was valued; but it was hardly worth while to go to such an enormous extent, in order to procure such infinitesimal results. But was there nothing more in the Government scheme than the abolition of purchase? They were constantly told that the system of purchase stood in the way of all Army reform; and that the system must be abolished before anything else could be done; and when the question was asked, "In the way of what reform?" the answer invariably was "the amalgamation of the Militia with the Line." But that was excessively vague and shadowlike. When the right hon. Gentleman came into office he was announced as a reformer in the direction of economy. He did reform, and he did economize, and did his work well; but when circumstances changed, it was said the right hon. Gentleman would soon show that he was quite as well able to spend money as to economize. It was too true that the day of economy had now gone by, and it remained for those who never had raised the standard of undue economy to complain of the extravagance of the Government measures, and to say that the country could not afford the enormous outlay which had been imposed on it by the Estimates of this year, superadded to the large annual expenditure to be incurred in future years by this abolition of purchase. Were large Reserves to be obtained by the Government scheme? He could see nothing, as he read the Bill, but the prospect, at the end of some eight or ten years, of passing men through a short service, and so gradually building up a Reserve. What was wanted was something which should be ready now; but if an emergency arose to-morrow, as he believed it might arise, the country would not be able to meet it. What the Government had gone upon in this measure was the chance that no emergency would arise, and that things would go on in the future as they had done in the past, so as to give time to bring up the system. No doubt at some future day the Government scheme might become of great value to the country; but for the present it fell short of the exigencies of the position. It did not provide large Reserves, nor did it organize the commissariat, and everyone knew that the first thing that broke down with the British Army when in the field was its commissariat. It took a vast expenditure of money and time, and the lives of many soldiers, to get up a good commissariat department as was shown during the Crimean War. Then there were no provisions for the organization of the transport medical services, and if an emergency arose, and the medical service was conducted on a large scale as it had recently been conducted on a small scale in the military ambulance which had been sent out from this country to France, all he could say was that the result would not be happy for this country. Would this scheme give a better instructed or more active Staff? There was nothing in the Bill to show that it would. Or would it give a Reserve of artillery? It would certainly raise the field guns to 300, which was a very small proportion of the guns they ought to have. It was not even large enough for the 100,000 men of the Regular Army—the first line of defence; but was nothing to be done for the Militia until the emergency arose? If they retained the Volunteers they must organize them and supply them with artillery too. Were they going to do away with what was called the back-bone of the Regular Army—the Militia? If they intended to retain and improve it, it could not surely be the intention of the Government to leave it without a single gun. Besides, a great many of the Militia were artillery Militia—were they to be left without organization and without artillery? They had been told that their whole field force amounted to 400,000 men; but of these not more than 100,000 were Regulars, and for these only there was organization. The rest were as if actually non-existent—as if they had never been raised. There were various other points with reference to the want of organization on which he might enlarge. There were no means of distributing the munitions of war. That was one of the things of which, before an emergency arose, very great care should be taken; and if they abolished purchase they would be no nearer to it. During this debate a great deal of detail had been submitted to the House with reference to purchase, but the purchase system itself had never been explained. The experts who had spoken seemed to forget that there were many in that House who did not know the A B C of it. A great deal of ignorance prevailed on the subject, which had not in the least been dispelled by the brilliant campaign of the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan); indeed, the subject had rather been involved in the mist of words, and, he did not hesitate to say, of inaccurate representations made by that hon. Gentleman. But it was not till they got into Committee, where they could sift all his words and test all his figures, that they could get to the bottom of this matter. It seemed to be supposed by a great many people that the purchase system was an arrangement between an officer who wished to leave the Army and another who wished to succeed to his grade, whereby the one received and the other paid a certain sum of money. But that was not at all a correct representation of the fact. Both the officers had to deal, not with each other, but with the Government. Government informed the incoming officer that if he would deposit a certain sum of money to their credit in the hands of the Government agent, he should have the position he required, while they informed the outgoing officer that he should be permitted to retire, and on his retirement should receive from them a a certain sum. He did not complicate the matter with regulation or extra-regulation prices, because these were matters between officers, and not between the Government and officers; but the whole had been so sedulously mixed up together and enveloped in so much mist, that those who were only superficially acquainted with the subject would have some difficulty in disentangling them. A great deal had been said by the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) about the £500,000 a-year which was spent on pensions to general officers, honorary colonels, &c., and the hon. Gentleman had said that expenditure on that account would be altogether got rid of by abolishing the purchase system, as there would then be no half-pay officers, no generals of Staff, and no honorary colonels. But the hon. Gentleman seemed to have forgotten that most of those who entered the service did so because they wished to adopt it as a profession, and eventually to secure some of its prizes. The pay of the lower ranks of officers in the Army was ridiculously small — in fact it was no pay at all; but the officers naturally looked to receiving richer rewards as they advanced in promotion; and if the prizes of the profession were taken away the pay in the lower ranks would have to be doubled, or even trebled; and thus, though £500,000 a-year would be saved in pensions, a much larger sum would be spent in increased pay. Was it, then, desirable, or was it not, to abolish the purchase system? There could be no doubt that the purchase system had given the country certain advantages. Among the rest, it had given to our Army the best regimental system in the world, and it was generally admitted that if the purchase system were abolished the regimental system would have to go also. It had caused a flow of promotion which might be got in some other way, but this Bill gave no information upon that point. Why, then, get rid of the purchase system? There was only the old and hackneyed answer that it "stood in the way of all Army reform." The hon. Member for the Border Burghs, indeed, said he wanted a national Army. What did he mean by a national Army? Did he mean an Army to be officered entirely by competitive examination? He drew a fine picture of young men, first in the cricket-field and also in Greek grammar, hurrying up to present themselves for examination, and so get their commission in the Army; but if he and the Government for which he spoke intended to abolish all the prizes of the military profession, they would find, unless they increased the pay of the young officers, those who were represented as ready to present themselves, brimful of learning, to compete for commissions in the national Army would not display so very much alacrity. Some hon. Gentlemen seemed to think that the Army, as at present constituted, was of too aristocratic a character; but it had been indisputably shown that that was not the case. The British Army represented very fairly the general body not of the aristocratic only, but of all the educated classes of the country, and it was absolutely essential that the gentlemanlike tone that now animated the officers of the Army should be maintained. To eliminate what the hon. Member for the Border Burghs called the "aristocratic class," and to draw the officers of the Army solely from the class from which the average vestryman was drawn, would narrow the range of choice, and be a very undesirable thing. Whether the purchase system were abolished or not, the officers of the Army ought to be maintained in the same position of high respect which they now held. If the purchase system was abolished, the Army could not be officered by seniority; but it must be done by selection. He had said he would not trouble the House with any authorities; but the senior officer of our Army (Sir John Burgoyne) had written a letter within the last few days which had not yet been quoted: and he thought it was only due to the almost paternal authority of that gallant veteran to mention it in the House. He said, with reference to selection—

> "To suppose that, whenever a vacancy occurs, the best man in the Army can possibly be selected to fill it is quite a fallacy. Regimental duties during peace time afford no criterion by which the qualifications of officers can be estimated so absolutely as to justify the supersession of a senior officer by another junior to him in the service."

Again, with reference to the regimental Reports, upon which the right hon. Gentleman said the Commander-in-Chief would mostly depend for his information with respect to the capabilities of officers, Sir John Burgoyne said they would—

> "In nearly all cases note, in respect of probably four-fifths of the officers, 'understands his duties, regular and attentive to them, and well qualified for promotion.'"

Sir John Burgoyne concluded a most temperate *resumé* of the subject by saying that selection would be either a lottery or an abuse. That was the opinion of our oldest officer; and what was the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, of whom the hon. Member for the Border Burghs wished to get rid for entertaining it? It was that the system of selection was impossible. Surely importance should be attached to such statements. But they were told that selection had worked admirably in the Prussian and Austrian armies. It did not exist in the Prussian Army, although it was often assumed that it did. It did exist in the Austrian Army, and he could tell the House that its operation was not uniformly satisfactory. It not unfrequently happened that when an officer was promoted out of one regiment into another, over the heads of officers junior to himself, as soon as he reached the regiment to which he was attached, the officers over whose heads he had passed were in the habit of calling him out and fighting him, and if the persons superseded were numerous, it may easily be supposed that the prospect of a succession of duels had generally the effect of getting rid of the intruder. We were possibly more peaceable in this country; but human nature was much the same all over the world. The happiness with which our regimental system had worked would certainly be endangered by the same feeling which induced Austrians to make war upon one another. It might be convenient to the Government to adopt the plan as offering a cheap scheme of retiring allowance. They might appoint an officer to an Irish regiment, for instance, and, no doubt, in a short time several death vacancies would be at the disposal of the Government, and the burdens of the country would be materially reduced. But he could not think promotion by selection, under such conditions, would be very popular. When the right hon. Gentleman wanted to promote an officer he would send for him, take him into his sanctum, tell him that he had better make some provision for his widow should anything unforeseen occur, and then announce to him that he was to be promoted to the 151st Regiment over the heads of half-a-dozen gentlemen all distinguished by their efficiency with the small sword. To speak seriously, such promotion would introduce a very great degree of ill-feeling into the ranks of the British Army; it would destroy the home feeling with which officers now regarded the regiments they belonged to, and it would make officers hate each other with a degree of bitterness we had very little idea of. Such a state of things, contrasted with the present regimental system and its family-like ties, would be most disastrous to the British Army. It was not only proposed to abolish the present system by a stroke of the pen, but it was to be done in a most unjust manner. Payment to an officer of the money he was entitled to receive was deferred. A lieutenant, whose commission had cost £700, might serve 10 years and become a colonel; but if he then retired he would only receive £700, and must give up his half-pay or retiring allowance, which would probably amount to a great deal more than the interest of that sum. Therefore the officer would most likely prefer to forfeit his £700, which would thus be left in the hands of the Government. That was not just on the part of the Government, and it was not fair to an officer. If they wanted to get rid of the purchase system, let them abolish it at once, fairly and openly. The Volunteers had not been referred to during the debate, except in a slighting and disparaging manner. He did not wish to thrust the services of the Volunteers before the country; but he would say that when they entered the force they thought they were doing, and he believed they were at that time doing, good service. Now that we were to have an Army Re-organization Bill, and the Government were going to put our defences on a satisfactory footing, it seemed that they did not want the Volunteers any more. But why did not the right hon. Gentleman say so? The right hon. Gentleman said that he wanted to organize the Volunteers, and he certainly put them under the Mutiny Act; but, while rightly holding that they were useless as they were, he refrained from organizing them, and the inference was that the Volunteers had better withdraw from the service as soon as they could. Neither the Controller General, nor the Financial Secretary, spoke of the Volunteers as part of our defensive forces, except in a very cursory manner. But if the Government wished to maintain these men, and make them a valuable force, they must organize them; and he undertook to state that if they were told what was required of them the Volunteers would submit cheerfully and willingly. But when the Government merely told them they were of no use, and that they ought to be something which they were not, and which they could not become unless those in authority took them in hand, an injustice was done to a body of men who would be valuable to the country at its need; and, further, a mistake was committed. Placing the Volunteers under the Mutiny Act, and not at the same time giving to those in authority the power of calling out their men, was simply a mockery and a sham. He could not order his regiment to go to the Easter Volunteer Review at Brighton; if he did the men need not go if they choose not to do so; and, as a further inducement not to go, they were now told that if they went they would be put under the Mutiny Act. He thought it would be far more in accordance with the known straightforwardness of the right hon. Gentleman if he had said—"I do not think that, under present circumstances, the Volunteers are required." They would take their dismissal well. It would, at any rate, have been far more handsome to have adopted that plan with regard to men who had given a good deal of time, money, and thought to the matter, than to have pursued a purely negative and somewhat insulting course. He would say a word as to the vote which it would be necessary to give on this occasion. They had been furnished by the hon. Member for the Border Burghs with his hustings cry, and that had been backed up, on the authority of the Government, by a threat which he thought, for the dignity of the House, had better have been withheld. They were told that if the Government was defeated a Dissolution would ensue. The hon. Member for the Border Burghs, obviously speaking with the approval of the Government, had told them what the hustings cry would be in the event of a Dissolution. His intention was to raise a completely false issue on the subject of the purchase system. The cry was to be that the friends in that House of aristocratic officers in the Army had thrust out this Bill in order to keep up the Army as an aristocratic preserve. He trusted Her Majesty's Government would see the necessity of repudiating both the threat and the cry. It was injudicious to use either of them; it was also inconsistent with the dignity of the House; and he did not think it would tend to conciliate votes in a Division. Unless Her Majesty's Government adopted the course he suggested, he, for one, should have no hesitation in meeting his constituents, and he should have no difficulty in putting the matter not on a false, but on a true issue. He should tell his constituents that he could not vote for an expenditure of public money of which neither the extent nor the object was known. He would tell them further, that at a great crisis of our history a Bill had been brought before the House which failed to appreciate the magnitude of the interests involved, and which did not provide either for the safety of this country or her immunity from possible disaster.

Mr. OSBORNE: Sir, after four nights debate I cannot hope to add any novelties or bring any fresh facts into this discussion; but I trust I may be allowed to occupy the attention of the House for a short space of time, and I beg the House to remember that I am a man of my word, and that I do not act as some other hon. Members do, and commence my speech with an intimation that I shall only occupy a short time, and then speak for one hour and 20 minutes. Therefore, I trust I shall be allowed to intrude upon the patience of the House for a short time, seeing that I have given some attention to this question, and I think the House will agree with me in coming to the conclusion that a question of greater magnitude has seldom been submitted to the British Government. It is a question of such magnitude that I cannot understand its being discussed or debated on party grounds. For my own part I abjure all party views in considering a measure for placing the country in a state of proper security. And I go further; I acquit Her Majesty's Government altogether, in the proposals they have made, of being influenced by any other motive than honest and proper motives. I do not believe that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War intends this Bill to be what is called a "sop" to the Democratic interest. I believe his proposals are made in good faith; and that, however mistaken he may be, he is honest in his intentions—in fact, that he is full of good intentions — but, unfortunately, these are the very things which we know this and "another place" are paved with. Now I, like many speakers who have preceded me, cannot but find fault with the very limited range which this debate has taken; but whose fault is it that it is not more extended? It is the fault of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay) who has brought forward what I may call this "nibbling" Amendment to a great question, which has restricted the range of this discussion, which has prejudged the question, and which has placed us in this predicament, that, whichever way we may vote upon it, we shall be voting upon a false issue. I want the House to follow me while I endeavour to give some idea of what this question really is. In the first place, this Bill gives us no real guide, if we require a guide, to the question before the House. In order fully to comprehend that question we must look to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War, in introducing the Army Estimates on the 16th of last month. In what terms did the right hon. Gentleman lay down the intentions of the Government on that occasion. They are very short and I will read them. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "It is the opinion of the Government that, if we are to deal at all with a question of this magnitude and importance, we ought not to deal with it in a superficial and partial manner, but ought to take a broad and comprehensive review of the subject, and endeavour to lay the deep foundations of a system which may render danger or the apprehension of danger in the future altogether unknown."—[3 *Hansard*, cciv. 328.]

That was the description of this Bill. What is its performance? We know what this Bill is. Here we are, after a fortnight, still discussing one clause. We are floundering in the morass of abolition of purchase, and we can get no further. And whose fault is that? Why the right hon. Gentleman's. After giving us a promise that we were to be placed in a position of permanent security, he brings in this Bill, which is entitled the Army Regulation Bill. Of what does this Bill consist? It consists of three parts. The first part provides for the abolition of purchase, and we have heard of nothing else than the abolition of purchase during the past week. The second part provides for short enlistment, and is merely a continuation of the Act of last Session; and the third part deals with the auxiliary forces, a subject on which I shall have a word or two to say by-and-by. There is nothing that is clear in the Bill except one thing—it is most clear that we shall have an enlarged expenditure, ill-defined Estimates, and no prospect of permanent security. Now, Sir, the Army Department in this House—I am speaking, of course, of the Treasury Benches—is at present stronger than I have ever known it to be before, for it actually consists of four officers connected with the Secretary for War. In the first place, there is the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War himself; then there is the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Financial Secretary (Captain Vivian); the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Sir Henry Storks); and the Judge Advocate General (Mr. Davison), who we saw the other night was put forward in the foremost rank. What a noble army of Martyrs! In the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, on the 16th of last month, permanent security was the cry. But on the first night of this debate that illusion was most effectually dispelled by the speech of the Judge Advocate General. What did he tell us? He said—"It is not permanent security; it is not security at all? The pith of this Bill is the abolition of purchase." Well and good. Then the Financial Secretary—who, I think, is himself an argument in favour of the purchase system—addresses us in a most clever speech. But did he give us any detailed account of the financial results likely to flow from this measure? On the contrary, he ran right round the Bill, and quizzed the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho), but added nothing to our information upon the subject. Nothing but a jump in the dark is suggested, and we are called upon to vote £8,000,000, for what purpose we really do not know. I am sure no man can be more delighted than I am to see the Surveyor General in what I think is his proper place—on the Treasury Bench; and I did expect that when he came forward—the officer who, I suppose, has had more to do with this Bill than anyone else—he would have given us some detailed plan of Army organization, and would have told us what is to be put in the place of the purchase system. He did nothing of the sort. All he did was to refer, in the most graceful manner, to the Army of the past; almost in the language of another gallant general—"Begone, brave Army; don't kick up a row." But I should think that, in taking leave of this Army of the past—in whose records are inscribed the triumphs of British history—he would have told us something of the organization of the Army of the future. Not a word on that point, however, fell from him. But he read to us extracts from letters relating to the subject. Are hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench so hard up for arguments that they are compelled to quote letters to support their views? Every Member knows how, in every debate, he is pestered with letters. If I were to read some of the letters I have received—but which I have not in my pocket, because I left them at home lest I should be tempted to read them—they would completely answer the arguments contained in those which were read by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Surveyor General. I say that we are floundering in the morass of the abolition of purchase. Of course, this subject having been put at the head and front of the battle, it is impossible for us to pass it over. For myself I have no particular prejudice in favour of the purchase system. I have no particular admiration for its history or origin. I know that its origin is neither remote nor reputable. Its associations with Charles II., and his favourite the Duke of Buckingham, are not likely to make it very popular on account of its antiquity. The origin of the purchase system occurred in times when we had only a standing Army of 5,000 men. It is true that, in the year 1695, the Mutiny Act attempted to strike a blow at it; but, as time went on, it was found to be totally impossible to make any provision for officers disabled by old age or wounds, and, therefore, by the Act of Queen Anne, in the year 1711, every officer was allowed, after 20 years' service, to sell his commission. What for? Not for the reasons which have been stated;

but to enable provision to be made for disabled officers, without calling upon the country to pay it. Before we are called upon to abolish a system which I have no objection whatever to see abolished, I should wish you to tell me what you are going to put in its place. Instead of hearing something to the purpose, we have listened to nothing but vague declamation about national armies and professional officers. I should wish this question to be looked at from a civilian, as well as well as from a military, point of view. As a Member of the House of Commons, I am not so particularly fond either of large standing armies or of professional officers. We have seen something of them, and we have always the Prussian view of the question brought before us. It was the same at the time of the proposal for balloting for the Militia being brought forward in 1792; the same fever existed then as now for imitating everything that was Prussian in military matters. But look at Prussia as she is now. Do you wish this country to resemble her? At the present moment she is neither more nor less than a military despotism. The officers of the Prussian Army, which we are now so much admiring, are nothing more or less than a separate class whose instincts are all for war, and who look on a state of peace with aversion. Sir, I do not wish to see our Army Prussianized, especially in regard to that one distinct class. But is there nothing to be said on this matter from another point of view? The Surveyor General of the Ordnance says that we must now have professional officers. Very good, Sir, but have we had no previous experience in this country as to that? And, bad as the purchase system may be, does it not give you some ground of security against the supremacy of the class of mercenaries of whom we have seen something in our history before now? I am not speaking from the military point of view; but, in its civil aspect, I say the purchase system gives you a guarantee against the supremacy of a mere military class. With respect, then, to professional officers, I think the House of Commons ought a little to remember the history of this country. What was the Army of 1644? Why, the very *beau ideal* of that which the Surveyor General of the Ordnance wishes to introduce. The Army of 1644 had no purchase system, the officers were selected by the Commander-in-Chief on the approval of this House, and how did it behave? The right hon. Gentleman the Surveyor General of the Ordnance has told us something about vested interests meeting him everywhere in connection with our present Army. Well, what was the conduct of that Army which had no purchase, no vested interests, and which was appointed by selection? Why, their notion of their vested interests was so strong that they objected altogether to any Vote of this House for their reduction, and the word "agitator," now so rife—I do not see the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) present—was taken from the practice of that Army, for they elected two persons out of every regiment, called "agitators," to resist any reduction of their numbers by this House, and to offer scorn and defiance to the free institutions of the country. That was a specimen of your non-purchase Army; nor was it the only specimen. What do you think of your professional soldier who one fine morning came down to this House? He was an officer without purchase—a selected officer, who weeded that House of Commons of 1648 of all the philosophical economists, and some of the professors, and eventually, Sir, turned one of your predecessors out of that Chair. Colonel Pride was one of those men in whom the Surveyor General of the Ordnance would have delighted; he knew his profession—he was a professional soldier; he had no scruples, although he had some regard for vested interests. That was not all. We remember this Parliamentary Army on an after occasion. Who was it that came down to this House with 300 well-drilled men, and said, Sir, "Take away that bauble?" Why, a lieutenant-general of selection; and aided by those 300 men, commanded by professional officers, he shut up this House, put the key in his pocket, and extinguished the British Constitution. Well, these are a civilian's views probably; but before we are so eager to rush into the system of professional officers and large standing armies let us consider a little. Professional officers may be all very well in their place when war is actually occurring; but I should be very sorry to see a state of things when we should have an enormous standing Army in this country, and nothing but professional mercenaries having the command of that Army. "Well," but says the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, "here I have a letter;" and really I was so carried away by his manner, that I thought there was matter in it. Nothing could have been better than his manner; it was the Governor of Corfu all over; but I must say the matter disappointed me when he read that letter from Colonel Cameron. Colonel Cameron is a distinguished officer, but not more so than 50 others, and I could quote two names that would, I think, even balance that authority. Here is the opinion of an officer—

> "The description of gentlemen of whom the officers in the Army are composed make, from their education, manners, and habits, the best officers in the world. To compose the officers of a lower class would cause the Army to deteriorate."

That was the opinion of the Duke of Wellington, who, forsooth, is now sneered at by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen

> "That never set a squadron in the field,
> Nor the division of a battle know
> More than a spinster."

Well, I have another equally great authority—a great civilian authority. What does he say?

> "It was only when the Army was unconnected altogether with those whose property gave them an interest in the welfare of the country, was commanded by military adventurers, that it could ever become formidable to the liberties of the nation."

That was the opinion of Lord Palmerston. I quote these two authorities—the Duke of Wellington and Lord Palmerston—against Colonel Cameron.

> "Under which King, Bezonian? Speak, or die."

So far for some of the civilian considerations about purchase. I, unfortunately, have sufficient experience of this House, and of the Treasury Bench, to know that when such a Motion as this is brought forward for the abolition of purchase, any particular institution, be it purchase or any other, and in such a Parliament as we have got together—I do not say a scratch Parliament—I am certain that institution is doomed. I am not going to impede the abolition of purchase. I disagree with this Amendment altogether, because, wisely or unwisely, purchase, I repeat, is doomed. Therefore I have made up my mind that it will go; but if it does, one thing should follow. You are bound at once to abolish it; and, among other reasons, for one given by the Financial Secretary — namely, that it would be impossible to have officers from the Militia without purchase acting with officers who have purchased. The Financial Secretary laid that down very strongly, and I agree with him. If, then, you abolish purchase you come to this, that it must be abolished at once. It is impossible that you can have the two systems standing side by side; you cannot have one officer coming in, who has not purchased, and another officer commanding, or alongside of him, who has purchased. If you spread the abolition of purchase over a series of years, and keep the two systems existing together, you may conciliate the taxpayer, but you will destroy the discipline of the Army. You must, therefore, pay off all these men at once. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will have no difficulty in doing it. We know his acuteness in managing figures, and his great resources. I leave it to him; but I say, let him pay off these officers at once and have done with it. Another thing I would say is—"Do not meddle with what is called the present bonus system." Why should you meddle with it at all? You have tried by all sorts of Acts of Parliament and regulations to control it; but you have failed. You cannot do it. I perfectly agree with my hon. Friend the Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands) on that point. It has been sought to make this proposal out to be an economical one. But how? Why, this Bill, under the pretext of being a Bill of liberality, is only a "sham." I give the hon. Member for the Border Burghs every credit for the excellent speech he made the other night; indeed, he explained the measure more fully than we have yet had it explained to us by anyone else, although he does not happen to sit on the Treasury Bench. But he forgot one thing—namely, that in spreading this process over a number of years the Government is looking out for a great many windfalls; for every colonel who becomes a major-general is to forfeit the sum of £4,500; and the value of the commission of every purchase officer who dies on service is to go to the Government. That, I say, is not a measure of liberality towards the Army at all. I think, if the officers of the Army were wise, they would close with the offer of the Government; but then do not let the Government attempt to spread the operation over a number of years, but let them, for the sake of the discipline of the Army, and for their own sakes, pay off all this money at once, repealing the Act of Parliament referred to by the hon. Member for Warrington, and allowing the thing to take its course. So much for the purchase system. I am sorry to have dwelt so long upon it; but it was really necessary to do so, as we are discussing the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Colonel the Member for Berkshire, who, I hope, will take my advice and get his Amendment out of the way. His Amendment, Sir, only props up a bad system: this Bill can only be passed by means of his Amendment; because no man of common or ordinary sagacity, who examines this question for himself, can for a moment suppose that this Bill would ever be listened to—that it would not be taken away as the mace is taken away from the Table of this House—but for this clause about the abolition of purchase. In all other respects the measure is disjointed and incoherent; and, though it displays good intentions, I cannot compliment its framers on their capacity. As yet we have heard nothing, and are without any guidance as to what sort of men are to be appointed to the Army, or by what kind of process they are to be promoted. We hear, indeed, of promotion by seniority; but everybody is of opinion that promotion by seniority means nothing more nor less than stagnation. Then we hear of selection. What did the Secretary for War say about selection on February 16. The Secretary for War is one of those men whom you know is really earnest when he appears to be so, and when he is earnest every one of his words requires to be weighed. Now, what did he say? He said—"Selection is one of those problems in life the most difficult in solution." And there he left it. I thought that it was a quotation from "Rochefoucauld" at first, but I have not been able to find it there. Well, it is one of those "problems," and how does he solve it? The Surveyor General of Ordnance did not say much about it; but he said—"Look at the Austrian Army, and the French Army." I am not so well acquainted with the Austrian Army as the right hon. and gallant Gentleman; I do not know if the Austrian officers acted on the principle of Sir Lucius O'Trigger; but I do know that a more unfortunate instance could not have been produced with regard to the principle of selection. Look at their first campaign against the Prussians. Did the right hon. and gallant Gentleman refer to one Field Marshal Giuilai, an officer of selection, who led the Austrian Army into such difficulties and defeats? Does he remember a gallant officer of selection whose ancestor, Clam Gallas, in the Thirty Years' War, committed the same mistakes as he in the late war? Of the principle of selection as practised in the French Army I know little or nothing; but we have recently seen what that has led to. In fact, Sir, selection is really a difficult problem, even in civil life. I have actually heard your judgments in the way of selection impugned in this House. There are great Parliamentary difficulties, no doubt, in the way of selection. What does selection mean? I was sorry to hear my hon. Friend the Member for the Border Burghs, who was made for better things, attack the Commander-in-Chief for his opinion about selection. Of course it would not do, after the dictum of the Secretary for War that it is of all problems in life, the most difficult of solution. But what should we have if this selection were carried out? Is there no such thing as Parliamentary interest or favour? What have I seen in this House when the principle of selection and rejection have both been carried out? Have I not seen officers worrying Members of this House, and canvassing them to bring forward their cases? Hon. Gentlemen will remember when that much respected and departed Member of this House, Mr. Darby Griffith, brought forward that eternal case of Colonel Dawkins, he actually got a Division. If you have this principle of selection and rejection practised on a large scale, think what a number of Petitions we shall have. Imagine the hon. Member for the Border Burghs coming down armed with statistics, and thundering at his right hon. Friend the Secretary for War, who thinks that selection is one of the most difficult problems in life. Selection, as has been well said by Field Marshal Sir John Burgoyne, must necessarily end in being either a lottery or an abuse. Selection is only possible in a despotic country. Now, we have heard the non-purchase corps alluded to, and I was surprised to hear the Financial Secretary to the War Office account for the list of officers in the Artillery corps by saying it was an abnormal state of things arising from the influx of officers during the Crimean War. Directly those officers are absorbed he assures us promotion in the Artillery corps will be fairly satisfactory. If the hon. and gallant Member will look in the pigeon-holes of the office he will find this flux is no new complaint. So far back as 1823 there was such a block in the Artillery corps that the Duke of Wellington actually gave leave to 27 lieutenant-colonels, three majors, and seven captains, to sell their commissions; and the Financial Secretary's gallant father, who was Master General of the Ordnance, brought in a Report about the Artillery in the year 1840—a normal period, as to the ages of the officers in Artillery corps, which is worthy of remark in this abnormal period. I trust I am not tedious in touching on these details; it is really necessary to answer these statements, because there are many hon. Gentlemen near me thirsting for information, who are crammed with ideas from speeches about a profession to which they have not given their early attention, and who really should be accurately informed. Now, what did this Report state? It tells us that in 1840 the 20 senior colonels in the Artillery corps were aged from 60 to 58, and had served from 46 to 44 years. Would any hon. Gentlemen in business think the position of colonel, with its emoluments, a sufficient reward for 46 years' service? The 10 senior lieutenant-colonels were 58, and had served 41 years. The 33 senior captains were 50 years of age, and had served 35 years. The 45 second captains were from 45 to 48 years of age, and had served for 30 years. The 18 first lieutenants were from 40 to 38 years of age, with from 20 to 16 years' service. That was the state of the Artillery in 1840—a normal time. But what is their state now? Questions were asked of the actuaries, in the Committee on this subject by the Financial Secretary to the War Office, as to what would be the normal state of promotion in the Artillery corps, and the answers were that lieutenant-colonels would be colonels after 42 years' service; captains would require 35 years before they made a move, and lieutenants 16 years. You will find that in a Parliamentary Paper of this Session, chap. 205. My wonder is that you ever get anybody into the non-purchase corps on these terms, and my firm conviction is that unless you increase the pay you will not get officers in the future to enter the service. The Estimates are at present totally undefined, and you may intend some of the money to go for this purpose. The only approximate estimate of the cost of the proposed system has been made by the hon. Member for the Border Burghs, and he is not the proper person to furnish the House with information which should be supplied from the Treasury Bench. What is to be the expenditure of this country for the future? I have my doubts as to what is in the womb of time, as expounded by the Secretary for War. From that speech of the right hon. Gentleman, which entirely took me in, and took half the world in, I thought we were going to have one of the greatest measures it is possible to conceive. That was a great and a lucid speech, well reasoned and admirably delivered, and what did the right hon. Gentleman say? The right hon. Gentleman asked a question which deserves the attention of all those Gentlemen who profess to look after the public purse, but who make a great fuss and do very little. The right hon. Gentleman asked—"What will you do about retirement? It is impossible to say with accuracy what will be required for that purpose. No one but a prophet can tell that. Parliament must meet it." Parliament is an assembly of prophets. "Are you prepared, as a Parliament, to deal with this question of retirement?" I ask my Friends, the political economists and professors I see bristling around me, are you prepared to deal with this question of retirement? Are you satisfied with the Estimates that have been laid upon the Table of the House as to the probable cost of this new military scheme? We all know very well that £8,000,000 represents but a fraction of what it will actually cost. You talk about dealing with that class of men, the professional officers; but will you get them without increasing the pay? Do you suppose that the present pay will allure military men, who think they have genius, into your service? And do you suppose that when the wages of labour are rising throughout the country you will get private soldiers to serve you for the present pay? Is anybody so blind and fatuous as to believe that these Estimates represent in any way the cost which the country will be called upon to bear for this new scheme? Well, so much for retirement. Now, how are we to grant commissions? I have never been a great admirer of that Chinese puzzle, the competitive system; but in the Army it is impossible to find by competition men who are fitted for officers; for these are qualities, at which many of my hon. Friends around me may stare, that are of great consequence and value in an officer. A quick eye, and power to ride across country, such as is possessed by my hon. Friend the gallant Member for Tipperary (Colonel White)—a good horseman—these are all things to be looked to. Mark you, in the Prussian Army they will not have a man who cannot ride. These are things to be looked to, particularly as by the Bill nine men out of ten can never rise beyond the rank of captain. You want men who can go through regular routine duty; you do not want genius. You want good, strong, able-bodied men who can ride across country. Such a man is likely to be a good officer. Is there any authority for this competitive system which is about to be introduced into the Army? I have heard Lord Grey quoted on this question, and what was the noble Lord's answer, before the Commission of 1856, as to examinations, and particularly as to competitive examinations for officers? He said—

> "You test nothing but the acquirements of a man by examination. What you want in an officer, far more than acquirements, is that he should possess certain moral qualities, such as courage, high spirit, energy, the feeling of a gentleman, and the power of thinking and acting for himself. These cannot be tested by examination."

He goes on to say—

> "The system of cramming weakens the powers of the mind. The consequence is that, in the opinion of eminent Frenchmen, there is a very serious increase of brain disease among the young."

That has been exemplified very fully in the French Army, where there is a competitive examination for officers. I do not think we ought to go to France for a system of obtaining officers, although you have gone there for a system of transport and supply. What was Sir George Lewis's opinion of the competitive system? It is so terse that I may be allowed to quote it, and it will come home, I am sure, to hon. Gentlemen around me, who have all read sufficient of the history of this country to know who Sir George Lewis was. He said of competitive examination—

> "Look to the points and paces of the steed, but do not rest the choice of a coach horse on the issue of a race, for the simple reason that we do not want racers in harness."

So much for competitive examination, a system which would have plucked Marlborough, puzzled Wolfe, and probably turned back Wellington. I will now say a few words about the artillery, because I desire to go through the Bill succinctly. We are told that we have, or that we can have, an Army of 400,000 men—that is, we have a Regular Army of 112,000, we have 139,000 Militiamen, and we have the Volunteers, but we have only artillery for the 112,000 men. But I say, we do not want an Army of 400,000 men. Why put that in the foreground? and if you do, why should you deceive hon. Gentlemen when you know you have not artillery, which is most necessary for an Army? How have all the recent great actions between the French and the Prussians been gained? Not only by the efficiency of the Prussian men, but also by the superiority of their artillery. What is the state of our artillery service? I asked a Question a few days ago about new batteries of bronze guns. We were told the other day that bronze guns were not to be made, because there had been some failure in the casting. I have taken some trouble to inform myself on this subject, and I say that, in the opinion of all the scientific men of the present day, bronze is not the metal of which a gun would be made by anyone who had any experience as a civil or military engineer. The metal of which I believe the gun of the future will be made, is the Whitworth metal; but Mr. Whitworth, who is a scientific engineer, has not a chance. Again, you are going back to the old system of muzzle-loaders; but is the right hon. Gentleman aware that at this moment there is a breech-loader invented, of the most simple construction, which, in my heart and conscience, I believe will be the gun of the future. The right hon. Gentleman takes credit for his 35-ton gun, which is not yet proved, and for his 16-pounders, only two of which are in existence; but I want to know how he proposes to increase the field artillery? He said we have added to our field artillery; but the

Surveyor General of Ordnance wholly omitted any allusion to that most important branch of the service, and did not mention the state of the artillery at all. After he had taken a farewell of the Army he seemed so overcome that he gave up all the rest. How is it proposed to constitute the field artillery? Is it to be done at the expense of the garrison artillery? but all who have any knowledge of the service know that a garrison artilleryman is a very highly instructed man, and when you make enormous guns you require a highly scientific man to work them. The garrison artillerymen at Plymouth are now employed in mounting and dismounting those large guns. The garrison artillerymen require to be highly scientific men; they require a knowledge and a speciality entirely of itself; but it is proposed to take away all such men and make them into field artillerymen. What is proposed as regards the horse artillery? It is proposed to take five batteries of horse artillery from the Indian Army and to add an additional battery. That question of the Indian Army is a question which looms very darkly. I want to know how, with a system of short enlistment, you propose to keep up that Indian Army. I am not content with this Bill, which is an Army Regulation Bill for our home establishment, for I want to know how the Army of the future in India is to be created. I have shown you what are the horse and field artillery; now, what are your Reserve batteries? I believe the right hon. Gentleman proposes 12 batteries of six guns each. That will give him 72 guns. He has the guns and carriages; but where are the gunners and drivers to come from? They cannot be provided in a day. The whole question of artillery is shunted aside, and there is no provision for retirement, which I think is one of the most important things the House of Commons can consider. So much for the horse, the foot, and the dragoons. As to the cavalry, I shall not rightly understand what the right hon. Gentleman intends to do until the House goes into Committee on the Bill. We now come to the auxiliary forces and the question of Reserve, and I would ask any hon. Gentleman who is at all conversant with the Militia—"Is there anything in this Bill which tends to make that force a Reserve for the Army?" It is true that the third part of the Bill deals with what are called the auxiliary forces. It provides that Lords Lieutenant are not to make nominations; at least, not publicly. You have certain field officers on the Staff who are to supervise certain districts. That will end in being a job for certain field officers. Then you have an extension of drill, which is very well as far as it goes, but it will not make a soldier or even a Militiaman efficient. Has any hon. Member looked at those question which were put to the commanding officers of Militia regiments? Question No. 5 asks—"What will be the effect of this increased system of drill?" Half the officers in England and Wales reply that it will be against recruiting for Militia, and a large proportion of the officers of Militia regiments in Scotland and Ireland say the same thing. I say, as for a Reserve, we have no Reserve. The right hon. Gentleman only proposes to take money for 9,000 men as a first-class Reserve, and yet this is called a Bill for placing the country in a state of security. We have heard something of camps of instruction, and if you are to make the Militia at all effective you must send them to camps of instruction, You might just as well attempt to make an Admiral at Virginia Water as to make a Militiaman at all efficient without sending him to a camp of instruction. I see no proposition to send Militiamen to camps of instruction in the Bill. The sensible thing would be to embody each regiment of Militia for six months once in every five years, and that would embody one-tenth of the Militia at the same cost as the Regular Army. Without going as far as the hon. Gentleman the Member for Nottingham (Mr. A. Herbert), who would not only sweep away the Army of the past, but everything in the future, except in the shape of a policeman, I think it would be wiser to rely much more upon the Militia and to bring it to the fore much more than you are doing by this Bill. What does "Army regulation" mean? This Bill is nothing more nor less than a Bill for the abolition of purchase; but what Army re-organization really means is having an efficient practical military officer in the Cabinet. While you have a man, however able, moved about to so many Offices, knowing the business of everyone—and that seems to be the principle on which Government is now conducted—while you have a mere civilian at the head, what can you expect? In my opinion one of the greatest mistakes that was ever made by this House was the abolition of the Ordnance Department. Up to 1828 the Master General of the Ordnance was always a distinguished officer, and generally in the Cabinet. You abolished that post contrary to the advice of the Duke of Wellington and Sir James Graham, as you were then beginning what was called an "Army consolidation" scheme. If you are to have Army re-organization, you ought to have a military man in the Cabinet, though I do not want him to interfere in other questions. I know that Army reformers have now a difficulty of getting into Parliament. Contagious diseases keep them out. Let us, however, see what has happened. In 15 years you have had seven different Secretaries of State at War, and of those seven only two have been men connected with the Army. What has been the consequence? You have gone on from blunder to blunder; you have gone on with your civil administration, always getting into scrapes, from the time of the famous green coffee being sent to the troops in the Crimea. Who was it that sent that green coffee to the troops? A military man? No; a civilian at the Treasury. ["Name!"] I do not name him; I do not know who it was. "Oh, no, we never mention him!" At any rate it is the civilian administration of your Army that always breaks down, not your military or your regimental system. Only see what has happened in this attempted consolidation at the War Office. During the last 12 years there have been 17 Royal Commissions, 18 Select Committees, 19 Committees of officers in the War Office, besides 35 Committees of other officers, to consider the re-organization of the Department. What can be more ridiculous? It is because I deprecate what the Surveyor General of the Ordnance called spasmodic efforts at Army Reform; it is because I believe this Bill not to be a Bill of efficient economy or efficient defence; more than all, it is because I believe the Bill will not place this country in a state of permanent security, that I shall not vote for the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay), but shall support a direct Motion, that this Bill be not read a second time.

COLONEL JERVIS said, there was no man on the Opposition side of the House who would not have given his best assistance to the Government in the attempt to promote a Bill for the real re-organization of the Army. But the measure they had introduced was one of so extraordinary a character, that without supporting the interests of one class of officers, but acting simply in the public interests, he thought it could not possibly be allowed to pass. Her Majesty's Government had told the House plainly and distinctly that the whole front of this Bill was to do away with the purchase system in the Army at large, and to amalgamate the field, Militia, and Volunteer forces. Well, he supposed they would do away with the purchase system, and he had consequently to ask how they meant to officer the Militia and Volunteers. To the questions which had been put from the Conservative side of the House there had been no reply from the Treasury Bench. Questions had been asked and asked again, in a *bonâ fide* spirit, as to the cost of abolition coupled with that of retirement, and if Members could only find out what the Treasury Bench thought, they would be able to make up their minds on the subject. But Her Majesty's Government would not say what they meant to do, and it was evident they were determined to carry the Bill by the mere strength of votes. If Government would not say what they knew or meant to do, it fell to the lot of independent Members to come forward and give what information they were able to furnish. The Secretary for War had stated that he could not state what would be the expense of his scheme; but there were records in the War Office which would have enabled him to state very exactly what the expenditure would be. There were very good data for stating the effect of his scheme from the Army Estimates; there was, first of all, the Vote for the Marines; another way of testing it was with reference to the Ordnance corps, and there was a further calculation that could be made from the Estimates placed before the House from the India Office. Well, he had to ask what Her Majesty's Government was going to give in exchange for the very large sums the country was asked to pay in connection with this scheme. There had been no answer whatever to this; but they were told that, if it was agreed to, the military forces of the country would be put in the most perfect order. What was the case, however? Not only were the forces not placed in order, but they were placed in no order whatever. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War not only coolly disposed of the whole thing, but stated further, with reference to the artillery, that he had got a proportion of something like 336 guns for his 112,000 men. He (Colonel Jervis) called the attention of the Surveyor General of Ordnance (Sir Henry Storks) and the Financial Secretary (Captain Vivian) to this fact. But was it the fact that we had got artillery for that number of men? A certain number of guns and a certain number of waggons could be turned out, but these guns and waggons did not improve by being in the field; they were quite as good in store. What we wanted in a campaign was a number of experienced gunners and drivers. Now, at present, they had neither gunners nor drivers to man more than four guns out of the six in every battery. The right hon. and gallant officer the Surveyor General was smiling, but he would give him facts; and he thought it was no laughing matter for the country to be in this state. Did he suppose that the French and Prussian authorities did not know thororougly the exact state in which the ordnance was? Did he suppose that by coming to that House, and throwing dust in the eyes of the English people, they would succeed in throwing dust in the eyes of France or Prussia? He would not say a word about the 72 guns which the Secretary of State for War had said belonged to the depôt, but would simply refer to those batteries that made up his total of 336 guns. It was absurd for the Government to say that they had 336 guns ready for service, when they had not gunners or drivers for a much smaller force. The state in which the artillery was might be shown by the fact that, if a force of artillery were required to march from Aldershot to a station at no great distance, it would be found necessary to break up three batteries to make a single battery. The House had been told that the country was to be divided into districts, in each of which about 20,000 Volunteers, Militia, and Regulars were to be formed into bodies in order to be drilled and paraded, and to receive instructions. In point of fact, however, there was no part of the country where accommodation could be found for so large a number of men. Indeed, it was clearly enough shown by a Return presented to Parliament in June, 1867, on the Motion of the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. O'Reilly Dease) that in the whole country there was not barrack accommodation for more than 130,000 men, and that in no part of England where troops could be assembled together, with the exception of Aldershot, Plymouth, and Portsmouth, was there barrack accommodation for more than 5,000 men. This deficiency of accommodation must be well known to the authorities at the War Office; but he had looked in vain for any indication in the Estimates that the Government really intended to carry out this portion of the scheme. It was not proposed to take a single farthing for the purpose of providing the necessary accommodation, even in huts, in any one of the seven districts into which England was to be divided. He had always objected to the abolition of the purchase system unless a satisfactory scheme could be devised for the payment and retirement of officers. Now, there was one clause in the Bill to which he wished to draw the particular attention of the Financial Secretary, and of the officers belonging to purchase corps. A body of Commissioners were about to be created, who were to take into consideration the various claims brought under their notice, including claims in respect of extra purchase money. He wished to know whether the Commissioners were to act on the principle which had been applied to the East Indian officers? If the Government intended to act upon a similar principle in both cases, the Government seemed to be holding out hopes which they never intended to fulfil. He desired to hear what was the intention of the Government in this matter. In Clause 4 an attempt was made to legalize a most illegal act which had been done by the India Office, and under which the interests of the officers had been wofully sacrificed. Was the offer of the Government to be a *bonâ fide* one, or was it to be clogged with clauses enabling the Commissioners to overthrow the just expectations of the officers? The Surveyor General of the Ordnance might, perhaps, think he was raising a mere shadow of an objection; but he remembered that when, not very many years ago, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Henley) moved the insertion of a clause in a Bill with a view to obtain the recognition of a certain body of men, the then Secretary of State for India put on a look of blank astonishment and assured the House that they might have trusted to his honour. The clause was inserted, however; but the very next day despatches were sent to India to render nugatory the very clause to which the Secretary of State had been a party. Within his memory a difficulty arose with regard to exchanges between officers in the Militia and the Regular Army, which might and probably would occur again if this Bill became law. The Tipperary Artillery Militia and the Royal Artillery had been quartered together, and the greatest harmony prevailed; but when a few years ago a proposal was made to transfer certain officers from the Militia to the Regular force, it called into immediate existence feelings of bitter hatred and thorough disgust on both sides, from the senior officer down to the drummer-boy, which would not, he believed, have abated by the present time if the proposal had been carried into effect. They had heard so much about the principle of selection, the making of confidential reports as to the character, efficiency, and so forth, of officers, that he should have liked a little more information on the point than had been vouchsafed by the Secretary of State. Perhaps, however, the right hon. Gentleman was no better informed than was one of his predecessors, who, though learned in many other respects, had to have the difference between muzzle-loading and breech-loading guns elaborately explained to him, and, by way of returning the compliment, told his informant that bayonets were so called from the fact that they were first made at Bayonne. If the Secretary of State did not possess the information, the Surveyor of Ordnance might and ought to have informed the House that confidential reports, giving the most minute details regarding the efficiency and personal character of officers, were regularly made and acted upon by the Commander-in-Chief when considering cases of promotion under the present system. The only reason he could imagine for the Government withholding this information was that they wished to do nothing which would render the rejection of the system of selection probable. What would be the working of the system? The Secretary of State said that when an officer was passed over he would take the hint and retire from the service. Perhaps so; but if purchase was abolished, what would he have to retire upon? He would, when he thought himself harshly treated, have to submit tamely or to leave the service, and give up all its advantages without any recompense whatever. He should like a frank answer on the part of Her Majesty's Government to the question whether it was intended to adopt this system, or to place officers who were passed over on half-pay, or, in fact, how they intended to deal with this very difficult branch of the subject. Half-pay was given as a reward for past and a retainer for future services, and he, for one, could never sanction so great a violation of the principle on which half-pay was based as a proposal to place on the half-pay list officers whom the Commander-in-Chief considered unfit to serve the Crown on active service. He did not believe any hon. Member in the House would oppose any plan of real Army re-organization; but they could not consent to accept the plan of a Government, Members of which avowed that they did not understand the question. He held that the conduct of the Government in this matter was most unjust. In the first place the Government insulted men who had been 20 years in the military service, and he would now ask what the Government was going to do? With reference to this matter he should recommend the Financial Secretary of the War Department to read over the debate which had taken place on a kindred subject in 1796. Further, he had to say that, on the part of his constituents, he complained of the conduct of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War had denied that there was an intention of creating anything but a voluntary Militia. The Under Secretary for War (Lord Northbrook), who had spoken in "another place," made an objection against conscription, and yet he (Colonel Jervis) found in this Bill clause upon clause to enforce conscription, not by consent of Parliament, but during the Recess, whenever the Privy Council might hold that an emergency had arisen. Last year the First Lord of the Treasury brought forward a Bill enabling Parliament to be called together, in case of necessity, within seven days. He thought this obviated any necessity for such a power being placed in the hands of the Privy Council. He had, therefore, given Notice of his intention to move, in Committee, the omission of this provision. He did not do this with a view of prejudging the question of balloting for the Militia, but because he objected to the Government having the power of enforcing the Ballot in this free country, when opportunity was given for Parliament being called together within so short a period. On the whole he should vote against the measure at its present stage, on the broad ground that the Government had given no satisfactory assurances as to what they intended doing after their sweeping proposals had been accepted by Parliament.

SIR TOLLEMACHE SINCLAIR said, that, whatever else was done, care should be taken that, either by agreeing to the Bill in its entirety, or by introducing into it Amendments as further consideration showed to be necessary, such a system of retirement should be framed as would prevent promotion being materially slower in the future than it is at present. The Bill would confer immense financial advantages on officers now holding commissions in the service. An ensign would receive £17 10*s*. on being appointed lieutenant, a lieutenant would receive £80 on gaining his company, a captain would get £125 on attaining his majority, and a major would receive £140 when he became lieutenant-colonel. With regard to the officers who might enter the service hereafter, ensigns would gain £22 10*s*., lieutenants £40, captains £125, majors £250, and lieutenant - colonels £400. In addition to the advantages which officers would reap from the Government Bill, there was this further immense advantage which had been overlooked in the debate — that henceforth married officers would be relieved from the necessity of insuring their lives to secure an amount of provision to their widows and families. The Government, by relieving married officers from that necessity, would practically almost double their pay. It was said that the purchase system was an advantage to non-purchase officers. So far from its being an advantage to them he believed it retarded their promotion. But even if it could be proved to be an advantage to them, he believed they would rather have their promotion somewhat retarded than see rich junior officers repeatedly jump over their heads. He had been a non-purchase officer, and he knew something of the mortifications, the anxieties, and the disappointments of non-purchase officers. However conscious of military ability a non-purchase officer might be, however attached he might be to his profession, however anxious to continue to serve his country, he had only the cruel alternative before him of giving up his profession or sacrificing his family if he was a married man. Under the present system we were deprived of the services not only of very poor men, who had never been able to purchase any commission, but also of the services of men of moderate means. We were deprived of the services of Von Moltkes and Von Blumenthals, in order that some rich men might obtain the means of destroying regiments and losing battles. He thought that purchase should be abolished at once instead of spreading the payment over 20 or 30 years. He had no doubt, from inquiries he had made, that officers in the Army would gladly accept immediate payment of the regulation price, and would renounce all claim to the over-regulation price. He believed that would be the fairest to the officers, and the most economical to the country. An hon. Member estimated the cost of abolishing the purchase system at £11,000,000; but the Government were of opinion that by spreading the payment over 20 years it might be reduced to £8,000,000. How was it to be so reduced? By depriving a colonel of the Army of his commission, by depriving an officer who retired on full-pay of his commission, by depriving a widow and orphans of the commission of an officer who died but was not killed in battle. He did not think it right to deprive any of these persons of a vested right which they ought to possess. The Government, instead of paying the over-regulation price and depriving those persons of their rights, should, on the contrary, pay them their due. Under the present system when an officer was killed in battle his widow was paid not the over-regulation price but the regulation price only. He thought that the living officer did not deserve so much consideration as the widow and children of a man who had poured out his heart's blood for his country. He thought in this respect that they ought to imitate the practice observed in the Prussian Army—namely, that the widow of an officer who was killed in battle should have a pension, in addition to other advantages. He proposed to raise the £8,000,000 for the abolition of the purchase system in Terminable Annuities at 5 per cent for 35 years. That process would cost about £400,000 a-year; but he understood the plan of the Government would cost £500,000 a-year. Therefore, by adopting his proposal a saving of £100,000 a-year to the country would be effected, and the officers would gain £160,000 because they would be able to make profit to that amount by investing their money. A captain who received £1,800 for his commission, if he could remain six years and a-half in the service, would be recouped the entire amount of the over-regulation price. The fault of the present system was, that a poor officer, who could not pay regulation price, was compelled to allow other officers to leap over his head. The great grievance of the Bill was this—that when a major left his regiment the senior captain, if not selected, would be degraded in the opinion of his brother officers, and even of the soldiers of his company. He had a strong feeling for an officer in such a position, who might have served his country with ability and distinction, but might not be up to a certain ideal standard of perfection. In the Indian service, as he understood, the custom was to take the lieutenant-colonel not from the major of the regiment, but from the roster of majors. He would propose that the same system should be adopted with respect to the majority—that there should be a roster of captains, and that the major should be chosen from the roster, the principle of selection being carried out to the fullest extent. If it were understood that the senior captain of the regiment was ineligible as major, his feelings would be spared, and he would not be humiliated either in his own opinion or in that of the officers of his regiment. With regard to the Ballot, if we were under the necessity of adopting it, he would say that while, on the one hand, many men were not qualified to serve their country in the Militia, and the taking of an employer of 1,000 hands from his business might be attended with the very worst consequences, as it might throw great numbers of people out of employment, the French system, on the other hand, was most unfair, because the price of exemption was the same for the rich man and the poor man. The result was that the small fish were caught, while the large fish broke through the net. What he would suggest was that a tenth of the income should be the price of exemption in each case, that a labouring man, who might be supposed to earn £40 a-year should pay £4, while the man who had £10,000 a-year should pay £1,000. In that way we should have a system which would be satisfactory to the country and to all parties.

Lord GEORGE MANNERS observed that there were few Members who had had the honour of a seat in the House as long as he had, who had occupied so little of the public time, and partly on that account, and partly because he felt most strongly the vast importance of the question before the House, he ventured to ask the attention of the House for a few moments whilst he endeavoured briefly to state the reasons which would govern his vote. He should endeavour to divest himself of all professional or party feeling whilst considering this subject, although he had served for 25 years on full pay in the Army. If, in the first instance, he dealt with the purchase system, it was not because he thought it a point of the first importance—in that respect he agreed with the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) that its importance was of a secondary nature—but because it was more immediately referred to in the Amendment before the House, and occupied the first and largest place in the scheme of the Government. He was not there to advocate the theory of purchase. If we were about for the first time to construct our military system, it would not enter into his mind, or the mind of any man, to devise the system of purchase. But that was not our case. We found ourselves in this position: we had to ask ourselves the question whether we should abolish a system which had existed for

200 years—which had "grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength"—under which our great military successes had been achieved, and this country had grown to such a pitch of greatness as to make it—let hon. Gentlemen opposite say what they would —the envy of the world. He did not intend to ask the House to go with him into any details with regard to regulation, or over-regulation. Whatever was the right thing let us do it. The country was rich enough; and even if she should make herself poor to do the right thing, let it be done. But he did not feel that he would be justified in calling on his constituents to bear a heavy burden for the abolition of the purchase system, until they had fuller information from the Government not only as to what would be the cost, immediate and prospective, but also upon what system the higher grades of our Army were for the future to be filled, and upon what plan the intended retirements should be effected; or, as it was put the other night by the right hon. Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington), how a man was to get into the Army, and how he was to get out of it. We had been dimly told that the future appointment of officers to the higher grades in our battalions was to be by some system of selection; and his right hon. and gallant Friend the Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Sir Henry Storks) the other night told the House that he did not see any difficulty in carrying it out. That was reassuring, and it was time the House should be reassured. It was the first reassuring word upon the question that had been heard in that House. But it was not so long since they had been told by the Secretary of State, in introducing the Army Estimates, that the question of selection was one of the most difficult problems with which a man could be confronted, and they knew that His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief some years ago expressed an opinion that it was altogether impracticable; and though His Royal Highness, prompted by that devotion to the public service which was one of his characteristics, had since seen fit to modify that opinion, it was, he believed, a matter of perfect notoriety that that distinguished Officer looked upon the proposed system with very great disfavour. Now, when it was a question of adopting a system of this sort, it might be useful to see what its results had been where it had been applied. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Droitwich, who had filled with distinction the two important offices of First Lord of the Admiralty and Secretary of State for War, warned the House the other night, from his experience at the Admiralty, against adopting any system of selection in the Army. There was a passage in one of the Duke of Wellington's despatches which might have some little bearing on this matter. He would quote it from memory; but he had read the passage so often that he should probably quote it correctly. The passage occurred in a despatch to Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for War, within seven days after the Battle of Waterloo. The Duke said—

> "I suppose I am commanding, always excepting my old Spanish infantry, the worst troops—the worst equipped and with the worst Staff—that ever were got together."

What was the lesson to be drawn from that? It was that the Duke's old Spanish infantry, as he called them, trained and disciplined on the regimental system, had won the Battle of Waterloo. The Duke said that the Army was "the worst equipped." Who could have equipped that Army but officers chosen by selection? And he had the worst Staff. How was that Staff appointed? By selection. Then the Duke went on to say that "——," evidently a Staff officer of high rank, "knows no more of his duty than a child, and I am obliged to do it for him." How had that officer of high rank been appointed? By selection. Indeed, hon. Gentlemen, in looking back into history, would find innumerable instances in which the right man had not been chosen, and in which disgrace had been warded off only by the tenacity, courage, and discipline of our troops. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay) had referred, in glowing terms, the other night to the great feat of arms at Balaklava, and it struck him that something like that which the French would call a "sensation" had pervaded the ranks of hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Benches opposite, as they thought of the errors which might be committed under our present military system. What had passed through his own mind, however, was how it could have happened that an officer could have been appointed to an important post who could give so fatal an order as one which might have compromised our whole Army; for he was, he thought, justified in saying that the blame did not lay with Lord Raglan. Taking all these things into consideration, the House would no doubt feel that a system of selection ought to be looked upon with great suspicion. The hon. Member for Nottingham (Mr. A. Herbert) had the other night sketched a scheme of selection under which officers would be chosen by a Board of general officers; but how, he would ask, could such a Board examine into the merits of a major stationed at Bermuda or Hong Kong? Falstaff complained that when he sent to a mercer's for 22 yards of satin he sent him back nothing but "security." Well, he (Lord George Manners) complained that the Government, when the country demanded security, had given it nothing but selection; and he would say with Falstaff that "he would as soon put ratsbane in his mouth" as selection. As to the question of retirement, he would merely say that the House was entirely in the dark with respect to the cost of the Government proposal. With regard to entrances into the Army, it was stated that first commissions were to be put up to competition, so that the services of the best brains in the country might be enlisted. He was the last man to underrate the value of brains. But how, he should like to know, could it be expected that the best brains in the country would be secured for the service for a payment of 5*s.* 3*d.* a-day—the wages of a journeyman carpenter—out of which the officer would have to pay for his uniform, and contribute largely to the maintenance of the regimental band. Again, how was a really efficient officer to be obtained for the cavalry for 8*s.* a-day, out of which he would have to furnish himself with two chargers, and be subject to a deduction for their keep? It was quite clear, he thought, the House had a right to much fuller information as to the ultimate cost of the Government proposals before giving to them its assent. He wished, in the next place, to say a few words on the remaining parts of the Bill. He was grievously disappointed at the security which it provided for the country. What, in his opinion, was required was an immediate Reserve; and that he saw no chance of obtaining, for it would be many years before any considerable Reserve would be available under the Government scheme. We did not stand in need, he believed, of any considerable increase in the Army generally; but a considerable increase of the Artillery was demanded, while it was highly expedient that the Militia should be placed on a better footing. For that purpose he would be prepared to have recourse to the Ballot, though not such a Ballot as had been sketched by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War, for it would be intolerable to take from a gigantic mercantile institution, for example, a man of 35 years of age who might be its whole moving power. What he should like to see done was to have a fixed number decided on for the Militia, and that every man who arrived at the age of 19 should be liable to be balloted for, and that without any, except the most necessary, exemptions. One of the grounds of exemption might be that a man was an efficient Volunteer, and he saw no good reason why—if the Education Bill of last year was properly utilized—a youth of 19 should not be in a position to take himself out of the operation of the Ballot by being an efficient Volunteer. The Militia, too, in his opinion, ought never to be allowed to assemble in the county towns for training; but, the country being divided into military districts, should be sent away six months from the 1st of October for training in camp. By that means we should not only have the advantage of securing a great number of trained men who would be ready on the shortest notice for the defence of the country, but we should relieve the labour market at a season at which employment was obtained with the greatest difficulty. He had himself boys who were growing up to manhood, and he should wish for them nothing better than that, at that time of life, they should receive six months' training, under good instruction, for it would, he believed, conduce both to their physical and moral advantage.

Mr. RODEN complained that the discussion had been too exclusively confined to the question of the abolition of purchase. He was surprised that the Representatives of the Army had not at once accepted the offer of the Government, seeing that the over-regulation price was to be paid, though he could well understand that the country might raise objections to the recognition of an illegal payment. The offer of the Government was, he considered, a most liberal one. If not closed with now the opportunity would never occur again, but it would happen to the officers, as it had happened to the owners of rotten boroughs, who, having refused Parliament's liberal offer of compensation, ultimately got no compensation at all. He considered that the Bill was a manly and statesmanlike attempt to remedy the inefficiency of our Army, and though £8,000,000 was a large sum to fall on the heavily-burdened ratepayers of the country, they would pay it rather than permit our forces to remain in an unsatisfactory condition. Purchase had been extolled by the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Manners) because it gave the command in the Army to men who were "officers and gentlemen." Well, he agreed that two-thirds of the officers who sprung from wealthy middle-class families—men whose fathers, having made their money in business, bought a commission for their sons for the sake of the social rank it conferred. The young men joined the Army with the intention not to remain in it, or to study it, or to make it the serious business of their lives—but as an agreeable social distinction, from which they retired after a few years, and their place was filled by men of the same stamp. The purchase system, therefore, could scarcely be recommended as calculated to attract the best class of officers, or to spread the true professional feeling through the ranks. He had been amazed to hear the Balaklava Charge adduced as an example of the military proficiency cultivated by the purchase system. The conduct of the troops was, indeed, beyond all praise; they went to certain death in the path of duty; but what could be said for the officer—the General Nobody—who gave the order for four unsupported squadrons of cavalry to take guns in position, which were flanked right and left by batteries? It had been argued that the system of selection was impracticable in the Army. Why it should be was not quite so clear, nor had he heard any sufficient reason given for the singular fact that in no other institution but the English Army was the system of purchase found to be the only one that put the right man in the right place. Let the House imagine, for a moment, the result that would follow on the introduction of purchase in civil and commercial life. How many firms would continue to flourish if they allowed the posts of the greatest responsibility to be monopolized by the men with the heaviest purses? The firm of which he was a partner employed a number of men equal to the tenth part of the British Army; and it would be easy to name half-a-dozen Members around him whose united staff of *employés* was equal to the whole British Army. It was their object—indeed, the very condition of success—to promote the most competent men, and it was done in the only feasible manner—by judicious selection. Why should that be impossible in the Army which was not only possible, but indispensable, in all the other pursuits of life? The truth was that purchase was a radically bad system, and the honours and distinctions of our Army had been achieved—not because of it, but in spite of it. He highly approved the proposals of the Government for re-organizing the Army, especially those which would bring the Militia into closer connection with the Army, and which took the nomination of officers out of the hands of Lords Lieutenant, but he could not give his assent to their scheme for the Volunteers. It was a most important force, but it had never been properly treated. Seeing that the Reports upon the effective Volunteers had been uniformly so creditable to the force, the present pittance of 30*s.* or 35*s.* per man was a grant totally insufficient. Sixpence a-week to keep a military body in anything like order was entirely out of the question. He should advocate, as the representative of a large commercial and manufacturing city (Stoke-upon-Trent), a liberal grant, which, after all, would be a very small sum in comparison to the number of men it would make effective. In his opinion, the Volunteers should either be kept up effectively or let go altogether. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was kind enough to remark favourably on the Artillery Volunteers and their practice at Shoeburyness. They were under martial law for a week; but they practised under great disadvantages. A couple of detachments from his (Mr. Roden's) own corps were there, and for the first time saw an Armstrong gun. Now, the Volunteers ought to be supplied with arms, whatever these might happen to be. He did not know how long it took the flying squadron to fly from Aldershot to Wimbledon, or whether the Commissariat was complete; but it was unreasonable to expect even the London Volunteers to attend on that occasion, when the Government would not pay their fares down. The Volunteers, as the nucleus of our real Reserve, deserved more consideration. When the late War broke out many of the citizen Army who had retired came forward and offered to rejoin, so that, had necessity required, their numbers might have been doubled. He was opposed to the Ballot for the Militia, or, indeed, forced service of any kind. If they wanted men for their Army, they ought to make it worth the while of both officers and men to enter the service. The proportion of guns to men had been talked about, and the proportion of one gun to every 300 men had been mentioned. He, however, could only find one gun for every 1,000 men, and these were miserably insufficient. Even with the additions now proposed we should have less guns than were taken from the French Army at Sedan, and far less than were captured at Paris. When stagnation was said to prevail in the Artillery, he maintained that there were not too many officers in that arm of the service; what was wanted was to put these officers to work and give them guns. The Militia Artillery were without guns, but it would be worth while to pay them for going out six weeks. The Ministerial plan seemed to omit one important point—the training of boys at school. He could not see why boys at school should not be taught the use of firearms as well as Latin and Greek. If our public schools set the example by teaching drill, it would be followed in our parish schools, and our population would be early accustomed, like that of Switzerland, to military drill and the use of the rifle. He, for one, gave the Government great credit for meeting this question in a straightforward manner, and for their courage in proposing so large an outlay. He should support the Bill, and would gladly vote to abolish the system of purchase in the Army.

Lord CLAUD JOHN HAMILTON said, that the House had now been engaged for four hours and a-half in the discussion of a measure which had been characterized as statesmanlike and comprehensive by the hon. Gentleman who had preceded him, and who was the first Gentleman who had been able to say a word in favour of the proposal of the Government. It was true the hon. Member for Caithness (Sir Tollemache Sinclair) had said a few words in its favour; but his support was so dubious that it had the effect of driving the whole of Her Majesty's Government out of the House. He was delighted to hear from the speeches of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Osborne) and the noble Lord (Viscount Bury) that the nakedness of the measure had been revealed in its proper light. The Bill was a destructive, not a constructive, measure. It pulled down much, but it built up very little. And yet for this Parliament was asked to burden the taxpayers of this country with the enormous sum of £8,000,000. Now, he wished to know whether, after the House voted that sum, the Government measure would place the Army by this time next year, or even in 10 years, in a more effective position to defend the shores of this country or to assume the offensive in a foreign country? The Secretary for War said it was necessary to vote this large sum in order to carry out his future proposals with regard to the organization of the Army; but it had been asked over and over again what were those proposals, and to that question no answer had been given. The fact was, the Government had not made up their minds with respect to the ultimate organization of the Army, and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War seemed perplexed with the difficulty of his situation, and could lay no plan on the Table. And yet he asked the House to vote away £8,000,000 absolutely in the dark—to stultify itself by voting this large sum in order to carry out a scheme which did not exist even in his own imagination. Before asking for so large a sum he ought to have placed his scheme before the House, stating what increase he intended to propose in the artillery, in the Commissariat Department, in the Medical Department ,and, above all, in the Land Transport Corps. Until he had laid a statesmanlike scheme before the House he could not, with any degree of fairness, ask it to come to a decision with regard to the abolition of the system of purchase. He himself had no reason to object to the system; but if the Government could prove to the House the necessity of its abolition with a view to the efficiency of the Army, he, as a patriotic man, would sink his own feelings, and support the Government in any proposal for the organization of the forces. The hon. Member for Stoke-upon-Trent (Mr. Roden) had stated that it seemed to him an extraordinary thing that the officers of the Army did not accept a proposal which was so advantageous in a pecuniary point of view. Now, although they might have some regard for their pecuniary interests, they had a higher regard for the honour and welfare of the country, and they knew that the abominable system of selection which was to follow would strike at the root of the efficiency of the Army. One argument advanced by the Government against the purchase system was that it prevented officers of small means from rising to the top of their profession so soon as they might do. But this argument was founded upon the assumption that all the officers were poor. The names of Clyde and Havelock had been mentioned as sufficient to condemn the system of purchase. Although the purchase system had sometimes retarded the promotion of a poor officer, in others it had been effectual in his speedy promotion. He would mention one remarkable case. They had all heard of the success of the Red River Expedition, and the gallant officer, Sir G. Wolseley, who commanded it, had received that praise to which he was so justly entitled. Now, how did Sir G. Wolseley obtain his promotion? He entered as an ensign in the 90th Foot in March, 1852. In May, 1853, he became lieutenant; in January, 1855, he became captain; in March, 1858, he became major; in April, 1859, lieutenant-colonel; and in June, 1860, colonel; and in the whole of that promotion, rising with surprising rapidity to almost the head of his profession, he did not spend one farthing. The right hon. and gallant Officer the Surveyor General, in his eagerness to get up a case the other night against the system which had done him so much service, said he had purchased over four lieutenants and four captains; but if he had not done so his career never would, in all probability, have run on as it had done. The country would have been deprived of his services at Corfu and Malta, and that House would probably never have had the benefit of his presence. That certainly was a most unfortunate argument in favour of the abolition of the purchase system. A great deal had been said about the regimental system, and that system was one on which the efficiency of the Army greatly depended, and it was in consequence of the favour with which he regarded that system that he was so adverse to the scheme of the Government. No civilian could really understand the benefits of the regimental system. The kindly social relations extending from officers to men—the almost brotherly love which existed among the officers of a regiment, tending to leaven the whole regiment throughout with that wonderful *esprit de corps* which had become the admiration of Europe—apply to that state of things the proposed system of selection, and the whole of this mutual confidence between officers would be changed to mutual distrust; and contention, heart-burning, angry rivalries, ill-feeling, would undermine the *morale* of the regiment, and in time prove destructive to the regimental system itself. It would reduce all the regiments of the Army to one uniform level, degrading their officers into paid machines without *esprit de corps*, each endeavouring to make the most money he could out of the service. With respect to the system of general promotion, he could imagine nothing more likely to upset the efficiency of the Army. How could they expect a young officer to take the interest he did in his regiment, to gain the friendship of all the officers, to look after the health and happiness of the men, when he knew that by law he would be for ever precluded from commanding that regiment? Whatever might be done, he trusted that for the sake of the welfare of the Army and the country the system of general Army promotion above the rank of captain would never receive the sanction of Parliament. He did not stand up as an out-and-out defender of the officers of the Army, for complaints of inefficiency had sometimes been made on good grounds; but he contended that the purchase system had nothing to do with the efficiency of the Army. The officers always did what was expected of them. The great fault was that no more was expected from them. If more was required of them they would be ready to do it. This is a subject the House ought to consider. How did a young man enter the Army? He got his name on the list of the Commander-in-Chief, and went to Chelsea—for what—to be examined. He might as well be examined for B.A. Not one of the subjects of his examination had any reference to his future profession. He might pass in Latin, do a little Greek, a little more in mathematics, and might, if he was not up to quadratic equations, perhaps be fortunate enough to obtain sufficient marks in one or two propositions of Euclid with which he was familiar. Figures were given to him to draw. In his own case he had two cows given him to draw, the examiner probably imagining that he might be attached to the Commissariat. But then came the worst part of the matter. The young man would retire to the country, and in the course of two or three weeks see his name in the columns of *The Times* as having passed his examination. He might have to wait for months, and sometimes for a couple of years, before obtaining his commission, and all this delay occurred just at the time when idleness in a young man rendered him most liable to temptation. On receiving his appointment he was allowed two months or so for leave-taking and making preparations. Now, if at the moment of passing his examination he were sent to some college, or were attached to some regiment as a cadet, he would acquire experience in his profession and become subject to habits of discipline, and very often become a less dissipated young man before he joined his regiment. Then with regard to efficiency. When a young officer joined perhaps he was sent to Christchurch or Chichester, or some distant place in the country, where he had to remain for some two years, seeing no military evolutions beyond those which took place in confined barrack-squares, and the only movement of the troops which he saw was when they marched along a road, for if they attempted to enter a field they would be prosecuted by the farmer as trespassers. What was required was practical instruction for officers, and, above all, a considerable increase of the Staff. It would be necessary before we could have a practical Staff in the country that we should largely increase it even during the time of peace. When he reached that point of the Bill which alluded to the Militia, he read it with regret and with extreme disappointment. There was a growing feeling throughout the country that the Militia should form the backbone of our future national forces. What did the Bill propose? That the Militia, which in England was efficient, but in Ireland was not, should be brought up to the highest standard of efficiency. And by what? By a 14 days' extra drill. How the Minister could come down to the House with so monstrous a proposal was astounding. The Irish Militia were to consist of from 30,000 to 40,000 men; but they had not enrolled recruits or been out for training for six years. His own regiment would be called out on the 1st of June. He had in that regiment 200 or 250 old soldiers and about 300 recruits, and the old soldiers for want of drill would be little better than recruits. How were they to be made efficient? By 14 days' extra drill. It would be found that in most cases in England, and in more in Ireland, the Militia regiments had no barracks, not even for the permanent Staff; but until the Militia were housed in barracks of some sort, they would never get the regiments up to a proper state of efficiency. He now came to the most monstrous proposition of the Government—that the different counties should bear the expense of building their own Militia barracks. So that, in addition to all the usual taxes, and in addition to the expense of education, the counties were to be saddled with the burden of erecting barracks for holding the Militia in proportion to the exertions which they made in obtaining men for Her Majesty's Service. But the majority of the counties where there were no barracks were the poorest counties. Not only, then, would they be inflicting a fine on the localities for exerting themselves in raising the men, but they would saddle the poorest counties with the heaviest cost. This was a most undignified proceeding; it was, in a great scheme of national defence, saying to the counties who furnished the men—"You shall also find the barracks for those men." There was a general feeling on both sides of the House in favour of the proposal of the Government with respect to the patronage of Lords Lieutenant; but it would, perhaps, be not altogether wise to disconnect them from the county regiments. He thought they should have nothing to do with promotion, but it would be well that they should be allowed to initiate first appointments, and that the Secretary of State should make them on their recommendation; otherwise they would be entirely deprived of interest in Militia regiments. This Bill, he maintained, was a fraud and a sham. It was merely a purchase Bill, altogether burking the question of the national defences of the country, and entirely evading the cost of retirement which would become necessary if the Bill were carried. The Government had no other scheme. This question of the defenceless state of the country had followed as a natural corollary of the bad government of Ireland. The Government came into office with an avowed determination to govern Ireland by concessions, and to maintain the independence and honour of this country by a miserable system of economy. They had passed two measures for Ireland; both had failed in their object, and the Government were obliged to delegate the government of that country to a Committee of the House, which included the Leader of the Opposition. Under this pretence of passing a comprehensive scheme of Army re-organization, the Government asked them to give effect to a measure which was so ridiculously extravagant and so extravagantly ridiculous that he trusted, if it were not thrown out on the second reading, it would be stamped out in Committee.

MAJOR ANSON claimed to express a disinterested opinion on this question. He would confine himself to the only portion of the Bill that contained comprehensive principles, and that was the question of the abolition of purchase in the Army. It so happened that a year or two ago, when the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) took office under the present Government, he (Major Anson) set to work to see whether he could not himself bring forward a measure to abolish purchase in the Army, and after the most careful consideration he came to the conclusion that the only excuse that any hon. Member could have for bringing forward such a measure was in the interest of the purchase officers themselves. He instituted the inquiry for his own satisfaction, because he felt that any system of promotion in the standing Army which was open to constant attacks in the House and in the country at large was in itself a very bad thing, and that it ought, if possible, to be done away with; but the conclusion he arrived at was that the public could not benefit by any change. At the same time, he thought it was possible that a Minister might take it into his head to bring forward a scheme for the abolition of purchase; and he (Major Anson) made up his mind that if such a case occurred while he was in the House he would deal with the measure in a cordial spirit, and, if possible, support it. But there were certain points which such Minister ought to attend to as well as the abolition of purchase. In the first place, he ought to have laid before the House a complete scheme for the re-organization of the Army; in the second place, he ought to have laid before them a complete scheme of retirement in the Army; thirdly, he ought to have dealt with the whole question of honorary colonelcies and the generals' list, setting before the House the exact position in which our general officers are placed; in the fourth place, the whole question of the half-pay and full-pay list, in the first of which especially alterations were required, should have distinctly been laid before the House; fifthly, there would be another point which the Secretary of State should have dealt with—the question of supersession over the English officers by the officers of the Indian Staff corps; while, in the sixth place, the whole question of the pay of the officers of the Army should have been considered, for a poorer class could not be introduced without doubling the pay of the junior ranks; in the seventh place, there were the home Staff appointments and the brevet rank; and lastly, there should have been a general scheme of re-organization, which was entirely omitted from the Government measure. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War had not touched one of these points; he had dealt with the whole question in a most unstatesmanlike manner; and if this Bill were to pass in its present form the combatant portion of our Army would be in the same hopeless state of disorganization as the non-combatant portion of our Army had always been. He proposed, first of all, to take the arguments which had been put forward by the Government as an excuse for the course which they had taken; and the first person to whom he must refer was the Judge Advocate General (Mr. Davison) who introduced a point which it was absolutely necessary to refer to, because the right hon. and learned Member had, unintentionally he was sure, misled the House. He said they had better deal with the question now, because if they did the scheme would cost £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 sterling, the payment of which would be spread over many years, while if the passing of the measure were delayed it would cost double, or it might be, treble that sum. No doubt the Judge Advocate General had very little knowledge on the subject; what he had he had in all probability derived by being coached by some gentleman in his office; and, at all events, he had no grounds for making such a statement. As to the over-regulation price, the right hon. and learned Gentleman asserted that it had been rising. It was no such thing. On the contrary, ever since before the Crimean War the tendency, if there had been any tendency to change at all, had been in the direction of a fall. The right hon. and learned Gentleman fell into a mistake when he said that after the Royal Commission of last year there would be no protection to officers; in future, it would make no difference at all. The regulation and the over-regulation prices had fixed themselves by a long custom in the Army at the exact sum that ensured a promotion at the same time that the money did not fall too heavily on the officers wishing to purchase, and it would be impossible for the sum required for the abolition of purchase to increase in eight or ten years hence. In a great many speeches the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) had used the argument that if it had not been for the opposition of the Duke of Cambridge and the Horse Guards to the proposal of 1857 we should have been able to get rid of purchase for £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 less than it would cost to do so now. That was an extraordinary blunder for anyone to have fallen into, for the actual sum paid out of the pockets of purchase officers in 1857 and in 1870 showed a difference, making certain deductions in respect of the price of cavalry commissions, of only £400,000. It was impossible to criticize the Government scheme for the amalgamation of the Regular Army and of the Reserve forces, because they had not stated what it was to be. If officers were to be taken from the Regular Army and attached to Reserve forces, officers who were paid all the year round would occupy the places of others who had been paid only six weeks in the year. He asked a Question some time ago as to what was to be the scheme of retirement; and the answer that he received was that as officers were to be transferred from the Line to the Militia, it was impossible to announce what the scheme of retirement was to be. Did this mean that when a man was worn out in the Regular Army, perhaps as a captain of 25 years' standing, he was to be drafted into the Militia to train soldiers of the Reserved forces—those men who required to be officered by the most energetic men? The country would not stand such a scheme as that. He came next to a point which had been very largely used by the Surveyor General of Ordnance (Sir Henry Storks), and that was, that purchase stood in the way of any scheme of Army reform. He had been 12 years in the House, and had watched military affairs carefully, and, though he had not had any official experience, he gave a flat denial to the statement of the Surveyor General. If purchase had stood in the way of any alteration in the organization of the Army, it would have stood in the way of reducing the strength of regiments and the number of officers. Purchase had never stood in the way of that, and if it did not stand in the way of that, it would not stand in the way of anything. No difficulty had been experienced in putting the officers of the Indian service, the Military Train, or the West Indian regiments on half-pay, and therefore it was unfair to assert that the purchase system stood in the way of any necessary reforms in the Army being effected. He then came to the most important argument which had been used by the Government—namely, that money was the only road to advancement in the British Army, that the purchase system was unjust to the non-purchase officers of the Army, and that, by means of longer purses, rich and incompetent men were able to purchase over the heads of poor and intelligent men. Seeing that this argument was supported and illustrated by the hon. and gallant Member for Truro (Captain Vivian) he was afraid he must trouble the House to listen to a few extracts from observations of that hon. and gallant Member, with the view of showing the manner in which this purchase question was argued by many persons. In speaking upon this subject the other night the hon. and gallant Member said that—

> "He desired to see purchase abolished, not because a man with money and the necessary qualifications could not get on, but because no man, whatever might be his qualifications, could get on without money."

But when the hon. and gallant Member was out of office—that was to say, before he had attained to the dignity of sitting on the Treasury Bench, his argument was very different. In 1868 the hon. and gallant Member said—

> "That money had a subordinate influence in promotion, at least to the higher ranks, because there were at present three requirements for promotion—seniority, efficiency, and, lastly, money." —[3 *Hansard*, cxcii. 534.]

But by some extraordinary influence—he was at a loss to understand what evil spirit could have been at his elbow—the hon. and gallant Gentleman was induced to illustrate his argument by reference to the career of two great men, Lord Clyde and Sir Henry Havelock, both of whose names had been bandied about during this discussion most freely. The other night the hon. and gallant Gentleman instanced the cases of Lord Clyde and Sir Henry Havelock, who, he stated, had been passed over dozens and dozens of times because they could not purchase their promotion and that, no doubt, in the bloom of their youth they would have been in the highest grades of the service on account of their great military talent. But in 1868 the hon. and gallant Gentleman referred to the cases of those gallant officers as being two cases in favour of the purchase system. He then said—

> "He believed that Lord Clyde was induced to remain in the military profession by being able to purchase over the heads of three of his seniors." —[*Ibid.*]

And what did he say of Sir Henry Havelock? He said—

> "It was said that Sir Henry Havelock was crushed down by the purchase system; and that if it had not been for the siege of Lucknow he would never have risen in his profession. But Sir Henry Havelock exchanged twice out of his regiments in order to get money under the purchase system, and he would have commanded a regiment long before he did if he had remained in his regiment. It was hard to attribute such things to a purchase system when they were acts done by a man himself in furtherance of his own views and objects in life."—[*Ibid.* 535.]

This was the manner in which people who were now, for some reason or another, anxious to abolish the purchase system dealt with this question.

CAPTAIN VIVIAN explained that when he used the language referred to by the hon. and gallant Member, he was moving a Resolution to the effect that purchase in the Army should be abolished except as far as related to the subordinate grades in the Army.

MAJOR ANSON said, he did not think that the force of his remarks was in any way weakened by that circumstance. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had adverted to the careers of these two well-known officers as instances in favour of the purchase system in 1868, and had used them as instances in favour of the abolition of that system in 1871. He was anxious, however, to set the House and the country right with regard to the career of Lord Clyde, which was the most remarkable instance of good fortune that had ever occurred in the British Army. Lord Clyde obtained his commission on the 28th of May, 1808, without purchase; on the 29th of June of the same year he obtained his lieutenancy without purchase; on the 9th of November, 1813, five years afterwards, he obtained his company without purchase; in 1825 he purchased his majority; in 1832 he purchased his lieutenant-colonelcy; and thus, at a time when the promotion in the British Army was slower than it had ever been known, either before or since, Lord Clyde rose to the top of the regimental system and obtained the command of his regiment in 24 years. It was not until he became lieutenant-colonel that his career was stopped—that was to say, not until the system of selection came into operation. When it came to a question of selecting this great man for promotion nobody took any notice of him. While he was upon this subject, he would read an extract from a letter which he held in his hand from one of the greatest friends of Lord Clyde, who should be nameless. It was to this effect—That although Lord Clyde was opposed to the purchase system to a certain extent, still he could never see his way clearly to anything better. In order to illustrate his argument he would refer to certain facts that strongly supported the view he took of this subject. Referring to the *Army List* of last year he found that the number of the infantry battalions of the Line was 134. Of the 134 colonels commanding those battalions, only 44 had purchased their commissions from captaincies to majorities, 89 of them having obtained their majorities without purchase. Of the same officers, 57 had succeeded to the command of their regiments by purchase, while 75 had obtained their commands without purchase. There were twice as many colonels commanding battalions last year who had never purchased a single step as there were colonels who had purchased all their steps. Another remarkable fact was that out of the 4,900 officers in these 134 battalions there were only 10 who had been purchased over by colonels commanding their respective battalions. So much for the alleged gross injustice of the purchase system. Doubtless cases of hardship did arise under the purchase system; but all he wished to show was that they were the exception, and not the rule. Searching a little further into the *Army List* he found that in a two-battalion regiment the senior major had seen 16 years' service, and that junior to him were a major of 30, another of 28, another of 24 years' service, a captain of 24, another of 18, another of 25, another of 22, another of 18, another of 17, and another of 22 years' service. That was certainly a case of some hardship; but the most remarkable point of the matter was that the major of 16 years' service had never purchased a single step, while his juniors had purchased theirs. It had been asserted that when the purchase system was abolished poor men would enter the Army; but he denied that such would be the result of the Government scheme. At the present time, when a man had been in the Army 24 years, even without purchasing a single step, he could obtain £7,500 for his commission, which was far more than he would get under this Bill. They little understood the working of the purchase system if they thought that by doing away with it, without largely increasing the pay—aye, without doubling the pay in the lower grades—they would introduce poor men as commissioned officers into the Army. He had dealt with all the arguments brought forward by the Government, and he distinctly said that, so far as he could see, there was nothing in them. He had never yet seen a real argument for the abolition of purchase that could not be answered. That being so, he was led to consider what had induced the Government to take up that proposal; and he could not but think it was envy of the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan). The Government had stolen the clothes of that hon. Member; but how had the hon. Gentleman got resolutions passed at all his meetings? Why, he promised them, if they abolished purchase, that after paying all expenses he would save the country about £500,000 a-year. How had the hon. Member for the Border Burghs arrived at such a conclusion? Why, he first dealt with the question of the honorary colonelcies, and said that by doing away with them they would save £160,000 a-year. That might be very true; but then the honorary colonelcies were the only rewards to which those men had to look forward; and, if they were done away with, they must increase the pay of all the lower ranks. At the present moment the officers of our Army served the country for nothing at all. Take the case of a cornet in a cavalry regiment. After he had paid for his horses, his saddlery, his accoutrements, the shoeing and grooming of his horses, his uniform, and every requisite which he was called upon and obliged to pay for, he had not a sixpence left out of his pay. The case was very much the same with the infantry officer. Therefore, if they cut off the cost of the reward held out at the top of the scale, they must put it on again at the bottom; and, instead of saving £160,000 by getting rid of the honorary colonelcies, they would have to spend something like £500,000 in the shape of increased pay and attendances for the lower ranks of officers. In the next place, the hon. Member (Mr. Trevelyan) had dealt with the half-pay list—a matter that bore very closely on the very large subject involved in the question of purchase—and at Birmingham the hon. Gentleman stated that on the half-pay list they spent £365,000 every year, or at the rate of £1,000 per day, an expenditure which the hon. Member attributed to the purchase system, declaring that the half-pay list was used partly to compensate officers who had suffered from purchase, and partly to enable officers to be promoted who could not afford to purchase. That was what the hon. Gentleman had been telling the people of this country to expect if they swept away purchase. But what were the real facts of the case? In the first place, according to last year's Estimates, our half-pay list was not £365,000, but £345,000, though that was not a very important discrepancy; but out of the latter amount the sum that went to purchase officers of the combatant branch of the profession was only £165,000, while £180,000 went to non-combatant officers, or to the Medical, the Commissiarat, and the Control Departments. The proportion of combatant officers of the Army to non-combatant officers was as 7 to 1. If purchase and combatant officers were placed on the half-pay list in the same proportion as non-combatant officers, the number on the half-pay list, instead of being 1,250, would be 5,250; and the expense, instead of being £165,000, would amount to not less than £1,294,000 a-year. That was the best criterion he could give the House of the future expense that would be entailed on the country by abolishing the system of purchase. Again, the hon. Member for the Border Burghs always appealed to the Indian Army, saying there was no half-pay list in the Indian Army, while in the English Army there was. The hon. Gentleman, however, forgot to tell them that while on the full-pay retired list of the English Army, including the honorary colonels, there were only about 400 officers, the full-pay list of Indian officers comprised about 2,000. This was sufficient to show how utterly erroneous the hon. Gentleman's figures were, and these were only a sample of the inaccuracies from first to last in every figure he had dealt with. But, further, what was the origin of the half-pay list which the hon. Member said applied simply and solely for the advantage of the purchase officers of the country? At the close of the Great War at the commencement of this century they had to reduce their Army by something like 150,000 or 200,000 men, he forgot which. What was the result? Why, to place 10,000 officers on the half-pay list, at a cost of £1,000,000 a-year; and all their efforts from that day to this had been employed in trying to reduce that large half-pay list. In 1822 they had 10,000 officers on the half-pay list; in 1823, 8,670; in 1828, 6,650; in 1854, 2,699; in 1861, 1,690; and in 1870, 1,250. Although between 1854 and 1870 no fewer than 512 officers were forced to retire in consequence of reductions and bad health, yet there was a decrease within that period of 1,449 officers on the half-pay list. The whole of our half-pay list was almost entirely due, in the first place, to the reduction of our military forces after those forces had been placed abnormally on a war footing and then reduced to a small standing Army; and, in the second place, to the economical fits of various Administrations, under which officers had been reduced from full to half-pay, in order that the difference might be saved. When an officer went on half-pay after 25 years' service, as he was permitted to do, he received 10*s.* 6*d.* a-day. What had the Government done in the last 10 years? They had sold the commissions of 66 lieutenant-colonels commanding regiments who had gone on half-pay; the Government had invariably sold the whole of those commissions, and had thereby received the sum of £270,000—in other words, those 66 officers had paid half the amount of the retirements of the non-purchase corps. Between the years 1861 and 1868 the Government had taken out of the pockets of the officers of the Army who were now serving them, and whom they wished to do out of the regulation value of their commissions under this Bill—[Mr. CARDWELL: No, no!]—a sum of not less than £750,000, which had been applied to the reduction of the half-pay list, to buy out the officers of the Ordnance Corps, to pay the difference in the value of cavalry commissions as altered by the Government some time ago. In fact, the whole expense of reducing the half-pay list, in recurring, after war, to the state in which they were before war, had been borne by the purchase officers of the Army. He thought he had now completely shown the recklessness and the utter inaccuracy of the statements made by the hon. Member for the Border Burghs on that question. The conduct of that hon. Gentleman he regarded as entirely unjustifiable in that respect; but, at the same time, there was, he must admit, one plea that might be urged in his behalf. The hon. Member might say to them, as was once said by another person—"If I talk somewhat wildly on this subject, excuse me; I have it from my father." The hon. Gentleman had apologized to the House for repeating himself; but he was under a mistake. He had not repeated himself; he had only repeated the same ideas and figures which were brought forward in 1857, and which, when investigated by a Committee in 1858 and 1859, were shown to be utterly worthless. He (Major Anson) had lately asked, in reference to the figures which had been recently placed before the House showing the annual expense up to the year 1906, whether those figures were based upon the supposition that when all the lieutenant-colonels and majors had left their present rank by selling out or dying in the service, and their places were taken by the present captains, those captains who were thus promoted would sell out in the same ratio as their predecessors. He had been told that these figures had been based upon that assumption, whereupon he had declared that they were not worth the paper on which they were written, because at present it required a sum or bribe of £7,500 to get a lieutenant-colonel, and a bribe of £5,000 to get a major to leave the service. Was it to be supposed a captain, whose commission was valued at only £2,000, would sell when he became a major or lieutenant-colonel, and would then only receive £2,000 instead of £5,000 or £7,500 as now. Of course not, unless it was for £7,000. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War, or whoever had drawn up this Bill, had overreached himself. He had thought to trade on the pockets of the officers of the Army for 30 years; but he would do nothing of the sort. The Government might say—"If the officers do not sell we shall be the gainers, as we shall not have to buy them out;" but, on the other hand, they would have to give them full-pay retirements at a cost of £350,000 or £400,000 a-year. The £8,000,000 supposed to represent the cost of the abolition of purchase did not represent anything like the real cost, and was simply deceptive to the House and to the country. Without meaning anything offensive, he felt bound to say that there never was a Bill which was a greater fraud upon the House than this Bill, and he warned the House, and asked them to consider this question most seriously, and to insist on the possession of fuller information before they dealt with it. If they did away with purchase, what would they lose? and here he must briefly touch upon the regimental system. The question was sometimes asked—"What was the regimental system?" Lord Clyde, when asked by the late Mr. Edward Ellice before the Royal Commission of 1857, whether an English regiment was not the best machine which could possibly be put into the hands of a general officer, replied in very simple language—"I do most unaffectedly say so." But this Bill would do away with that regimental system and adopt the system of selection. The Judge Advocate General (Mr. Davison) had asked, in reference to the system of selection—"Have the officers of the Army no confidence in their superiors?" and as the right hon. and learned Gentleman had only lately come in contact with the office he held, he (Major Anson) was not much surprised at the question; but he might tell him that the officers of the Army had not only no confidence in the War Office administration, but they had not the slightest respect for it. That was the opinion of every professional man who had any knowledge of his profession—no soldier could have a doubt about it. He believed that if this state of things went on, and this country found itself plunged into war, we should meet with much greater disasters than had overwhelmed our friends the French. But it was all very well to talk of selection: what was a man to be selected for? His brilliant qualities? His special knowledge? Suppose that selection were the order of the day, and that by some happy accident the Government had hit upon the right man, with a thorough knowledge of his profession, both theoretically and practically, and had taken him from his own regiment, where he was known, in order to give him the command of another regiment over the heads of three or four other men. The man would go a perfect soldier to command his new regiment; but those officers over whose heads he had passed would have some feeling of antagonism towards him, and they would have the sympathies of all the other officers, of all the non-commissioned officers, and of all the men of the regiment. From some slight want of social tact the new commandant might fail to overcome the natural prejudices raised against him, and his services as commander of the regiment would not only be lost, but the regiment would be disorganized and destroyed. For the sake of one officer 30 others would be destroyed and the regiment ruined. He did not say that that would be a common case; but it might happen, and he declared distinctly that the system of selection was an impossibility. The universal advice of all the men of eminence in the military profession—of all the men who thoroughly understood their business—was—"Do not have selection. It cannot work in any regimental system — it is incompatible with it, and with all the other institutions of the country." It was incompatible with the institutions of the country, and what had these men done that their opinion should be ignored, and that in the face of their opinion that of the hon. Member for the Border Burghs should be adopted. It was simply and absolutely incomprehensible. He should remind the House that all this time they had had a system of selection in the Army which did not interfere with the regimental system. There was selection by brevet rank, by which officers who had been passed over, or who had been unlucky under the regimental system, got brevet rank for distinguished services in the field, and, as he had known himself, a major of a regiment had commanded a brigade of his own regiment of which his own colonel was the commander. If officers were not efficient under the present system the fault was with those who had the control of that Department, and if they were inefficient make them efficient, for there was nothing in the purchase system to prevent their turning out officers just as efficient as were to be found under any system in the world. Before passing to another part of the subject he desired to refer to the quotation of a letter from an officer in favour of the Government scheme by the Surveyor General of the Ordnance. At the time he thought that an unconstitutional proceeding. Had any officer written to the newspapers, criticizing the Government proposal, he would have been, in all probability, cashiered; at all events, he would have been severely reprimanded. And it was a most unfair proceeding on the part of the right hon. Gentleman, to quote the words of an officer on one side of a question when the words of officers on the other side of the question were not permitted to come to the light. He had not the slightest doubt, however, that the gallant officer, whose words were quoted, would be well rewarded for his zeal under the new system of selection. But he could tell the right hon. Gentleman that he had, during the last few weeks, received between 700 and 800 letters from officers in the Army criticizing very freely and fairly the proposal of the Government, as regarded the abolition of purchase, and from them he found that nothing the Government had done did they feel more indignant about than the reading of that letter, and authorizing him to counteract the opinion expressed therein. The price which the Government would pay for the abolition of purchase would be the loss of all control over the officers of the Army. The single characteristic of the British Army, which had been the envy of all foreign Governments, was that power of control which the Government had over the Army and its non-political character. The history of every foreign standing Army was to be found, not only in the annals of its country's wars, but in its political history as well. The British Army, for the last 150 years, at least, had never been found connected with the political history of the country. Another class of men would be created as officers. No greater mistake was ever made by a general officer than when Sir Charles Napier said—"The best officer you can have is a needy gentleman." That might be true for a Minister like Bismarck, or for anyone whose policy was one of aggression; but it was not true as regarded the standing Army of a constitutional country. In a country governed like Great Britain there ought to be such a complete control over officers that they need never be dreaded. In dealing with the manner and mode in which the Government proposed to do away with the purchase system he would not enter into details, because they could better be discussed when the Bill got into Committee, and in reference to which he had given Notice of some Amendments; but he could not sit down without saying, on behalf of the officers, that it was most unjust to them. The only men to whom the Bill was just were those who were going to leave the service, and those men were offered a bribe in the shape of over-regulation price to tempt them out of the service by slow degrees, a plan which would injure all who remained. The only fair and possible way of abolishing purchase was to pay the valuation of the commission at once, for unless that were done there could be no control over the officers. The Government could not interfere with regimental promotion in any form or shape unless they returned the price of the commissions; for a captain who had paid his £1,800 did not expect to remain a captain all his life—as he might do under this Bill—but hoped to rise by the ordinary current of regimental promotion to the object of his ambition, the lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would carefully consider these matters before the House went into Committee on the Bill, because whatever good he might expect to obtain by the abolition of purchase he would fail to obtain any from it unless he acted justly.

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, two subjects have occupied the attention of the House during this long debate, and in a very unequal proportion. One is the sufficiency of the scheme which has been proposed on the part of Her Majesty's Government; the other, and that which has occupied by far the larger part of our deliberation, is the question of purchase. The hon. and gallant Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay) has not framed his Motion in that frank and bold spirit which we all know to be his characteristic. How has he framed it? He does not meet the Bill upon the second reading by a negative, nor does he bring forward a Motion which amounts to a negative; but he invites us to postpone its consideration to a more convenient season, and to put off the time at which we shall abolish purchase in the Army. My hon. and gallant Friend can scarcely expect us, who desire to abolish purchase, to take counsel as to the convenience of the opportunity from a Gentleman who is almost the only one in this debate who has said the system works admirably, and who advocates its continuance without the smallest exception or diminution of what he says in its praise. We all know that the blow never falls in the right place on a boy who is being flogged; and we know also that the right time will never come for abolishing purchase when the hon. Gentleman does not wish purchase to be abolished at all. I do not think the House will sit at the feet of my noble Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) upon the subject of economy. They have read, no doubt, a book that has been in all our hands, and in which the views of the noble Lord upon the subject of military organization are fully detailed and explained. They also know the proposals that he made during the Recess, and the lamentations which this book contains over that which never had occurred—the cutting down of the Estimates from £5,000,000 to the paltry increase of £2,000,000. My hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the War Office explained to the House the other evening that plan of Army organization which, meditating much, the noble Lord selected among many and various schemes as that which, upon the whole, must be absolutely the best, and that scheme, when computed by actuaries, amounted to a scheme for creating a Reserve, of which these were the characteristics—In the first place, you were not to get a single Reserve man for seven years; and, secondly, you were to pay him the smallest sum while he was most efficient, and in the inverse proportion to his efficiency was the payment to rise. Ultimately the Reserve was to cost a sum of more than £12,000,000, being half as much again as the Votes upon which the pay and provisions of the whole Army are now charged, and a larger sum than the net estimated expenditure for the whole Army in the year 1870-1. I think, then, we shall not accept the counsel either of the hon. and gallant Member for Berkshire, as to the time at which we shall make this change, or of the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire, as to the best and wisest course we can take for combining efficiency and economy. With regard to the proposal immediately before the House, the right hon. Gentleman who preceded me in Office (Sir John Pakington) accepted with satisfaction our return to the amount of Estimates which he had proposed to the House; but he characterized the present scheme for the abolition of purchase as the most wanton and wasteful scheme that had ever been proposed by any Ministry. No doubt some hon. Members think purchase is a good thing, and, indeed, my right hon. Friend spoke of it so highly that I should have thought he would have been willing to give £8,000,000 to get it, if we had not already got it. Those who approve purchase think, doubtless, that it is a wanton and a wasteful thing to spend so large a sum of money in getting rid of it; but to those who think it is an exceedingly bad thing, and that you can have no sound or real reform of the system until you have abolished it, to spend only half the sum that you spend every year upon the Army Estimates in a period extending over 25 years, it does not appear wanton and wasteful, but rather a wise, judicious, and prudent arrangement. My right hon. Friend congratulated us on having come back pretty nearly to the number of men and the amount of Estimates which he himself had proposed; but let me be permitted to say that these Estimates are attended by a very different result, so far as the object we have in view is concerned, which is to place this country in a state of perfect security and independence. [*Laughter.*] It is easy to meet my observation with a laugh; but, perhaps, the House will be kind enough to listen to what I have to say. The money which you are now asked to vote will, I trust, not be a permanent expenditure, for much of it is due to the arming of your forts, to the introduction of torpedoes, and to the arrangements about the change of small arms, which are matters of the present time, and must have come on now, whatever had been your arrangements with regard to your general military system. You added at the end of the last Session of Parliament 20,000 men to your Regular Army, and it will every year be in the discretion of the Crown and Parliament to consider how many of those men we shall maintain. But as you increase your Reserves, which is one of your great objects, you will, without impairing your power, be able to diminish your present numbers. Then, what was the policy which we undertook, and upon which we stand? It was a policy of concentration, of combination, and of short service. It was a policy not of employing your money, as it used to be employed, in paying colonial corps—the Canadian Rifles, or the Cape Rifles, or the West Indian Regiments, but of employing all your resources to a legitimate and proper object—the maintenance of troops for the Imperial purposes of this country. What was the result? It was that in 1868 you had 53 battalions in this country, with 87,500 men, and 50,000 men in the Colonies. In 1870 you had 89,000 men for home service in 75 battalions, and the Estimates had been reduced by more than £2,000,000. [Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: How many were there in the Colonies?] I have not the precise figures; but less than 25,000, I think. Certainly, I am taking credit for the reduction. In the present year the Estimates have been reduced by £2,158,000; the reduction in the first seven Votes—those relating to the pay and provisions of men—being to the extent of £1,418,000. In the coming year you have 108,000 men at home, against 87,500 provided in the former Estimates, or more than 20,000 more, and the Votes for pay and provisions of the men have been reduced by £293,000. My right hon. Friend said he was not satisfied with the Militia, and asked me to explain how the Estimates corresponded with my statement. Well, it would be easy to do that. The Volunteers are 129,000; the permanent Staff 5,000, making 134,000; and the remaining 5,000 are recruits, who do not appear in the list, and who are enlisted under the arrangements I have explained. That gives a total of 139,000 men. On the Reserve forces there is an increase of £524,000, but that raises the Militia from 86,000 to 139,000, being an addition of 53,000. Longer training is provided, and 10,000 are added to the Militia Reserves for the Army. The result is an addition of more than 20,000 to the Regular forces, or, including the Army Reserves and Pensioners, more than 90,000 additional men; and, taking in the Volunteers, there is a total increase of 106,000. At the same time we provide for longer training, camps of instruction and brigading; and, in a matter affecting the Admiralty, I am glad to say there is a saving in the Transport Vote of £221,000. Therefore, I think I can give a clear and satisfactory answer to the question put by my right hon. Friend. I have been sorry to hear it said in the course of this debate that we have not been sufficiently considerate to the Volunteers. Now, Sir, I am one of those who attach the greatest value to the Volunteer force. I have always regarded as a noble spectacle the way in which these men have left their own pursuits and amusements to devote themselves to the service of the country. We have, accordingly, added largely to the grants for training the Volunteers, and have provided camps of instruction, training for the officers, and brigading the Volunteers with the Regular troops. My right hon. Friend desired me to make some statement with regard to the artillery. Now, a great deal has been said about the insufficiency of the artillery; and, in the course of the debate to-night, we have been told that we have only altered the artillery by removing garrison gunners and turning them into field gunners. This is an entire mistake. Out of the 20,000 men voted at the end of last Session, we have added 5,254 to the artillery forces. The noble Lord (Lord Elcho), in the course of his criticism the other night, referred to the Prussian proportion of artillery to men, and said I had comforted the House with erroneous information upon the proportion of the artillery to the men. Now, the statement I made was, that 180 guns was the proportion for 60,000 men; and that statement is precisely accurate. The Prussian proportion is less than that; but, according to Colonel Hamley's *Operations of War*, 180 guns are the proper proportion for 60,000 men. Lord Hardinge and Sir Hew Ross, after the Crimean War, recommended that the artillery should consist of 148 guns, to be expanded in case of war to 222. Our artillery now is to consist of 336 guns, to be expanded to 408; and that, according to the Prussian proportion, is sufficient for an Army of 150,000 men. Having thus raised the Militia to this large force, and having used to the best of my power the Reserves which have been provided for us, the next thing to be considered was—what is the real and true Reserve upon which we ought to rely for the safety and defence of the country? And universal opinion now, I believe, admits that this is to be found in the system of short service. We contested the point a good deal last Session. I had not, in the battle then waged here, the advantage of the support of my noble Friend; and almost every soldier in the House was against the establishment of short service. We did establish that system; but, in the course of the contest, I was almost compelled to promise that, if the Bill passed, I would only apply it in the first instance to the infantry, and would only apply it to the extent of six years and six. I have inserted the clauses again in the present Bill, because I thought that, after the late campaign, there could be no doubt that everybody would admit that—for which I have always contended since I have had the honour of saying anything upon military subjects—that upon military grounds, upon economical grounds, and, above all, upon moral and social grounds, short service lies at the root of Army reform. We carried our measure last Session, and we have begun to act upon it. I hope the House will pass the clauses in this Bill which propose to extend it, in order that we may be subject to no misunderstanding and no limitations, and may carry it forward until we make it an efficient source of our Imperial strength and safety. I have had a calculation made upon this basis. Of course you must always, in a voluntary system, make your first consideration the question whether men will be willing to join your standards. On that assumption I must speak, because we are dealing entirely with a voluntary enlistment. It has been said that we have not been very successful in recruiting for short service. I do not boast of our success in it; but I do not think you ought to be disheartened about it. You will recollect it was not applied to the whole 20,000 men, but only to those who were to go into the infantry, and it was only applied also upon the scale of six years and six. Moreover, those who conducted the recruiting must naturally be supposed, like all other men, to be devoted to the old system they were familiar with, and were much more likely to persuade men coming to recruit to go upon the old system rather than the new. We had, therefore, every discouragement in our way. But the recruiting for short service amounted at last to one-fifth of the whole number who were recruited for the infantry; and in Scotland, where people have the credit of considering what is to their advantage in new proposals affecting them, the success of the system was the greatest. I should state that the numbers of the Army, according to the new scale, being nearly full, instructions have been given at the Horse Guards, first, to offer to all well-conducted men, within proper limits, who desire to avail themselves of it, the opportunity of leaving the Army and going into the Reserve; and, secondly, to favour, to the utmost of their power, short-service rather than long-service recruiting. I have had a calculation made of what will be the result. If the recruits are willing to come, and if we take one-fourth of the Army to be for long service, including non-commissioned officers, and suppose that we recruit in the artillery, cavalry, and engineers for eight years and four—that is, eight year with the colours and four in the Reserves; in the infantry for India and the Colonies for six years and six; and in the infantry at home for three years and nine, the result will be that, if we get 32,000 recruits on the present strength of the Army, it will give us a first Army Reserve of 178,000 strong, and will besides ultimately place among the people at large more than 400,000 trained men under 51 years of age not receiving either pay or pension; and this will be accomplished at a cost for the Reserve of £1,266,000. The number of pensioners under 51 years of age will be 13,493, at a cost of £882,000. [Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: In what time will this result be attained?] It will take 12 years to accomplish this. But, observe, it will not take 12 years to begin it. [*A laugh.*] The noble Lord (Lord Elcho) may laugh; but he must remember that it would take seven years to begin his scheme, and by that time the plan now before the House would produce 81,811 men. We have already raised to the best of our power the Reserves which were enacted by our predecessors, and have offered the Reserve to the well-conducted men in the Army. Let anybody consider, then, what an enormous addition to the real strength of the country this system of Reserves, founded upon short service may prove; and what an addition, also, will be made to the moral strength of the country when you break down the barrier between the standing Army and the general population, by giving young men an opportunity of serving in the Army, and then, after having taught them habits of discipline and the practice of a trade, allowing them to return to the society from which they came, but ready to become soldiers again when they are wanted. In time of peace the Army will feed the Reserve, and in time of war the Reserve will feed the Army. Well, Sir, having got numerous *cadres* at home; having our existing Reserves turned to the best account; having begun our new short-service system; having raised the Militia to 139,000 men; having localized the regiments of the Line in order to connect them by local influence with the members of the auxiliary forces; having put the whole under general officers commanding in the various districts; and having given them a Staff able adequately to perform the duty of command; and having given a special Staff for the Royal Artillery, in order that the technical instruction of the Artillery, Militia, and Volunteers may be carried to the highest possible point, the next question which arises is—"How are we to organize the large forces which will thus be placed at our disposal?" And here we must remember that we have to deal not with a compulsory, but with a voluntary system. Unlike some foreign countries, we do not possess absolute and coercive power. We can only adapt the voluntary institutions which we find, combine them, and turn them to the best account. And now I come to a remark which I wish to make in regard to a great number of speeches that I have heard in the course of this debate. One hon. Gentleman gets up and says—"Such a thing is a point of the greatest importance, and I do not find it within the four corners of the Bill;" and he is followed by other hon. Gentlemen, who say that something else is of the greatest importance, although no notice is taken of it in the Bill. Such critics have never asked themselves—"What is the object of a Bill?" Organization is not a matter for a Bill. Organization is a matter for the action of the Executive Government. It is carried on by Royal Warrant, by regulations sanctioned by the Sovereign, and by various acts of the Executive Government, approved and sanctioned by Parliament when submitted to it in the Estimates. What, then, is the object of a Bill? It is to confer power and to remove obstructions. If there are powers which we require in order to enable us to enter upon the task of organization, it is for us to ask for them, and it is for you to determine whether you will confer them or not. If there are arrangements or provisions which impede the course of organization and render it difficult or impossible, it is for us to bring those obstructions under your notice, and ask you to remove them; and it is for you to determine whether the request is reasonable, and whether you will comply with it. Now, is there anything in which the Bill fails, regarded from that point of view? One of my critics, and, I think, the most severe of them, the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho), said—"We want an Army, small indeed, but capable of being rapidly expanded; a larger Militia Reserve; other Reserves; older recruits; the Volunteers, the Militia, and the Regulars brigaded together; no competition in recruiting between the Regulars and the Militia; increased training for Militia recruits; more officers for the Militia; brigading of Volunteers; better training of Volunteer officers; a hold on the Volunteers; and an increase of the Artillery." Now, I venture to say there is no one of those wants which have been overlooked in the scheme and provisions of the Government. But they are not all in the Bill. Those only are in the Bill which require legislation. Those which are matters of Executive action we shall, with your sanction and authority, proceed to execute, without troubling you with the details of them, within the four corners of the Bill. There is one other point for which we have provided, and which the noble Lord does not approve—namely, as to what is to be done on the occurrence of an emergency. To my great surprise, my noble Friend, who has told us that the keystone of any system of efficient defence is pensions and the Ballot — which I venture to paraphrase by saying injustice and extravagance—objects to the modest provision made in the Bill for enabling the Ballot to be resorted to on occasions of emergency. All I can say is that the authority of Sir James Graham's Committee—the most important Committee this House ever appointed to inquire into this subject—has with me greater authority than the opinion of my noble Friend. They said—

> "If volunteering failed, the danger to the State would be imminent; but the existing legal machinery for bringing Ballot into operation is cumbrous in the extreme; and if in peace no provision be made for such an extremity, much precious time would be lost at the critical juncture, and the danger might be great."

It is to carry out that recommendation that these provisions are contained in the Bill. Now, as to this organization upon which you are invited to enter—what is it to be? Our forces are small; they are very various in their character; they are all voluntary; and you have to deal with them as with men whose inclinations you must consult. Organization must, therefore, be a matter in some degree tentative. It must be a matter of growth and of experience. I am challenged, and I accept the challenge, to combine in the closest possible manner the Regular Army with the Militia and the rest of the Reserve forces. How is this to be accomplished? You cannot touch a battalion of the Line without coming into contact with the subject of purchase; and you cannot touch a battalion of Militia without coming into contact with the question of the control exercised by the Lords Lieutenant of the counties. Therefore it is that both these subjects are contained in the Bill. I have been told, I think, by the last speaker, that there is no difficulty in dealing with the Army, notwithstanding the system of purchase; and I am surprised that my right hon. Friend who preceded me in office, and who knows the difficulty of dealing with questions of this kind, should be so strong an advocate for the continuation of purchase. You can put on half-pay, he says, the lieutenant colonel of an Indian regiment. You can do it, and it has been done; but what is the consequence? The loss of a large sum of money to an unoffending individual, continual complaints, a constant sense of injury—and, on the part of those who administer the system, a feeling which is not very agreeable, nor very easy to describe. It has happened to me already, more than once, to have to take measures, necessary on public grounds, but entailing pecuniary loss to officers concerned; and all I can say is, that there is no stronger argument against the system. You cannot touch any battalion in the Regular service, nor the position of any officer, by a change in your regulations, without doing one of two things. If you make any increase you add to the burden of the purchase system, which the public, if it ever puts an end to the purchase system, will have to bear; while, if you make a reduction, you inflict an undeserved and serious pecuniary injury on the officers. This applies to every part and every branch of the system; and you cannot make any change, short of the abolition of the system, without coming into contact with one or other of these two objections. I appeal to the House, if that is not a very great impediment to carrying into effect such an organization clause? Then that brings us at once to the question of how we are to organize. There are two or three points which here call for notice. I have been challenged to give individual instances. It is very difficult to give such instances, because the changes must necessarily be the result of experience—but let me ask one or two questions. Do you wish to increase the number of double battalions with a view to the Indian branch of the Army, and to short terms of service—a point which I regard as possessing the greatest possible importance? If you do so wish, you will be met immediately by difficulties arising from the purchase question. When the short terms of service to which I have alluded has furnished the country with a great Reserve, according to the Prussian system, do you wish so to alter the constitution of the Reserve battalions as to bring a vast number of men into those battalions; because, if you do, you will be met again at once by the question of purchase? Do you wish to unite closely the Militia and the Regular forces? If you do, one of the first things you will have to do will be to give subaltern officers of the Militia commissions in the Line without purchase, and how can this be done if there remain any conditions in reference to the purchase system? In addition to this, let me state that we have now an insufficient number of non-purchase commissions to meet even the requirements of the Royal Commission on Military Education. I am rejoiced to know that the mention of the plan to give commissions without purchase to Militia subalterns has already produced beneficial results by giving us a goodly number of candidates for the posts of subalterns in the Militia, which we wanted more than anything else in regard to that particular branch of the service. If I rightly understood what fell from my right hon. Friend (Sir John Pakington) the other night, he said he had been informed that two Lords Lieutenant of counties had informed him that they had already received applications from 20 to 30 candidates for subaltern positions in the Militia. Could anything be a more gratifying proof of its success than that, when our statement has scarcely been a month out, it should have produced so salutary and decided an effect? [Sir JOHN PAKINGTON here made a remark, which was inaudible in the Gallery.] I do not think so at all. I think the Lords Lieutenant of counties may be perfectly well trusted to recommend any young men for commissions in Militia regiments, where, having been proved, and being recommended by the colonel of the Staff, who is brigadier for efficient service in the Militia, they may be passed on, receiving commissions in the Line. If anything could be a test sufficient to secure merit, as distinguished from favour and patronage, this strikes me as being the plan. My right hon. Friend has asked how the cadets are to be appointed, to which I answer by asking, how can the Commander-in-Chief have more difficulty in appointing a cadet, who will not receive his commission until he has been prepared and approved in a regiment, than he has now when there is no preparation at all required? The proposition is to my mind so self-evident that it requires no further argument. That brings me to the consideration of the purchase question, and what is the description given of the Government proposal with regard to that? My right hon. Friend described it as "a mischievous crotchet, a costly project, and a sop to democracy," and added that "there is no argument at all in its favour." That, of course, is a matter of opinion: one might say, perhaps, that there is no argument on the other side; but the cardinal question is, will the abolition of purchase add to the professional training of the officers of the Army? ["No, no!"] Very well, then, let us discuss that question. So far from thinking that there is no argument in favour of the abolition of purchase, to me it appears that to mention purchase is to condemn it. It is not known in any other country; it would not be tolerated in any other service; and it is not admitted in the Artillery, the Engineers, the Marines, or the Navy. If my right hon. Friend, who had in his hand the Report of the Duke of Somerset's Commission, had looked over its pages, he would have found scattered through them these descriptions of the system of purchase in the Army—

> "Vicious in principle, repugnant to the public sentiments of the present day, equally inconsistent

> with the honour of the military profession and the policy of the British Empire, and irreconcilable with justice."

Then, having recommended the abolition of purchase in its cardinal and most important point—namely, the lieutenant colonelcies of regiments, the Report concludes by expressing the hope of the Commissioners that the partial application of the change which they have recommended will so far reconcile the British Army to the adoption of the system that it may not be necessary to continue purchase at all. Now, Sir, we have waited 14 years, and during the whole of that time we have made no advance towards the abolition of purchase. A noble Friend the other night did me the honour to refer to me as having voted with my right hon. Friend Mr. Sidney Herbert against a Motion for the immediate abolition of purchase which was made in this House in the year 1860. I have not had time to refer to the records; but I have no doubt as to the truth of my noble Friend's statement. I was one of a Cabinet who adopted the recommendation of the Royal Commission, and I wish it had been carried into effect in 1860, for if it had I have no doubt that by this time the change which the Commission anticipated would have been made, and the officers would have been reconciled to selection in place of purchase. But, having waited 14 years, I think we have waited long enough—that we should not wait another 14 years or decide upon a partial amendment of the system, but take the present opportunity of saying that we will abolish the system at once and for ever. The first question, as I have stated, is whether the abolition of purchase will increase the professional efficiency of the service? Before entering upon a reply to that question let me say that I cordially concur, as do all hon. Members who hear me speak, in the praise which has been given to our present officers in the course of the present debate. They have done everything that has ever been demanded of them, and have shown heroism and gallantry which have never been surpassed in any service; but we are living in times which are very different indeed from those days gone by, and if there is one lesson which we have learned from the history of the late campaign it is this—that the secret of Prussian success has been more owing to the professional education of the officers than to any other cause to which it can be ascribed. Neither gallantry nor heroism will avail much without professional training in these days, when arms of precision shoot down soldiers in war at immense distances. One hon. and gallant Gentleman spoke of the charge at Balaklava as an exploit which will be ever remembered as one of the brightest pages of British gallantry and courage; but let me tell the hon. and gallant Gentleman and the House that in these days of scientific weapons, and professional training, we cannot afford to have many repetitions of the Balaklava Charge. Sir Charles Trevelyan spoke with force and truth when he said, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, that a professional Army and a purchase Army were antagonistic ideas, and that if we want young men to enter the Army for the purpose of pursuing it as a profession, and carrying skill and training to their highest point, we must abolish purchase. What said the Commission in reference to this? The right hon. and gallant Gentleman who spoke from this Bench (Sir Henry Storks) was entitled, as a distinguished soldier, to speak on this subject of his own knowledge. But that is not the case with a civilian like myself, and I will therefore quote the words contained in the Report of the Commission. They said—

> "Under such regulations there is little inducement for officers to acquire proficiency in the science of war, or to study the military progress of other nations. An officer who performs his routine duties, and who keeps a sum of money available to purchase his promotion as opportunities offer, may look forward with confidence to the attainment of high military rank, while the subaltern who has not the means to buy advancement may serve during all the best years of his life in distant stations and in deadly climates, yet he must be prepared to see his juniors pass over him, for he will find that knowledge of military science and attention to regimental duties do not avail him unless he is able to buy the rank to which his qualifications entitle him."

That is the language of the Royal Commission, and I will not attempt by any words of my own to add force to the words I have quoted. My noble Friend opposite (Lord Elcho) said he wanted for the whole of the Army officers such as were to be found in the Artillery and Engineers; but what, I would ask, have either of those distinguished branches of the service to do with purchase? What the Government wants to secure is that there should be an open career for young men, and that any parent may send his son into the Army with the clear prospect that if he deserves it he will rise in rank, entirely apart from any reference to the pecuniary means of his parent. We have been told by some hon. Members that the result of the abolition of purchase would cause a different class of men to enter the Army. That was not the language of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Shropshire (Major General Sir Percy Herbert) who frankly expressed his opinion that the effect of the Bill, if passed, would not be to make any change in the general character and status of the men who would enter the Army as officers. My impression is that if we pass this Bill into a law, its effect will be to attract to the Army the aristocracy of merit and professional talent, which is after all the true aristocracy. It is a libel upon the old aristocracy of this country to say that they are ever behindhand in any race which is run in an open arena, and in which ability and industry are the only qualities which can insure success. We wish to get rid of that habitual and open violation of the law which has prevailed from the time of Queen Anne to the present moment. It has been said to-night that we ought to be content with abolishing regulation prices, and a distinguished soldier has said that if we abolished regulation prices, and permitted over-regulation prices to continue, all the evils of the present system would be got rid of. That was not the language of Sir Henry Hardinge. That was not the language of Lord Palmerston when the certificate was abolished. Sir Henry Hardinge said—

> "It was introduced to remedy a great evil—namely, the constant traffic in commissions, by which the officers of the Army had been seriously injured."

And Lord Palmerston said—

> "If commissions were allowed to be sold it was obviously necessary to limit the price that was to be paid for them; for if not, and if every officer were permitted to bid according to his means and to his desire for promotion, abuses would take place beyond all calculation."

Well, I am afraid that has been the result of allowing this system to go on, and it would be one of the great advantages that we should obtain by this change that the law would be observed in the Army as well as in all other professions in the kingdom, and that we should have no longer an open and habitual violation of it. Now, who will be injured when the change is made? Will the non-purchase officers be injured? Whenever this question is brought forward, I observe that some of the advocates of purchase find out that the very people whom we think we are going to benefit are the people who will be most injured by a change. Lord Clyde has been frequently mentioned in this debate; and it has been said that he owed his own advancement to the purchase system. I think, then, it will be conceded to me that Lord Clyde was, at least, a very dispassionate witness as to the effect of the purchase system. He was not prejudiced against it. I have lying before me two cases which Lord Clyde brought before the Royal Commission. The first case, he said, had been brought to his notice by General Pennefather. It was that of an officer in the 55th Regiment—

> "This officer," said Lord Clyde, "had been promoted for service in the field, and he had obtained his brevet majority. He led the assault at Ching Kiang-foo, and though he became brevet lieutenant colonel, and was in command of the 55th Regiment in the field in the presence of the enemy, a young captain who had just come out purchased over his head and took the command of the regiment, and he was obliged to descend to the command of a company. This poor fellow was killed leading his company against the Redan, his name was Lieutenant Colonel Cuddy. The young officer was very young; and, in this case, a man of experience, who was fitted for his position for that particular occasion, and had proved himself a bold and intrepid soldier, was superseded in his command by one who, I dare say, was equally so, but who did not possess his experience."

Well, then, Lord Clyde was asked this question—

> "You purchased to avoid being passed over by somebody else; if you had not purchased, you would have been passed over?"

Lord Clyde's answer was—

> "Most assuredly. The officer next below me was a man whom I would bow to as possessing every quality that a man ought to possess—possessing abilities as high as any man I have ever known. He could not purchase. It was in 1825 that I bought my majority, and in 1847 I passed through Cawnpore and found him just promoted to be a major in that regiment, having in the meantime been to Australia. Finally, he left the service; he remained in the service till he got this majority; he did sell out—he had some little income to maintain himself; but all hope was gone, and all that interest which it is so necessary for a man to take in his profession."

These are two out of many cases. I have quoted them because they were quoted by Lord Clyde, and it has been stated to-night that Lord Clyde, at least, was not one who had any right to be prejudiced against the purchase system. Well, then, let me ask, if this is the consequence of the purchase system to non-purchase officers, what is it to purchase officers? We have been told to-night that it was an argument in favour of the system that frequently an officer who has paid nothing for his commission receives a large sum of money on selling out—that is to say, he puts somebody else's money into his pocket. ["No, no!"] It appears to me to be a system which contrives to put other people's money into people's pockets. I have nothing to say in favour of the reserve fund. I have always treated it as affected with a trust for those who paid it. But my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire told us the other night that the very best officers forfeit their money because they want to get on and become general officers and obtain higher promotion. What an argument in favour of the system, if it is meant that the best officer forfeits his money to somebody else, who, I presume, is not the best officer! Upon that point an hon. and gallant Friend of mine, who spoke on the last night of the debate, rated so severely my right hon. Friend who sits beside me (Sir Henry Storks) for having read a letter from a very distinguished officer at Aldershot that I do not know whether I should be justified in what I am going to say next; but as my hon. and gallant Friend quoted a letter written by Sir John Burgoyne, which appeared in *The Times*, may I take the liberty of referring to Sir William Mansfield, and to a letter of Sir Sydney Cotton which appeared in *The Times* this morning? I suppose many hon. and gallant Gentlemen have read it; and I hope the House will weigh it well. Well, then, what is the present system to purchase officers? It is a system of lottery. It is only to be compared with those evil days when the Government raised money by lottery. We are now exposed to a system of uncertainty, and everyone is invited to speculate upon obtaining some advantage, either of promotion or of sale, at the expense of others. What is the system to the deserving non-commissioned officer? The Royal Commission reported that, under the existing system, there was very doubtful advantage to him in being promoted. A non-commissioned officer has volunteered to write to me. I do not know whether I have his letter before me; but the substance of it is this — I hope you will proceed with the Bill for the abolition of purchase; it is madness for a non-commissioned officer to accept a commission in the Line, and the consequence is that he is purchased over by a lad just fresh from school with money in his hands. Is it for the advantage of parents who wish to bring up their children for the Army that they should purchase commissions for them? A distinguished officer in the Army said to me—"I have four boys, and when you have carried your Bill I shall make them all go into the Army; but as things are now, only one of them can go into the Army." I am told that the Bill is defective in some of its arrangements. My hon. Friend the Member for Bewdley (Major Anson) says the calculations of the actuaries cannot be relied upon, because the inducement to retire will gradually diminish, and the process will not be so rapid as that which is assumed in the calculation. My answer is plain. The calculation was intended to establish the maximum, and in proportion as the retirement is less rapid, the ultimate cost will be diminished. Then we are told that there is an injustice in the limit which has been imposed by the Bill on the number of officers who may sell within the year. This may be considered in Committee. The intention of the Bill is, and the result will be, as far as lies in my power, that no officer shall be a sufferer by this Bill. I wish that the arrangement should be a full and complete indemnity, and nothing more. Then, as to the consequences that are to result from the principle of selection. This is the only country in which there is no selection. An hon. Friend near me referred to the example of the Austrian Army, and said the system of selection there had not been productive of good effects, as was shown when the Army of Austria came into collision with that of Prussia; selection also exists in the Army of Prussia. [An hon. MEMBER: Not as a rule.] Such is the fact, though I do not wish to trouble the House at unnecessary length on the subject. In the case of the Militia the selection is in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant; selection is also the rule in the case of non-commissioned officers. What does Lord Clyde say on the subject of selection? This question was put to him—

> "If, instead of the system of promotion by purchase, a system of promotion by selection were adopted, it would be equally the case that many excellent officers would be passed over?—No doubt; but there is this difference in that which caused them to be passed over—it is a very different principle. The one is by the possession of a little money, whereas, by selection, there may be unfairness in it sometimes; but one has a right to expect that men in a high station, who would select the officers, would select proper and fitting men for the service."

Then he is asked—

> "Do you think that the feelings of an officer would be more wounded by another officer of less merit but of greater influence being put over his head, than if he passed over his head by purchase?—It is to be presumed that the officer so selected is one of merit. Of course, when you are passed over at any time, human nature is such that men may not like it; but still I think that the principle of selection would give less pain and less cause for regret and displeasure on the part of the individual—to the man who could not purchase—than finding his junior stepping over his head by possessing a little more money than he had."

Now, I have read the sentiments of Lord Clyde, expressed by himself, against those contained in the letter produced by the hon. Gentleman, addressed by Lord Clyde to a private friend. But what does the Commission say as to the moral to be drawn for the benefit of the public by the principle of selection. They say, if you do not select your officers from the lower ranks, how will you select them if you want them for higher command, and they close by saying that this country commences a war under a disadvantage in respect to foreign States, where officers of higher rank are subject to the principle of selection. Thus, whether we are guided by the example of other countries—whether you regard the practice of civil occupations or pursuits—whether you take the authority of the highest officers in foreign States, or the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners, you are equally brought to the conclusion that not money, not seniority, but selection on the ground of merit is the proper way in which promotion should be carried out. But then we are told that it will break down the regimental system, and my noble Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire says that purchase is the life-blood of our regimental system. Now, how can purchase be the life-blood of our regimental system? Is there no regimental system; no *esprit de corps* in the non-purchase regiments? Is there none in the Artillery and Engineers? Why, the noble Lord stated a few minutes before that what we wanted was officers like those of the Artillery and Engineers. Where, then, is their life-blood to be found? They must be nothing more than defunct or galvanized bodies. Is there no *esprit de corps;* no life-blood in the regiments of Prussia? Will my hon. Friend the Member for Waterford (Mr. Osborne) say there is not? There are many non-purchase regiments in the Army—is there no regimental system among them? Is there no life-blood, no *esprit de corps* among the Marines, none in the Navy? We had a description the other night by an hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite of what the regimental system is. He said—"We are all members of one family; we all spend our lives together; we all desire to be commanders not of any regiment but of our own." Well, my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Truro (Captain Vivian) pulled that delusion to pieces by showing how small a proportion of regiments are commanded by men who have been officers in them. I believe my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Shropshire (Major General Sir Percy Herbert) himself commanded a regiment in which he had not spent the earlier part of his life, and I never heard that that regiment had been ruined or suffered by his command. What did the Royal Commission recommend? The one thing which they did recommend was that the command of regiments should no longer be the subject of purchase. They were rather cold and impartial in their other recommendations; but this at least they stated clearly—

> "Here the evil consequences of the purchase system are direct and manifest, and when it is remembered how far the issue of a battle may depend upon the efficiency and skilful handling of every regiment engaged, it is difficult to overestimate the possible mischief resulting from the system."

Now, that is the very head and front of the regimental system, and that is the opinion of the Royal Commissioners respecting it. If you have an unworthy man who has risen by purchase to the command of a regiment, it may happen that the lives of the men may be sacrificed through the incompetency of the commander, and that the loss of a battle may be hazarded. But it is not intended under the new arrangements in any way to interfere with the regimental system. On the contrary, it is recommended to exercise the principle of selection, from the highest grades to the lowest, with a due regard to regimental considerations. Let me ask you what does purchase sometimes do for this regimental system? According to my hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary, it gives a commanding officer, who barters the discipline of his regiment for flowers presented to his wife. What are exchanges? What is their bearing on the regimental system? Lord Clyde, in an extract I have before me, describes what occurred to him when he went out to China. He said, in reply to a question by the Chairman of the Commission—

> "I had one of the nicest corps of officers when I was ordered out to China; all those men embarked with their regiment, but as soon as that service was over, and they had to remain in a climate like that of China, most of them immediately exchanged, and I lost all my young friends whom I so much loved."

That is what the purchase system does for the regimental system. Then we are charged with not having provided a plan of retirement. To that I will give the best answer that, to my mind, can now be given. No doubt it would be very agreeable to me if I could come down with a plan of retirement ready cut and dry, and tell you what it is to be. Nothing is wanted to induce me to do so, except the information which would render it justifiable for me to lay that statement before you. But it is a matter of opinion upon which no people can agree. Some think, as I have already said, that if you abolish purchase, as many young men will enter the Army intending to remain only a short time and then to leave it as they do now. I am not of that opinion. I think the purchase system does to that extent stimulate retirement. But then, on the other hand, we have an intention of employing Army officers in command of the auxiliary forces. I do not know to what extent we shall be able to carry that intention out; but to whatever extent we do it, to that extent it will facilitate promotion. No man can say with certainty what will be the result; but this, at any rate, we can say—that employment in the Reserve forces, and the application of the five years' rule to the higher commands, will both tend to stimulate promotion; and of this, at least, officers may be certain, that a reasonable rapidity of promotion, such as is necessary for the benefit of the service, is a vital consideration, and must be always provided by the Crown and by Parliament. And when I say a reasonable rapidity, I mean some such rapidity as exists under the present system. On the other hand, if we cannot tell what the scheme of retirement will be, neither can we say what the sum will be that will be obtainable out of our present resources to meet it. The pay of the colonels and of the general officers, and the half-pay amount to more than £500,000 a-year, and all that will have to pass under review when the time for the consideration of these points arrives. The pension list amounts now to £1,300,000 a-year. Under the present law it is rapidly increasing. I am not one of those who think this pension list one of the ornaments of our service. On the contrary, it is one of the recommendations—though not the greatest—of the system of short service—that it will materially diminish the pension list. I shall be very much surprised—though I may not live long enough to see it—if the result of the changes is, on the whole, to increase our expenditure. On the contrary, I believe that it will lead to a great decrease; but I am not able to tell you the figures. [Mr. OSBORNE: Hear!] My hon. Friend is great at figures of rhetoric; but the figures I speak of are figures of arithmetic. I should be glad to give them to the House if I could; but I would be very unwilling to bring forward anything not founded on a substantial basis. I am certainly in the expectation that the expenditure in the non-effective list will be diminished in consequence of these proposals. Moreover, I not only believe that so large a number of officers will not enter the Army for the purpose of merely spending a few years in it, but I sincerely and earnestly hope that that will be the result; because I am convinced that, with our modern arms of precision, and with the high point to which skill is now carried in every branch of the military profession, the only safety of this country lies in the highest possible degree of professional skill in our officers. I say, also, that if you are to rely in a greater degree on our auxiliary forces and on our Reserves, that are trained for a time, and for a time only, in the ranks, and the more highly you carry these artificial systems, both of preparing the men and the material of war, the more necessary it is that the officers who are to manage these artificial and complicated systems should have attained the highest degree of professional fitness. If, then, these changes should lead to there being a less natural flow of promotion through the Army, and consequently to a greater necessity for providing increased retirement, I believe it will prove, upon the whole, for your pecuniary advantage, and that you will gain more than you will lose. There is one more argument which I wish to address to the House before I sit down. My noble Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire quoted, with great approbation the other evening, the opinion of Sir Lintorn Simmons, who is at the head of the great institution through which young men enter the scientific corps. Now, Sir Lintorn Simmons is an old friend of mine, and he has sent me some observations about our present retirement system. He says—

> "By a Return, page 112, Appendix H H, of the Report of Captain Vivian's Committee on the retirement of officers of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, it appears that of 1,000 officers entering purchase regiments (Guards excepted), 442 sell before attaining the rank of captain, or, as appears from Appendix E E, page 111, before averaging 8·3 years of service, and 185 more before averaging 17·3 years. This is a strong argument to prove that the purchase system stimulates promotion; but what does it represent in the way of blasted careers and ruin to young men? At the outside, one-tenth of the 1,000, or say 100 out of the 442, who sell as subalterns are men of wealth and expectations, who enter the service to pass a few years in it before taking up with some other career in civil life; but the majority of the remainder are, I firmly believe, for the most part men who have acquired extravagant habits, and have been compelled to realize their commissions to pay their debts. The system of money-lending and exchanges is fast breaking down our much-boasted regimental system. To such an extent is money-lending now carried that an old officer told me a few days ago that within a few months of his son getting his commission in the Line, he (the son) had received between 60 and 70 letters from money lenders offering to advance money. This shows how profitable the business must be, and the extent to which it is carried, and the only security, in the majority of cases, that can be given is the value of the commission."

I now come to the question whether, if we are to abolish purchase, we ought, in the language of my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire, to postpone it, or to abolish it at once? I venture to suggest that if we are to abolish it at all now is the time to do so. I hope I have shown that my right hon. Friend (Sir Henry Storks) and I are not far wrong when we told you that the existence of the purchase system is an obstacle which meets us in every form and at every turn on the proposal of every change. It will be the old story of the Sibylline books, for depend upon it the longer you delay the larger will be the demand made upon you. There is another consideration which I would especially address to my right hon. Friend opposite (Sir John Pakington). He was the man who set the stone rolling with respect to cornet and ensign. He knows that it is more than he would have ventured, under the circumstances of last year, to ask Parliament to vote the over-regulation money. It was necessary, after what passed last year, to have an inquiry into the over-regulation money. That inquiry was conducted by men of the greatest eminence—many of them Members of this House. They gave no opinion on the subject of the abolition of purchase, for that was not referred to them. But they did express an opinion about the recognition which has been given to over-regulation prices. That opinion was unanimous, and was strongly in favour of recognition. Fortified by the Report of the Commissioners recognizing over-regulation, as well as regulation prices, does he not see that he has taken a very narrow and imperfect view of a very wide question when he suggests that I might have abolished the rank of cornet and ensign by paying the over-regulation price in that case only? If over-regulation prices are to be recognized in the case of cornets and ensigns they must be recognized throughout the whole Army? What, then, are we to do? Are we to enforce the law which stands on the statute book notwithstanding the Report of the Commission? It would be impossible to take that course. Are we to allow the law to remain, and to wink at its violation? To do that is equally impossible. Are we, then, to repeal the law? I have quoted the opinions of Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Palmerston, that if you put the commissions up to auction the longest purse gets the commission. We therefore recommend to you to deal with the question in the only way in which we think it can be dealt with satisfactorily, and that is to abolish purchase altogether. You have a small Army. It is a most efficient Army. You give your soldiers higher pay than those of any other country; you give them greater advantages and comforts—most justly and properly. You are proud of having the only Volunteer Army almost in the world; you equip it with the best weapons; and we now ask you to take a step by which you will place it under the command not only of the most gallant and the most heroic officers in the world, but also of men whose professional training shall be the closest and the most direct, and make them most fit to lead to victory the noblest Army in the world.

Colonel NORTH moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Colonel North.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am sorry it is my duty to oppose this Motion. I believe that we have reached a point when we are very near coming to a Division on this Bill. For my own part, I am so well satisfied with the statements I have heard on this side of the House, from my right hon. Friend and others, that I shall refrain from troubling the House further. But I stated in the earlier part of the evening the position of Public Business. We are coming to the 1st of April, and that being the first day of the financial year, suggests considerations connected with the public service. It is absolutely necessary to take Votes in Supply connected with supplementary Estimates for the current year, and I am informed they cannot be postponed beyond Monday next. On Thursday the Army Estimates must be proposed, and immediately afterwards the Navy Estimates must follow. Therefore, the alternative we have is trusting for the finishing of this debate to such fragments of other evenings as may be found, if it is the pleasure of the House to adjourn it now. But I do not believe it is the pleasure of the House to do so. I believe, however, the House will be contented, or at least will respectfully listen to anything further that may be advanced; but to the adjournment it is my duty to object.

Mr. G. BENTINCK: It has been my fate to be present at so many remarkable proceedings on the part of the right hon. Gentleman that I had almost ceased to be surprised at them. But I confess I am surprised at the course he has now taken, because, in the first place, if he is the Leader of the House he is the first man who ought to defend and protect its rights and privileges; and I can imagine nothing more unjustifiable than an attempt on the part of the Leader of this House to stifle its privileges. The right hon. Gentleman could hardly have reflected upon the purport of what he has said. He must be aware that the line which he has proposed is unconstitutional as regards this House generally, and offensive to a great number in it. It is unconstitutional, because it is an attempt to stifle the freedom of debate, and it is offensive to a large number of Members who are anxious to address the House on this question, and who have not yet had an opportunity of speaking. His proceeding is so unusual that I think he has been studying modern history, and that he is disposed to take a leaf out of Count Bismarck's book, because the proceedings he now attempts to carry out are much more extraordinary than any of those of that statesman in such matters. He trusted the House would assert its privileges.

Mr. ANDERSON supported the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. DISRAELI said, he was always anxious to co-operate with the Government whenever the indispensable business of the country was in arrear; but until the right hon. Gentleman rose he was not aware this was a party debate, for it had been principally carried on by distinguished Members sitting on the Ministerial side of the House. He was not about to give a party vote; he should, however, like to state his reasons for the vote he proposed to give, and there were many others in a similar position; but it was certainly not convenient to prolong the debate beyond the hour at which they had arrived. He could not sit down without bearing his tribute of respect to those who had taken part in the discussion. He had certainly never listened to a more instructive debate, and he was sure the progress of the measure in Committee would be much facilitated by the fair and comprehensive manner in which it had been treated up to the present time.

Question put:—The House *divided*:—Ayes 187; Noes 284: Majority 97.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

After some discussion—

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Robert Fowler*:)—Question put:—The House *divided*:—Ayes 147; Noes 256: Majority 109.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. RUSSELL GURNEY said, he thought that the difficulty in which the House found itself might be got over if the discussion were resumed at a Morning Sitting to be appointed for that purpose.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he would be glad to accept this way out of the difficulty, and added that, in addition to the difficulties of finance, he must say that the Easter holidays were in very considerable danger. Would the House act on the suggestion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman?

MR. NEWDEGATE protested against the proposition for a Morning Sitting at this period of the Session, in order to force a minority to submission. The right hon. Gentleman had done such things before, but still the practice was altogether novel; and if the minority were not to be allowed to convince the majority by argument, the House would soon cease to be a deliberative assembly.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON trusted those hon. Members who had Notices upon the Paper for to-morrow would consent to postpone their Motions until a future day.

MR. CARDWELL said, that the Government would consent to the adjournment if it were understood to be until 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Debate arising.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir James Elphinstone*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock."—(*Mr. Russell Gurney*.)

MR. NEWDEGATE complained of the inconvenience which would arise from altering the hour of sitting without due Notice.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government never acted upon any public principle except what was to his own advantage for the time being. He had been requested by the right hon. Gentleman to withdraw his Motion which stood on the Paper relating to Maritime Law. That Motion had also relation to what ought to have been before the Conference, and if it was adopted by the House it would, in a great measure, do away with Army reform. He gave Notice that he would bring it forward in Committee of Supply on Monday.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON observed that the Government had consented to the adjournment of the debate under the impression that it would be resumed at 2 o'clock To-morrow afternoon. The best plan, under the circumstances, would be for the Motions fixed for To-morrow to be postponed and the debate resumed at 2 o'clock.

LORD ELCHO appealed to the Speaker, whether it was competent for any hon. Member to move, without giving previous Notice, that the House should meet at 2 o'clock?

MR. SPEAKER said, the debate had been adjourned, and the only question now before them was the hour to which it should be adjourned. The House had on several occasions decided that for the general convenience of the House the hour at which they should again meet should be 2 o'clock.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH then moved that the debate on the Motion "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock," be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*:)—The House *divided*:—Ayes 104; Noes 238: Majority 134.

Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock."

Whereupon Motion made, and Question put, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir John Hay*:)—The House *divided*:—Ayes 101; Noes 220: Majority 119.

Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock."

Debate arising.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Earl Percy*:)—The House *divided*:—Ayes 92; Noes 208: Majority 116.

Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Lord Garlies.*)

Mr. C. FORSTER suggested that the Motion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Russell Gurney) for the adjournment until 2 o'clock this day (Friday) be withdrawn, on the understanding that the debate on the second reading of the Bill be resumed on Saturday.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he was willing to assent to the arrangement proposed.

Question put:—The House *divided*:—Ayes 80; Noes 190: Majority 110.

Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock."

Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY expressed his readiness to withdraw his Motion unconditionally.

Mr. GLADSTONE agreed to the withdrawal of the Motion, giving Notice that on to-morrow he would move that the House should meet at 12 o'clock on Saturday.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

GAS WORKS CLAUSES ACT (1847) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Bill to amend the Gas Works Clauses Act, 1847, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Chichester Fortescue and Mr. Arthur Peel.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 76.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 17th March, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Lunacy Regulation (Ireland)* (47); Income Tax Assessment* (48).

Second Reading—Prison Ministers (37).

Third Reading—Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons)* (29), and *passed*.

ARMY—POWDER IN STORE.

ADDRESS FOR RETURNS.

The Earl of CARNARVON, on rising to move an Address for Returns relating to Powder in store, said, that in making his Motion he would avoid the wide range complained of by his noble Friend (Lord Northbrook), on a recent occasion, but would confine himself to the question; and would draw no inferences from the statements he was about to make. It was obvious that no military question could be of greater importance than the supply of gunpowder, and that if any serious deficiency existed in point of quantity or quality it was a very serious matter. He would first of all explain the different classes of powder. There was, to begin with, the L.G., or large grain powder, then the R.L.G., or rifle-grain powder, next pellet powder, and, finally, pebble powder. The L.G. powder represented the old gunpowder, and had practically been obsolete for many years, it being disused and condemned by a Committee about the year 1859, when guns were first manufactured on a large scale. The objections urged against it were very serious. It was fit only for smooth-bore guns; its velocity and power of penetration were less than those of other powder; it was very violent in its explosion, so as to injure the gun with which it was used; it had a tendency to foul the gun, and to diminish the accuracy of aim; it interfered with the loading; and last, and worst of all, it was destructive to the gun itself. The second-class—R.L.G. powder—was substituted in 1860 for the L.G. on the introduction of rifled cannon. This was, in many respects, less deleterious. It was less violent in exploding, and less injurious in all points. It was, however, adopted only provisionally; and in 1866 a Committee recommended as far superior a powder of larger grain, called pellet powder. This recommendation was adopted in 1867, and pellet powder was stamped with the official *imprimatur*. Last year another kind of powder was introduced and approved, as, on the whole, the best—namely, pebble powder; but he believed that, for all practical purposes, pellet and pebble powder might be regarded as much the same. The advantage of pellet or pebble powder was that larger charges could be used, and, consequently, greater power obtained; that there was greater velocity, penetration, and accuracy of aim; and that the explosive power, or power of injuring the gun, was materially reduced. Having said so much by way of explanation, he would now pass to the amount of powder which ought to be in store. The figures on this point furnished by various military authorities varied much; but he thought his noble Friend opposite the Under Secretary for War would agree that he should not be taking an exaggerated estimate if he said that 300,000 barrels, according to great military authorities, was the minimum which we ought to have in store in time of peace. Now, what was the actual amount? His noble Friend had kindly furnished him with a corrected account of the figures which he gave a few nights ago; and this showed that the amount in stock of L.G. was 214,536 barrels, of R.L.G. 66,075, of pellet 149, and of pebble 567; making a total of 281,327 barrels. Perhaps his noble Friend opposite would say that this was a close approximation to the minimum of 300,000, which the military authorities decided ought to be always in store; but it must be remembered that 214,000 barrels were of the obsolete, almost worthless L.G. class; that there were less than 67,000 barrels of the other classes, and that there were only 700 barrels of the powder which four years ago was stated to be the best, and which ought to be used. In order to comprehend the full meaning of this fact it must be borne in mind that the 35-ton gun, described by the Secretary for War as the most formidable weapon in Europe, and on the manufacture of which he so much prided himself, required for each discharge nearly one whole barrel of powder; so that we had in store little more than 750 charges of the best powder for the best gun. To say the least of it, this was not very satisfactory. Practically speaking, we have none of the best class of powder, more than we know what to do with of the old and almost worthless class, and an insufficient supply of the R.L.G., an inferior sort, unfit for those new guns, but still a degree better than the L.G. How did that affect the question of guns? Why, the power of the large new guns, manufactured at an enormous cost, was practically undeveloped; and they would be injured if the inferior powder, which alone we had in store in sufficient quantities, was used. He did not want to trouble the House with any quotations; but there was one which he should like to read, as it stated the case so very succinctly. It would be found in an article in *The Times* of the 10th of January, an article written expressly on the subject of gunpowder, and written, as those who had studied it were aware, rather with a view of dispelling apprehension than otherwise. The writer of the article remarked—

> "It is said that the 12-inch gun of 25 tons will fire a charge of 85-lb pebble, instead of a 67-lb R.L.G., and that the velocity of a 600-lb shell is thereby increased about 120 ft. per second, while the pressure is reduced 20 per cent. The importance of this result may not be apparent to the non-professional reader; but it means that the *Monarch* could, with pebble (or pellet) powder, knock an enemy to pieces, so far as weight of blows goes, as easily at 1,000 yards as she could with R.L.G. at 10 yards."

This, he (the Earl of Carnarvon) thought, stated the matter as briefly and conclusively as it was possible to do. His noble Friend the Under Secretary of State said, on a former occasion, that the quantity of R.L.G. in stock was double that which was used in the Russian War; but he was at a loss to understand whence he got his figures. He had seen it stated that during the Seven Years' War, in the middle of last century, the annual consumption of powder was 72,000 barrels, and that during the Russian War the consumption was 80,000. He wondered his noble Friend could make use of so transparent a fallacy, as such averages were obviously deceptive. It might as well be stated that because in 1866, in their seven weeks' campaign, the Austrian soldiers fired away only four cartridges per man, an Army might safely be sent into the field with only that number. It was idle to arrive at any estimate as to quantity on any such basis. It was evident that over and above the powder that would be required for the armies on land and for our fleets, a certain quantity must be kept at the great forts—such as Malta, Gibraltar, Plymouth, and Portsmouth—for it was absurd to suppose that in all future wars the campaign could be localized. His noble Friend, on a former occasion, also contended that the L.G. powder, of which we had such an excessive supply, was useful and good for service; but he ventured to think that this statement could not be seriously maintained. Putting aside the question that there was very little demand for the L.G. powder in the trade, it was a fact that the Navy had refused to accept it. Then was his noble Friend aware that an official Order had been issued, the first provision of which was that "As a temporary measure L.G. powder may be used for breech-loading guns up to 7-inch"—thus limiting it to low charges and to guns of 7-inch calibre? The Order went on to say—

> "2. In cases of emergency, L.G. may be used for muzzle-loaders up to 9-inch, but to be reported at once to officer, and gun to be examined after 25 rounds. 3. When L.G. is used the same charge shall be used as with R.L.G."

The House would understand that this implied a low charge, and, consequently, loss of power. How, in the face of this Order, could it be contended that L.G. was suitable for the service of the Army? If a more decisive proof to the contrary was wanted, it would be found in the fact that the War Office, as he was informed, had just contracted, and had resolved on contracting, for the supply of pebble powder at the rate of £6 10*s*. per barrel. Now, it could be manufactured at the Government factory at Waltham for £3 10*s*. or £4 per barrel; so that the Government were paying a fabulous price for the article, either because—which he did not believe—they were reckless to a degree in matters of expense, or because they had so full an appreciation of our insufficient supply as to be willing to buy powder from the trade, even at the exorbitant rate of 75 per cent above the cost of production at Waltham. His noble Friend had implied that if more was wanted it could easily be procured; but it was a slow and hazardous manufacture; mills could not be multiplied in England; and even if we went to the trade we could not get all we desired, either as to quantity or quality. Contract powder was notoriously bad, and required great vigilance. The only gunpowder manufactory the country had was at Waltham. There was no such thing as overtime at Waltham; but even if it worked night, day, week-days, and Sundays, it could not turn out more than 25,000 or 26,000 barrels a-year. It must not, therefore, be supposed that on a pinch powder could be got in any sufficient quantity. We should have to go abroad for it, and then who could answer for the quality? His reason for moving for Colonel Younghusband's Report on the supply of gunpowder was that it had been publicly stated that Colonel Younghusband, early in 1869, called the attention of the War Office to the great deficiency in the supply, and advised, as a temporary measure, that certain quantities of L.G. should be got rid of in exchange with the trade, or as it best could, and that the R.L.G. should be used simply to keep things from a standstill. He (the Earl of Carnarvon) feared, however, that these deficiencies had not been remedied. Indeed, incredible as it seemed, he understood that during part of 1869 the works at Waltham were, in a great measure, suspended, and for a certain time absolutely closed, the skilled workmen not being dismissed, but employed in unskilled labour, unconnected with the production of gunpowder. This was so serious a statement that he hoped his noble Friend would be able to contradict it. He wished to point out to the House, as strongly as possible, the folly of this system, under which we were buying an article of prime necessity at an enormous cost, and paying £6 10*s*. for an article which could be manufactured for £3 10*s*. or £4 10*s*. He did not know what the total amount of gunpowder required was; but he would certainly be under the mark in putting it at 100,000 barrels in stock, which, at £6 10*s*. per barrel, amounted to £650,000; of which a great portion, if provided by the trade, must be sheer waste, for it was notorious that contract gunpowder was never so good as that manufactured in the Government works. There were formerly two Government factories in addition to that at Waltham; but these in a fit of economy many years ago were closed, and the evil results of this measure were still felt, for our peace consumption was no less than 36,000 barrels a-year, and Waltham could not by any possibility turn out more than 25,000 or

26,000 barrels. Thus, for 10,000 barrels a-year the Government had to fall back on the trade and expose themselves to all kinds of dangers. The best policy was to maintain a sufficient number of Government factories, to provide, at least, for the ordinary annual consumption of powder, and to have a tolerable supply in hand for emergencies. He believed a practice prevailed of changing the skilled officers at the head of these highly elaborate and scientific departments every few years, though anybody who looked into the subject, however cursorily, must see the necessity of keeping the best and most scientific men at their posts and of avoiding perpetual changes. He presumed the Government would not object to a Return of the amount of gunpowder suitable for small arms—for he feared there was as great a deficiency on this head as with regard to cannon powder. He believed the peace consumption of powder for small arms ought to be 7,000 barrels a-year, and he very much doubted whether there was more than a year's consumption in hand. He had reason to believe that the Government had at this moment taken up, or were about to take up, contracts for small arms' powder at about £8 per barrel; whereas it could be manufactured at Waltham for £5 or £6—a plain proof that they were conscious of an insufficient supply. He had endeavoured to understate every fact and figure, and to abstain from all inferences; but if it were true that artillery in these modern times played a principal part in military affairs, gunpowder was the soul of that article, and their Lordships would see the uselessness of highly elaborate and scientific guns with a deficient supply of powder. The deficiency was not merely serious in itself, but was more serious as showing that parts of our system were terribly out of order. If the moving spring of our whole system was wanting in quality or quantity, what assurance had we that our whole military administration was not equally rotten? It was all a part of the miserable unpatriotic system which had prevailed for some time of nibbling at the Estimates, and making reductions and economies in obedience to some popular cry of the moment. Of course, it was not a pleasant thing to spend money; but if the Government and Parliament, who were equally to blame in this respect, did not make a change—if they could not have the manliness and courage to face these necessary expenses, to look this difficulty in the face, and to alter the whole system on which we had proceeded for many years, we should one day be overtaken by some great and irreparable disaster. No man could look at the present state of Europe without the deepest anxiety. Europe was undermined with secret treaties and schemes, and the small States were trembling for their very existence. Russia was arming to the teeth; Prussia, we knew, was armed; and this country, the richest in the world, and which had the most to lose by any impolicy or miscalculation, seemed to be living in a state of mere dreamy self-deception, flattering herself that she was secure when her Army was really helpless either for offence or defence. For years past this country had not been engaged in a single war in which we had not found ourselves unprepared, and in the early part of which we had not consequently suffered. If we were again unfortunately engaged in war, and found ourselves unprepared, the consequences now must be much more serious than they had ever been before. Then war was a protracted game; but now it might be entirely different. The declaration of war might be sudden—the war might come upon us at a few hours' notice—one sharp decisive stroke might be struck, and the first catastrophe might also be the last.

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for the following Returns:—

1. Amount of serviceable cannon Powder of all sorts in store on the 1st January 1869, specifying the quantities under the heads of L.G., R.L.G., Pellet, and Pebble Powder, and distinguishing the amount in made-up ammunition:
2. Ditto, on 1st January 1871:
3. Amount of R.F.G. Powder for small arms on 1st January 1871:
4. Colonel Younghusband's Report on the supply of Gunpowder, dated March 1869, and any subsequent Report by Colonel Younghusband on the same subject.—(*The Earl of Carnarvon.*)

LORD NORTHBROOK said, he thought the noble Earl might have waited for the production of the Returns which would be laid on their Lordships' Table before raising a debate on the subject to which they referred. The noble Earl appeared to have already obtained a certain amount of information, which he had used in his speech. He disclaimed drawing inferences, but his speech somewhat inconsistently abounded with inferences; and he did not hesitate to use such terms as "folly" and "miserable and unpatriotic economy" to characterize what he assumed to have been the conduct of the War Office. His noble Friend's speech had reminded him of Mr. Croaker in *The Good-Natured Man.* The noble Earl had virtually said—"I tell you I'm fixed, I'm determined, so now produce your reasons. When I'm determined I always listen to reason, because it can then do no harm." As to the supply of powder, his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State, on acceding to Office, found that pellet powder, which was about the size of a large button, had been recommended for guns of large calibre, but that the machinery for its manufacture had not been completed. He consequently ordered the completion of the machinery. In the meantime, a Committee was appointed to examine the effect of powder when exploded in guns of a large size, under the presidency of Colonel Younghusband, the superintendent of the Government factory at Waltham. Almost the first thing that Colonel Younghusband did was to come to him (Lord Northbrook) at the War Office, and represent to him that a new sort of powder—prismatic powder—had been tried, the effect of which was so superior to that of pellet powder that further inquiries were necessary before deciding on adopting the latter as the service powder. Colonel Younghusband thought this of such importance that he asked to be allowed to visit the Continental manufactories. He accordingly inspected the Prussian and Russian manufactories, and reported upon their different systems of manufacture. On his return the experiments which had been before instituted were continued, and the results were very remarkable and interesting. A machine had been invented by one of the Committee—Captain Noble — called the chronoscope, which, by inserting copper wires into the inside of the tube of the gun, communicating electrically with rapidly revolving wheels, guaged the pace of the shot between the ignition of the powder and the discharge from the muzzle. The result of the experiments was that the Committee recommended for guns of large size a third sort of powder called pebble powder, of about the same size as pellet powder, but made in a different way. This class of powder had consequently been ordered to be manufactured, as much as possible having since that time been in course of manufacture at Waltham, while some had been ordered of the trade. The experiments, however, as to the nature and qualities of different kinds of gunpowder were by no means concluded; although satisfactory up to a certain point, there were some striking discrepancies, and those who had the responsibility of manufacturing large guns were doubtful whether pebble powder could safely be adopted in charges greatly exceeding those of the ordinary powder. Tho noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) had referred to the different effect of a 35-ton gun with ordinary and with pebble powder; but Colonel Campbell, the Superintendent of the Royal Gun Factories, reported as follows as the result of the experiments up to the present time:—

> "The experiments with the 10-inch gun have shown that, with proof charges, the strain on the gun is the same whether R.L.G. or pebble-powder is used."
>
> "The experiments with the 35-ton gun, of 11·6-inch calibre, have shown very extraordinary discrepancies—firstly, with charges of 75 lb fired from a rear vent, the strain on the gun was less and the velocity diminished when compared with the same charge fired from the service vent; secondly, with charges of 110 lb fired from a rear vent, the strain on the gun was greater and the velocity increased when compared with the same charge fired from the service vent; thirdly, with the same charge of powder (120 lb) the velocity varied 109 ft., and the pressure 26 tons, the charge, in all cases, being fired from the service position of vent; fourthly, in the case of 130 lb being fired the velocity is given as 1,348 ft. and the pressure at 63·8 tons, when, with a charge of 120 lb the velocity is given as 1,353 ft., and the pressure only 21·7 tons."

Their Lordships would observe the important variations which had occurred, and which proved that further information was necessary before it could be taken as established that it would be safe in these large guns to increase the charge and fire large charges of pebble powder. It was the opinion, indeed, of the most qualified men that no theory could be adopted as conclusive with regard to the different classes of gunpowder to be used in guns of different calibres. It seemed likely that each particular calibre had a particular kind of powder more suited to it than any other. As to the conclusion to be drawn from these experiments, Colonel Campbell continued—

"From these results I am indisposed to consider that the pebble-powder, as at present manufactured, should be introduced into the service at once, believing it still to be in an experimental stage, and that the favourable results in some instances already obtained require confirmation before they can be considered sufficiently reliable to justify the adoption of the pebble-powder. I deprecate the hurry with which the pebble-powder has been introduced into the service, remembering that the same advantages were claimed for pellet and prismatic powder, which, on further trial, they could not maintain. The state of the 10-inch gun, to my mind, proves that the large charges of pebble-powder increase the scoring; indeed, I do not see how it can be otherwise, as greater heat must necessarily be produced. Our present guns have now for some years used the R.L.G. powder; it would seem, therefore, that as there has been no complaint of failures, the introduction of a new powder may be delayed until the experiments have been completed and it has been shown that the new powder is suitable for all our heavy guns."

This was the opinion of the Superintendent of the Royal Gun Factories, who had constructed heavy guns with great ability and success, and who was therefore, in his humble opinion, a higher authority than the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) who had no responsibility, and could only form an opinion on hearsay information. The noble Earl had quoted a remark from *The Times* that pebble-powder was as effective at 1,000 yards as R.L.G. at 10 yards. This might be so; but if, as he believed, the results were at present uncertain, the effect of one shot might differ materially from that of another; and the risk to the gun from any great variations in the effect of the powder would militate against the advantage obtained from greater velocity. If the pressure was at all equal to what the experiments had indicated, these large charges could not safely be used in the 35-ton gun. The L.G. powder, though not as good as the R.L.G., could be properly used in the greater part of our artillery—and he said this on the authority of General Adye, the Inspector of Stores, who was eminently qualified to judge of the matter. The idea that the L.G. powder strained the gun more than the R.L.G. powder had been found to be erroneous. A report, indeed, had recently arrived from India of a gun bursting through the use of R.L.G., which was consequently supposed to be more powerful and dangerous than the L.G. As to the Circular quoted by the noble Earl, it was issued at a time when experiments were going on with the two classes of powder, and the regulation as to examining a gun after every 25 discharges of L.G. powder had since been cancelled. There was now an ample supply of L.G. and a considerable supply of R.L.G., both of which were perfectly serviceable; while efforts were being made to obtain a satisfactory supply of powder of a better class, suitable for very large guns, the pebble-powder being only advantageous with these guns. The upshot of the whole was that on the 1st of April next there would be 4,500 barrels in store of this powder—the figures which he gave the other night being very much understated as to that class, through his having taken the figures at the end of September instead of at the present time. 2,000 barrels were also expected from the trade; and this was a much wiser plan than embarking largely in the manufacture of powder of an experimental nature before its fitness had been fully established. Colonel Younghusband had authorized him to say, in the event of his name being mentioned, that he was perfectly satisfied with the steps which had been taken for the supply both of pellet and pebble-powder. As to the Returns moved for by his noble Friend, it might not be good policy to give Returns of warlike stores; but so anxious were the Government to show they desired no concealment in the matter that they would consent to their production, provided his noble Friend altered the dates to the usual half-yearly periods, and would not insist upon the special Reports of Colonel Younghusband. One of Colonel Younghusband's Reports contained incomplete information; but he was quite willing to furnish his noble Friend with copies, and if he then thought their presentation advisable for the public service he would interpose no objection. Nothing could be further from the policy or intention of the Secretary of State than to exercise petty economy with respect to the Army supplies, especially in the important matter of gunpowder. The reason why the manufacture at Waltham was suspended for a short time in 1869 was a great want of store accommodation, there being too much powder in the magazines, and no room for that which was being manufactured. As to the fine grain powder for rifles, the Surveyor General of Ordnance had deliberately delayed the manufacture of more of the present class of powder among other reasons on account of the introduction of the Martini-Henry rifle—it being very doubtful whether the fine grain powder would be suitable for that weapon. No difficulty whatever existed in making powder for small arms in any quantity when required. The consumption of small arms, powder compared with that for great guns was exceedingly small, being only about 3,700 barrels per annum. He regretted that so much had been said and written upon this subject by those who were only imperfectly acquainted with what passed in the Department.

Motion, as amended, *agreed to*.

Address for—

"1. Amount of serviceable cannon Powder of all sorts in store on the 30th September 1868, specifying the quantities under the heads of L.G., R.L.G., Pellet, and Pebble Powder, and distinguishing the amount in made-up ammunition:

"2. Ditto, on 30th September 1870:

"3. Amount of R.F.G. Powder for small arms on 30th September 1870."—(*Parl. Paper*, No. 71.)

PRISON MINISTERS BILL—(No. 37.)

(*The Earl of Morley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE EARL OF MORLEY, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, that its object was to extend the principle affirmed by Parliament in the Prison Ministers Act of 1863, which in practice had not worked satisfactorily. By that Act the prison authorities were permitted, in cases where the number of prisoners of any particular creed was such as to justify such a proceeding, to appoint and pay a minister of their persuasion to visit such prisoners. That measure was, however, a purely permissive Bill, and it had been found by a Committee of the House of Commons which sat last year that its provisions had by no means been uniformly adopted throughout the country, and the results expected from it had been far from being realized. Thus, in some prisons, ministers of different religious creeds were appointed, paid, and placed exactly upon the same footing as the Church of England chaplains; whereas in others, although such ministers were appointed and paid, they were not permitted to

perform a service within the walls of the prison, but were merely allowed to visit the prisoners in their cells; and in others, again, no salaries whatever were given, although the ministers were at liberty to visit the gaols. He ventured to submit to their Lordships that this was not acting according to the spirit in which the Act of 1863 was passed—such a state of things was neither politically sound nor just—it was contrary to the principle that the workman is worthy of his hire. The object of the present measure was to remedy the defects of the Act of 1863, by authorizing the Secretary of State, upon complaint being made to him that the number of prisoners confined in any prison, belonging to any religious persuasion other than the Church of England, was so great as to require the ministration of a minister of their own persuasion, and that the prison authorities had failed to appoint such a minister under the power given them by the Act of 1863, to require the prison authority to appoint such a minister. The power of the Secretary of State was restricted to the case of prisons in which the average number of prisoners of the particular denomination during the three preceding years had not been less than 10. The minister so appointed was, so far as circumstances would allow, to be placed in exactly the same status as the Church of England chaplain of the prison, and was to be paid a salary not less than that given in a schedule attached to the Bill, ranging from £25 where the prisoners to whom he has to administer do not exceed 20; to £150 where such prisoners number between 200 and 300; and £200 where they exceed 300. The Secretary of State was further authorized to make regulations with regard to such ministers, which were to take effect after they had been laid for a certain period before Parliament.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Morley.*)

EARL DELAWARR said, he strongly approved of the Bill, which was directed against a state of things which was a scandal and reproach to our legislation. The Bill, if passed, would be a great step towards securing perfect religious equality. It was disgraceful that the prison authorities should have the power of refusing to remunerate the Roman Catholic priests who attended to the spiritual wants of prisoners professing that faith. He complained, however, that the Bill made no provision for the payment of Roman Catholic priests in cases where the annual average number of prisoners for three years was below 10. Another defect in the measure was that it did not name the persons by whom complaint was to be made to the Secretary of State in cases where no Nonconformist minister had been appointed to gaols. But unless such a provision was inserted in Committee there was a risk that this Bill likewise would prove inoperative, because no complaints would be made.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON approved the general principle of the Bill; but he thought care would be required in Committee that no words were used which should override the Prisons Act of 1865. He admitted the propriety of remunerating Roman Catholic chaplains of prisons; but he thought the burden of payment should not be thrown upon the county rates. He thought the words in Clause 4 would give power to the Secretary of State to insist upon Roman Catholic chapels being built in every gaol—a course that would in some instances entail an unnecessary burden upon the county rates.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY hoped the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Morley) would state in what manner he intended to remedy the defect pointed out by the noble Earl who had just spoken. Many persons might desire to see the controversy on that question settled; but if any great additional burden should be thrown on the county rate—already very heavy—for the erection of Roman Catholic chapels considerable dissatisfaction might be created.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, there was a proviso to the 4th clause that all regulations made by the Secretary of State should be laid before Parliament within one month after they were made, and if they were not objected to within 40 days, they would be deemed duly made within the powers of this Act, and would have the same effect as if they were regulations contained in the 1st Schedule to the Prisons Act, 1865.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY asked whether, among the powers given by the Bill to the Secretary of State, it was intended that he should have power to decide whether a Roman Catholic chaplain should be enabled to celebrate high mass in prisons?

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, the Secretary of State would have power to

> "Afford any such minister proper means and facilities for the performance of his duties and the religious instruction of such prisoners and the due celebration of the ceremonies of his religion."

EARL STANHOPE suggested whether it would not be advisable to place some restriction on the power of the Secretary of State to authorize the construction of chapel buildings within prisons?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, the object of the Bill being to provide the offices of religion for such prisoners as might not hold the opinions of the Established Church, they could hardly refuse the means and facilities requisite for the performance of those offices. That might necessitate the erection of additional buildings in some particular cases, though probably not in very many; and he did not think it would be right to withhold all power whatever of sanctioning such additional accommodation. To do so might be to render the Bill quite nugatory in certain instances. When the regulations were laid before Parliament it would be seen in what manner the powers given to the Secretary of State were to be applied.

THE MARQUESS OF CLANRICARDE said, the point raised might be considered before the Bill went into Committee. It would probably be necessary to vest a discretion in the Secretary of State on the matter; at the same time, care ought to be taken not to overburden the county rates. As the provision in question would involve a power of taxation, it would be requisite to alter the form of the Bill before it went to the other House.

THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND thought it was a question whether the expense of that accommodation ought not to be borne by the State, instead of by the county rate, the burden of which was already so great in some districts that any considerable increase would excite a strong feeling in many parts of the country.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND cordially concurred in the principle of the Act of 1863, and as that had not been found to act satisfactorily in some respects, the present Bill proposed a just and proper remedy. He apprehended that it would be necessary in extreme cases only to provide additional buildings in goals; but, at the same time, he thought an opportunity should be given to Parliament of discussing whether, in any particular instance, the Secretary of State had gone beyond the proper limits contemplated by the Act, or had charged the county rates unduly for the erection of prison chapels. If Parliament was not to have some veto on excessive expenditure, he did not understand why the rules and regulations were to lie for 40 days on the Table before coming into operation. There ought to be some special provision that either House should have the power, either by an Address to the Crown, or by a direct negative, to stop expenditure of which it did not approve.

VISCOUNT HALIFAX stated that the object of requiring the rules and regulations to be laid upon the Table was that either House of Parliament might, if so disposed, interfere before they came into force.

Motion *agreed to.* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

COUNTY PROPERTY BILL—(No. 35.)
(*The Duke of Richmond.*)
SECOND READING PUT OFF.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, it required very little explanation. It seemed that property acquired by Act of Parliament by justices of the peace might be vested in the clerks of the peace, and there was an Act of the present reign which empowered the vesting of such property. He believed, however, that it had been found that property that virtually belonged to the county, concerning which there was no means of showing how the property was acquired, could not be vested in the clerk of the peace for the county. The Bill had been under the inspection of the authorities of the Home Office, who seemed satisfied, and had passed through the other House without much discussion; but if the Lord Chancellor thought it necessary, he would postpone the second reading.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR was obliged for this offer, as the Bill at first sight appeared to contain some rather startling provisions. He promised to examine it more closely before the Motion was repeated.

LORD PENZANCE remarked that some clauses of the Bill were rather more comprehensive than the noble Duke seemed to think, and joined in the request for postponement.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND withdrew his Motion.

Second Reading put off to *Thursday* next.

LUNACY REGULATION (IRELAND) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Law in Ireland relating to Commissions of Lunacy and the proceeding under the same, and the management of the Estates of Lunatics; and to provide for the visiting and the protection of the Property of Lunatics in Ireland; and for other purposes—Was *presented* by The Lord O'HAGAN; read 1ª. (No. 47.)

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
to Monday next, Eleven
o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 17*th March*, 1871.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — Turnpike Acts Continuance, *appointed;* Letters Patent, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lopes, Mr. Andrew Johnston, and Colonel Wilmot *added;* Conventual and Monastic Institutions, *appointed.*

Report—Public Accounts [No. 102.]

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—County Justices Qualification Amendment* [77].

Second Reading—Army Regulation [39], *debate resumed.*

Third Reading—Poor Law (Loans)* [68], and *passed.*

COUNTY COURT JUDGES.—QUESTION.

MR. G. B. GREGORY, who had given Notice of his intention to ask Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been directed to a Return recently issued, showing the number of days on which Judges of County Courts sat in 1869, from which it appears that fifteen of such Judges, receiving salaries of from £1,500 to £1,800, sat for periods amounting in the whole of such year to from six to twelve days only; and, whether such Return is a correct representation of the whole of the work performed by such Judges respectively—said, that since he had given Notice of his Questions he had found, by a Return supplemental to one delivered last Session, that the minimum of sittings was 88, and the maximum 216. Therefore, he would not trouble the Attorney General by putting the first Question that stood in his name on the Paper. But perhaps the hon. and learned Gentleman would be kind enough to answer the last Question—namely, Whether there is any check upon or control over the appointment of Deputies by County Court Judges?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, in reply, said, the 9 & 10 *Vict.* c. 95, s. 20, provided that a deputy might be appointed in case of the illness or unavoidable absence of a County Court Judge. The cause of absence was to be entered on the Minutes of the Court. But if he was asked who was to determine whether a County Court Judge was ill or whether his absence was unavoidable, he should be obliged to say the County Court Judge himself was the judge of his own illness. There was a further power undoubtedly, with the approval of the Lord Chancellor, to appoint a deputy for a period not exceeding two months.

INDIA—LAHORE AND PESHAWUR RAILWAY.—QUESTION.

MR. RIDLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he can furnish a detailed Statement of the sums already expended by the Government of India upon the projected Line of Railway between Lahore and Peshawur, showing the money spent on salaries, materials, and works respectively from the time of the commencement of the surveys; whether the question of the gauge of the said Railway has been determined, and, if so, what gauge has been selected, and why; and, whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House, Copies of the Railway Despatches from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated May 17, 1870 (Nos. 51 and 52), and of any other subsequent Despatches or Correspondence on the same subject?

MR. GRANT DUFF: In reply, Sir, to the hon. Gentleman's first Question, I have to say that we have no means of furnishing such a statement as he asks for without referring to India. In reply to his second Question, I have to say that the final decision as to the gauge to be adopted on the projected new railways in the Punjaub and Scinde was left by the Secretary of State in Council to the Government of India; and I can best convey its decision by reading an extract from a despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State in Council, which I shall lay upon the Table of the House—

"We consider an internal width of 6 ft. to be the least that can be conveniently taken for ordinary passenger and good's vehicles, and that for such a width of the vehicle a gauge of 3 ft. 3 in. seems likely to be most suitable. We are of opinion that by adopting this gauge we shall very materially reduce the cost of construction and maintenance, while the carrying power of the railways will be fully adequate to the probable requirements of the traffic. On such a gauge, with a light rail, rolling stock not sensibly heavier than that which has been proposed for the 2 ft. 9 in. gauge may readily be employed; while, in the event of an important increase of the traffic, vehicles of larger capacity, with heavier engines, if accompanied by the adoption of a heavier rail, will give the means of raising the carrying power of the lines to a standard very little, if at all, below that now attained on most European lines of the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge."

In reply to the hon. Gentleman's third Question, I have to say that there is no objection to laying the Correspondence for which he asks upon the Table of the House, if he will move for it.

POST OFFICE—NEW POSTAGE AND MONEY ORDER SCHEMES.

QUESTION.

MR. NEVILLE-GRENVILLE asked the Postmaster General, When he proposes to bring in a Bill to carry out his new Postage and Money Order schemes; and, whether he anticipates their becoming Law before Easter?

MR. MONSELL said, in reply, that the money order scheme would not require legislation, and preparations were being made to carry it out with as little delay as possible. As to the other scheme, legislation was necessary in order to carry it out. A Bill was being prepared for that purpose, and he should have the pleasure of introducing it with as little delay as possible. He could not, however, promise that it would be introduced before Easter.

INDIA—INDIAN CIVIL ENGINEERING COLLEGE.—QUESTION.

Mr. PLUNKET asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is intended to alter the terms of the Prospectus now issued at the Office of the Civil Service Commissioners, with reference to the Indian Civil Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, so as to make such Prospectus consistent with the Resolution adopted by the House of Commons on Friday the 3rd of March; and, if so, whether there will be any objection to lay a Copy of the Prospectus, when altered, upon the Table of the House?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: In reply, Sir, to the hon. Gentleman, I have to say that it is intended to alter the terms of the prospectus of the Civil Engineering College so as to make it consistent with the Resolution of the 3rd of March; and, further, that there will be no objection whatever to lay a copy of such prospectus, when altered, upon the Table of the House.

ITALY—DISTURBANCES IN THE CHURCH OF THE GESU, ROME.—QUESTION.

Mr. SYNAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If his attention has been called to the publication in the newspapers of a complaint made to Mr. Jervoise by certain British subjects in Rome (including a D.D. and Vice-regal Chaplain in Ireland, and a M.A. of Oxford), that they were subjected to "inconvenience, insult, and danger" in the church of the "Gesù" on the 10th March, and of the conduct of the Royal Commissary and some Italian soldiers on that occasion; whether that complaint is well founded; and, whether any communication has been received from Mr. Jervoise on the subject; and, if so, whether any and what steps have been taken in reference thereto?

Viscount ENFIELD, in reply, said, a statement in writing of the circumstances which occurred on the 10th of March at the church of the Gesù, at Rome, was made to Mr. Jervoise by the English gentlemen who were present, and a despatch calling Lord Granville's attention to this statement has been received from Mr. Jervoise. He further states that several arrests have been made, and that he will report the result of any proceedings that may be taken. The English visitors, on appealing to the Delegate of the Questura for protection, were escorted by him and a file of soldiers as far as the Via Cesareni, when he saluted and left them. The attack does not seem to have been directed especially against British subjects, but they appear to have been in a crowded church, and suffered only in common with other persons in the crowd during these disturbances.

FRANCE—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST PESTILENCE.—QUESTION.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can give the House any assurance that proper precautions are being taken by the French Government to prevent the breaking out of any pestilence which might arise during the summer from neglect of the great battle fields of the late war?

Viscount ENFIELD: I fear that I cannot give my hon. Friend the assurances he wishes; but I feel sure, in common with the rest of the House, that the parties most directly interested—namely, the French Government—will not prove unmindful of the laws and precautions affecting the health of the community.

ARMY—TRANSFERS FROM THE LINE TO THE MILITIA.—QUESTION.

Colonel C. LINDSAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the event of purchase in the Army being abolished, and, as he has stated, that in order to place the Militia and Regulars under one government something like the same rules and the same system must be applied to them, those officers who are serving in the Army (which is a paid service), and who may be transferred into the Militia (which is not paid except when out for training), are to continue to receive their pay according to their rank; and, if so, from what source will their pay be issued to them; whether any calculation or provision has been made in the Army Estimates for such a contingency; whether it has been determined as to what proportion of Army Officers are to be transferred to Militia Regiments; whether such transfers from the Line to the Militia are only to apply to Officers who wish to go upon half-pay; and, whether such transfers or interchanges are to be compulsory or optional?

MR. CARDWELL: Officers in the Army cannot be transferred compulsorily to the Militia, receiving only one month's pay. I think it is probable that many officers will be desirous of going on half-pay after comparatively short service, on condition of serving a time in the Militia, receiving full-pay when embodied or called out for training. It is not determined what number of Army officers will be employed in the Militia, and therefore no special calculation could be made. The half-pay will be borne upon the Non-effective Vote, and the Militia pay upon the Militia Vote. Such officers also as may be appointed to the permanent Staff will receive their pay from that Vote.

ARMY—SMALL POX—3RD SURREY MILITIA.—QUESTION.

MR. PEEK asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement:—

> "The 3rd Surrey Militia is composed of men who are mainly gathered from Lambeth, Southwark, and Bermondsey, in which districts small pox is raging to a fearful extent. They will soon be called out for their annual drill, and are to go to Aldershot. But first of all they spend one night at Kingston, where they obtain their clothes, &c. The recruits will spend two or three weeks there. The town and neighbourhood are naturally very anxious, in prospect of having some 700 or 800 men from those small pox districts so quartered;"

whether he has considered the matter; and, whether it would not be possible to arrange for the men going direct to Aldershot?

MR. CARDWELL: The subject is under consideration with a view of meeting the objection.

WORKSHOP REGULATION ACT (1867) AMENDMENT BILL.—QUESTION.

MR. MACFIE asked the hon. Member for Greenwich, with reference to the Workshop Regulation Act (1867) Amendment Bill, Whether he has information, and will put the House in possession of it, as to the number of Women and Young Persons, not being Jews, employed in the Workshops and Manufactories in regard to which penalties for labour on Sundays will, if that Bill become law, cease?

SIR DAVID SALOMONS, in reply, said, he was not able to give a complete answer to the Question of the hon. Gentleman. He believed there were but very few employed in workshops and manufactories to whom his Bill would apply. His Bill was only intended to assist the poorest class of Jewish employers and Jewish workmen who keep their Sabbaths. They could not, unless the Bill was passed, have the advantage of six days' work, which the Workshop Act allowed.

POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPH SERVICE AT PORT MADOC.—QUESTION.

MR. HOLLAND asked the Postmaster General, What is the cause of the delay in providing an important seaport town like Port Madoc in Carnarvonshire with the telegraph, when villages in the vicinity have long since been so supplied; and to draw his attention to the imperfect and unsatisfactory state of the postal service at Port Madoc and the populous mining district of Festiniog, as well as other places?

MR. MONSELL said, in reply, that considerable difficulty had been experienced in endeavouring to come to an agreement with regard to providing Port Madoc with telegraphic communication. An agreement, however, had now been entered into, and in a very short time Port Madoc would enjoy the same advantages of communication as were enjoyed by the other districts referred to. He was not certain as to what irregularities the hon. Gentleman referred. He presumed that he referred to irregularities which had arisen from the same cause which produced irregularities in other parts of the United Kingdom—namely, the very severe weather of last winter, which rendered it impossible for railway trains to keep their time. However, arrangements had been made which he trusted would tend to the regularity of the trains.

NAVY—H.M.S. "MEGÆRA."—QUESTION.

MR. KAVANAGH asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, with respect to Her Majesty's ship "Megæra," the number of officers and men, also the quantity of cargo and stores it has been found necessary to land at Queenstown; Whether it is not true that, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Captain of the vessel, the Admiral, on the report of a carpenter who he had sent to see to her defects, ordered her ports to be closed, caulked, and pitched, with a statement that they might be opened when the ship got into the tropics; with regard to the over-crowded condition of the officers, whether it is not true that the fact of landing stores or cargo did not improve it, as the vessel has only berth and mess accommodation for 22 officers, whereas there are 33 on board; whether the three medical officers on board the vessel had not stated in writing that the ship, in her present state, was unfit for such a long voyage, and whether he will produce the statement so made by them; and, to ask who is responsible for this ship being allowed to leave with defective ports in such an overladen and over-crowded state; and, if he has taken into his consideration whether in future Her Majesty's Troop Ships, when embarking men for Foreign Stations, might not be submitted to the survey of the Government Emigration Officers as to space and condition of ship and outfit?

Mr. GOSCHEN: Sir, no officers were landed at Queenstown. Discretion was left to Admiral Forbes to land four officers if necessary, but ultimately none were landed. A hundred tons of cargo were landed in order to remedy the crowded state of the ship, and not on account of the ship being over-laden, or being too deep in the water. The ports have not been closed, caulked, and pitched. The lower half-ports have always been so. They were examined and caulking renewed, but the upper half-ports are fitted to open, and have not been closed. The captain made no remonstrance on what was done, but is stated by Admiral Forbes to have been perfectly satisfied. It is not true that the over-crowded condition of the officers was not improved by the fact of landing stores. It was very much improved by the landing of the 100 tons of stores. The medical officer of the ship wrote to the captain on the state of the ship before and not after the removal of the 100 tons. He stated in his letter that two other medical officers on board concurred with him. It would be most prejudicial to the service and to its discipline if Parliament should encourage the publication of letters written by subordinate officers on matters which have formed the subject of investigation and action by their superior officers, with whom the responsibility rests. As regards responsibility the case is clear. The Commander-in-Chief at the Nore, the Captain Superintendent at Sheerness, and the captain of the *Megæra* were each and all participators in the responsibility for the state and condition of the ship before she left the Nore, a large share of responsibility resting upon the captain himself, who made no representation as to the ship's ability to receive either officers, men, or cargo, or of her having any defects. Replying to the last Question of the hon. Member, I must frankly state that I must decline to consider whether in future Her Majesty's troop ships might not be submitted to the survey of the Government Emigration Commissioners. There are naval officers of high rank and great ability who are responsible for the condition and outfit of Her Majesty's ships. If they fail in their duty they must be dealt with accordingly; but they ought most decidedly not to be relieved of the responsibility.

NAVY—WORKING OF SHIPS-GUNS.—MONCRIEFF'S PLAN.—QUESTION.

Major WALKER asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether any, and if so what, steps have been taken to practically test Captain Moncrieff's plan for working ships-guns by means of hydraulic pressure?

Mr. GOSCHEN: This matter, its advantages and disadvantages, as compared with the system now adopted, has been considered by the Admiralty, and, so far, it has not been thought desirable to put it to a practical test, as preliminary difficulties have been raised.

ORDER IN DEBATE.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I wish to give Notice that it is not my intention to proceed this evening with the Motion with reference to the "Declaration of Paris, 1856," which stands in my name on the Paper. I shall defer it to a more convenient time. I desire to take this opportunity of putting to the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government a Question of a somewhat personal nature, of which I have given him private notice. Last night, or, rather, this morning, after 2 o'clock, when I rose to address the House in answer to the right hon. Gentleman, I was met with a very considerable interruption from an hon. Gentleman standing below the Bar. I could not go on for a few minutes. Had this interruption proceeded generally from independent Members of the House I should have thought nothing at all about the matter, and should certainly never have referred to it; but I have been informed by a Member of great experience, an hon. Gentleman who has had the honour of a seat in this House for 20 years, that the principal disturber was a Member of Her Majesty's Government. Now, the House of Commons has always been considered—and I hope will continue to be considered—as an assembly of English gentlemen, and it appears to me exceedingly reprehensible that any Member of Her Majesty's Government, whose seat ought to be on that Bench, should take part in such a proceeding, and endeavour to defeat his opponent by indirect means. I have communicated to the right hon. Gentleman the name of his Colleague to whom I refer. I shall not state it to the House unless the House desires it; but, in the name of the independent Members of the House, I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether in future he will give positive orders to those Members of his Government whose duty it is to sit there, on the Ministerial Benches, to abstain henceforth from such very improper and un-Parliamentary proceedings?

Mr. A. PEEL: I hope the House will bear with me for one moment while I attempt to defend myself from the charge the hon. Member has brought against me. I have seen the note which he has written to the right hon. Gentleman, and in it he has mentioned my name. The facts of the case are these: —At an early hour this morning I was standing below the Gangway—[A Voice: Below the Bar]—well, yes, below the Bar—and when the hon. Member rose I expressed no sentiments of dissatisfaction or impatience whatever; but when the hon. Member went on to comment on the conduct in this House of Parliamentary Business by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, and when he said that the right hon. Gentleman was actuated on all occasions by an utter want of principle on the subject of the Business of this House, I confess that on twice or thrice-repeated occasions I did express my strong disapprobation. In doing so, I hope the House will think that I did not exceed the limits of Parliamentary conduct. I hope I shall always keep within the limits of Parliamentary conduct, at least as rigidly as the hon. Member. At all events, I know I shall always keep within the limits of gentlemanly conduct; and whether as a Member of this House, or as a Member of the Government, I shall reserve to myself the undoubted right to comment upon the expressions used by any hon. Gentleman when I consider them to be at once improper and un-Parliamentary.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I wish to explain. The hon. Member who has just addressed the House—["Order, order!" "Chair, chair!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: A Question has been asked, and it has been answered, and the matter should not proceed further. There is no Question before the House. If the hon. Member has been misunderstood, he is at liberty to explain; but not to reply to anything that has been said.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: Last night, as far as I can recollect—[*Laughter.*] I wish to vindicate myself from the charge of having made any personal attack on the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. I know, and all my hon. Friends sitting around me will bear me out in saying, that I did not attribute to the right hon. Gentleman what has been imputed to me. If I am still told that I made such a statement, I shall withdraw it at once. The most I said was that the right hon. Gentleman has changed his opinions, and so forth, and a construction has been put upon those words which the observations will not bear.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is passing the bounds of Parliamentary explanation.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I wish to explain to the right hon. Gentleman — ["Order, order!" "Chair, chair!"]

POSTPONEMENT OF NOTICES OF MOTION.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I may be permitted to say that I accept thankfully what the hon. Gentleman opposite has said, and I am glad the affair has ended so peaceably. I wish now to make an appeal with regard to the course of Business to-night. I understand that the hon. Member is willing to postpone his Notice, and likewise that the hon. Member for York, in consideration of the pressure of Public Business, will kindly do the same. I hope I am correctly informed.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that as the Notice in his name referred to a subject of very great importance and interest—the state of our municipal law with regard to the export of arms—he would hardly be justified on an ordinary occasion in postponing it. If, however, it should meet the convenience of the House, he would do so now. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman in return would consider how he might afford him an early opportunity for bringing on the discussion.

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

CONVENTUAL AND MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. NEWDEGATE: Mr. Speaker, I rested my objection to the attempt made last night, to alter the course of Business for to-day entirely on my respect for the maintenance of due order in the conduct of the Business of the House; and if any hon. Member will look at the Notice Paper for to-day he will understand the reason of the objection which I felt to withdrawing the Motion that stands in my name, so as to alter the established system of precedence. For the first time in this Session there appears upon the Notice Paper the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. C. P. Villiers) to move the re-appointment of the Committee on Conventual and Monastic Institutions, upon the appointment of which the House decided by increasing majorities last Session. The right hon. Gentleman proposes that this Committee shall be re-appointed on the same terms as last Session. It is due to the House, and also to the hon. Members who served with me upon that Committee, that I should explain why I and my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Marylebone (Mr. Thomas Chambers) felt it to be our duty, as Members of the Committee, to object to the re-appointment of the Committee of last Session in the same terms. Sir, the evidence taken by, and the proceedings of, the Committee are before the House, and if hon. Members will turn to the proceedings for a moment they will find that the Committee, before closing its investigations last Session, had, on the 25th of July, to consider a proposal made by myself for the examination of the Rev. William P. Nicholds, of Holy Cross Priory, Leicester; and I now wish to explain the purport of that proposal, as illustrative of the objections which I feel to the re-appointment of that Committee in the terms of the reference under which it sat last Session. The Committee were directed to inquire into the property held by conventual and monastic institutions, and I wish to explain the great difficulties with which we had to contend. It happened that there was property held by the Dominican Order in the township of Hinckley, and in the adjoining parish of Burbage; and evidence will be found in the Report before the House of the sale by auction of the part of this property which is situated in the parish of Hinckley. The evidence also shows that this sale was conducted under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Nicholds. Although the Committee had before them the title deeds, which were produced by the purchasers of the property in Hinckley, we had not sufficient proof of the exact nature of the vendor's tenure. I agreed in opinion that the evidence was not conclusive; but it happened that a property in the adjoining parish of Burbage also belonged to this same community. I know every field of it. This property was sold to the owner of a settled estate by private contract previous to sale by auction. The owner of this settled estate could not, of course, become the purchaser, unless the trust money of his estate were released by the Court of Chancery for the purchase, and it is the duty of the Vice Chancellor to ascertain that the title of the property to be purchased is valid before he signs the order for the release of the trust money. I went to the Vice Chancellor, and asked whether the tenure of the vendor or vendors was a joint tenancy or a tenancy in common. I said—"Mr. Vice Chancellor, you have authorized the purchase—who is the vendor? Have you any objection to informing me who is the principal vendor?" The Vice Chancellor, Sir John Stuart, replied that he would consider the application, and the next day I received a letter from his chief clerk, informing me that there were several parties to the sale, whose names he gave me, and the principal vendor was the same person who had conducted the sale of the property in the adjoining parish of Hinckley — namely, the Rev. Mr. Nicholds—and that the Rev. Mr. Nicholds had given such information as satisfied the Vice Chancellor with regard to the title of the property, of which he had sanctioned the purchase. I several times repeated to the Committee that the Vice Chancellor had been satisfied by the evidence given to him by the Rev. Mr. Nicholds, and I asked the Committee to hear that gentleman, as the person who was competent to satisfy them, as he had already satisfied the Vice Chancellor with regard to the title, by which this community held that property. At last I was compelled to move that Mr. Nicholds be called as a witness, and somewhat to my surprise three of the Members out of the five present, besides the Chairman, voted against calling this witness, as appears in the proceedings. Mr. O'Reilly, Mr. Sherlock, and Sir John Ogilvy resisted the calling of this witness, and left my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Marylebone and myself in a minority. It then became manifest that a Committee, who would not accept evidence, which had satisfied the Vice Chancellor as to title, were not likely to proceed either accurately or earnestly to ascertain the property held in other cases by these conventual and monastic institutions. The next proposal was, that the Committee should report the evidence, taken to the House, and, further, should recommend its own re-appointment. To the latter part of this proposal the hon. and learned Member for Marylebone and I felt it our duty to object—I mean to the suggestion for the re-appointment of a Committee which had just rejected evidence that been accepted by the Vice Chancellor. I immediately gave Notice of the Motion which I now make, and to which I ask the assent of the House, and of which I last Session gave Notice. But, Sir, I have not as yet attempted to explain to the House how necessary the evidence of such persons as Mr. Nicholds must be in the endeavour to ascertain what is really the property of these institutions. When this House had decided by repeated majorities—first by a majority of 2, then by a majority of 28, and lastly by a majority of 45 — that it would appoint the Committee last Session in the terms which I originally proposed, and which I will read to the House—terms which included the terms in which the Committee was ultimately appointed, and others—

> "A Committee to inquire into the existence, character, and increase of conventual and monastic institutions or societies in Great Britain, and into the terms on which income, property, and estates belonging to such institutions or societies, or to members thereof, are respectively received held, or possessed."

That was the Instruction or Order which the House three times last Session affirmed; but on the urgent representations of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government the words "existence, character, and increase of conventual and monastic institutions," which were contained in the original Instruction, were omitted from the altered Instruction ultimately adopted by the House, and which formed the reference of the Committee of last Session. I ventured to tell the House when the omission to which I have referred was made, that, in my humble opinion, it would be impossible for the Committee, under the Instructions thus given, to carry out the investigation successfully. I will quote the words. On referring to *Hansard*, I find that on the 2nd of May I am reported to have said—

> "He (Mr. Newdegate) could not say that he did not regret the decision at which the House had just arrived. He thought it was impossible for the Committee successfully to prosecute such an inquiry without entering into the subject in the manner specified in the Order which the House had been pleased to rescind. But he certainly should not oppose the Committee now suggested. A good deal had been gained by what had occurred, if only in showing the vast increase of those establishments of late years. He should, therefore, watch the progress of the Committee, fearing it might find itself incapacitated by the omission of the terms embodied in the Resolution which had been first adopted by the House, and reserving to himself the power of moving any Instruction which experience to be gained from the proceedings of the Committee might prove to be necessary."—[3 *Hansard*, cci. 81.]

I have quoted these words for the purpose of showing that I anticipated difficulty. The difficulty did occur, and I will now refer to a Resolution of the Committee to show how impossible we found it to proceed within the terms of that Instruction. On the 28th of June the Committee came to this Resolution—

> "That no evidence be taken as to the property of any community, or the members thereof, until sufficient evidence has been given to prove that they are members of a conventual or monastic institution or society, or of a religious institution of a conventual or monastic character."

Now, here, upon the showing of the Committee itself, and by a formal Resolution, it appears that we found it impossible to ascertain the property until we had tested the character of the institution. To that Resolution, though it went beyond the Instructions of the House, I did not object; and for this reason—I knew that the Instruction of the House had limited us in conducting the inquiry in a manner that rendered it impossible for us to carry out the intentions of the House; and I use this Resolution of the Committee to show that the omission of the words, which I deprecated when it was agreed to at the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, was found by the Members of the Committee to incapacitate them in prosecuting their labours. The Committee, in accordance with its Resolution, examined into the character of the Oratory at Brompton, because the Oratorians had produced witnesses who declared that theirs was not a conventual or monastic institution. It so happened that business connected with the will of the late Rev. Mr. Hutchinson, devising property for the benefit of this institution, had been before the Court of Probate; and this furnished the Committee with the requisite evidence as to the transactions through which this property was devised, and as to the character of that institution. The Committee thereupon came to a Resolution to the effect that the Oratorians are, and do constitute, a monastic and conventual Order. [Mr. O'REILLY: Will the hon. Member read the words?] This is the Resolution to which the Committee came on the 4th of July—

> "That the evidence already given is sufficient to show that the Oratorians are members of a religious institution of a conventual or monastic character in Great Britain, and that no further evidence on that point be heard."

The conclusion, Sir, to which the Committee came, is exactly the same as that to which the Courts in Italy came, for before those Courts this question, regarding the monastic character of the Oratorians, was twice decided, finally by the Court at Genoa, although the Oratorians strenuously deny that their institution is of a monastic character; but it has thus been decided they are of a monastic character and constitute a monastic Order. During the sittings of the Committee I received copies of the Italian law, under which this case had been tried, together with the decisions of the Italian Courts on the subject, and these are precisely coincident with that at which your Committee arrived last Session. If hon. Members will take the trouble of inquiring, they will find that the evidence which was taken by the Committee corresponds with the evidence given before the Italian Courts, and is sufficient to account for the coincidence of decision with that of the Italian Courts. I thought and hoped at the time that the Committee were proceeding in a satisfactory course. I was myself the principal means of collecting the evidence. The evidence from Scotland was very conclusive, particularly that from Glasgow, owing to this fact—that by a municipal organization there is an exact list of the properties within that city, including those which constitute endowments, and because by the law in Scotland generally there is a register of deeds, as well as a very carefully kept valuation list of all properties. The House will, consequently, find the evidence relating to the conventual institutions of Glasgow very complete. We had, in great measure, the like facilities for obtaining information respecting such institutions at Perth and at Edinburgh. But, then, Sir, we had to begin with England, and here the difficulties of the Committee commenced. In the Midland Counties my own information and knowledge were sufficiently accurate and extensive as a magistrate, and otherwise to enable me to adduce evidence to the Committee as to several institutions in Warwickshire, and some in Leicestershire; but the moment the Committee began to travel beyond the immediate knowledge of its Members it fell back again from its Resolution, and refused the only evidence which it was possible, as I believe, to adduce in order to trace the properties which we were desired and instructed by the House to examine.

The House will find this shown in the proceedings; and I made the most vigorous attempts I could to carry the investigation further. I will give the House an instance. Some very upright and intelligent persons were sent throughout London to apply to the Poor Law officers and examine the valuation lists, for the purpose of ascertaining what were the properties described in the Roman Catholic "Directory," as held by the religious Orders therein mentioned. But the Committee seemed suddenly to have discovered that the Resolution of the 28th of June went beyond their Instructions, so they stopped, and turned back. I believe they were perfectly right as to order, for I always thought that the Resolution went beyond the Instruction. I think I have now said enough to show the House that, if it is desirable to carry out the expressed intention of the majority of this House, and the earnest feeling that prevails throughout the country upon this subject, the House must appoint a Committee with more extended powers, and with a less restricted Instruction than that under which the Committee acted last year. I will now show the House still further the necessity of taking this course. The first evidence which was taken by the Committee was that of Mr. P. Earle, the senior Charity Commissioner, who clearly proved that the Charity Commissioners had no knowledge of any of this property as charity property; that no application had been made to them to exercise the powers vested in them, conjointly with the Court of Chancery, with reference to it, or, if applications had been made, the Commissioners could not be aware of the distinctive character of the property as conventual. Nothing could be more distinct than the evidence of Mr. Earle, the Chief Commissioner, and that of Mr. Hobhouse, another Commissioner upon that point. We had also an officer of the Rolls Court before the Committee, who produced the best accounts he could select for the information of the Committee, but fairly told us that he had no means of distinguishing these properties; that the habit of giving or devising property to individuals, with concealed trusts, was not met by the existing state of the law, and that, therefore, the means of ascertaing the properties held by those institutions were not accessible to the Court of Chancery, or to the Charity Commissioners, except through some such accident as the sale of the property in the parish of Burbage, to which I have already adverted. But this peculiar concealment of trusts is by no means an accident, for there appeared before the Committee Mr. Harting, a Roman Catholic solicitor, who is well known, and who declared that he appeared before the Committee as the representative of 215 convents; there appeared before us also a Mr. Cuddon, another Roman Catholic solicitor, who declared that he was the representative of all the male monastic Orders in Great Britain, and that he was accurately acquainted with their property; there appeared before us another solicitor, a Mr. Arnold, for a like purpose, supported by the learned counsel, Mr. Bagshaw. I had hoped that we were about to have a full account; but these gentlemen all declared their determination not to imperil the interests of their clients by giving the Committee the slighest clue either to the site or to the value of properties their clients held, taking them separately, nor the names of the nominal owners, being in fact trustees. I felt it to be my duty to examine these gentlemen to the best of my ability; but was ever such a thing heard of as placing professional men into the witness-chair before a Committee of the House of Commons, that they might there plead "privilege?" Why, Sir, privilege only exists in the client, and only in the client properly in case of litigation. There is no privilege in the professional representative. Neither the solicitor nor the counsel has any privilege of his own; and yet these gentlemen—when, if there were any trial at all, it was a trial between the monastic Orders and you, Sir, as the representative of the House—claimed privilege, and refused repeatedly and emphatically to give the name of a single individual as connected with this property, the name of a single owner, the name of a single trustee, the site or the value of any separate property—any description whatever, in short, which would have enabled the Committee to test the general statements which they made, showing a comparatively small amount of income and property as belonging to these institutions in the aggregate. But, Sir, there was no trial; it was merely a more successful attempt to defeat an inquiry directed by this House. It is perfectly ridiculous if you consider it for a moment. Here is a gentleman who says—"I am the professional representative of 215 convents, and I say that these 215 convents have real property in land amounting in the aggregate to so much, and an income derived from personal property amounting to so much." He is asked—"To whom does it belong?" "To the 215 convents," he answers, and will not give the name of any one convent; he will not mention the name of a single trustee, or point to a single piece of property, or tell you where the personal property is invested or is to be found. What was this but a simple refusal of information, which made it impossible for the Committee to get at any one fact connected with such property through these witnesses, or to test the accuracy of their statements? I endeavoured to ascertain what Mr. Harting meant by "owner." "Oh, no," said this learned gentleman in other words, "we are not going to tell you who is the owner. I am not going to name a person or a property. I will not allow you to follow me in detail into any one circumstance connected with those 215 convents." The Roman Catholic "Directory" indicates that there are 69 monastic institutions; but Mr. Cuddon says that there are only 30 monasteries. I hold, then, that is impossible, without more extensive powers of investigation, to overcome an opposition of this kind; for it amounts to nothing less. I think I have now shown the House that, where the Committee really did accomplish the wishes of the House, they went beyond their Instructions; and I will now show that the moment they fell back, and retreated within the terms of the Instruction, they found themselves perfectly paralyzed. Under these circumstances, I came to the conclusion, as did the hon. and learned Member for Marylebone, that a Committee must be appointed with extended powers, or that the intention of the House could not be accomplished. I am very glad to see that my hon. and learned Friend is now present, because the Instruction, which I agreed upon with him, and which I now move, goes even somewhat beyond the Instruction that I moved in this House last Session, and which the House three times affirmed by a majority. The Instruction which I now move goes further in this respect. In the Session of 1851 a Bill was introduced in this House by Mr. Lacy, then a Member, which originated in the escape of a nun from a convent at Wimborne, and her having taken refuge with a Dissenting minister, complaining of the severe treatment she had experienced in the convent. The introduction of this Bill for securing the means of free exit for the inmates of those institutions eventually led to further demands for inquiry. The House rejected the Bill on the second reading, supposing the case was not made out. In the same year, 1851, the case of the late Lady Edward Howard, who was a ward in Chancery, was brought before the House, and through the action taken in this House the Lord Chancellor was induced to sit on an unusual day, a Saturday, to ascertain the circumstances in which that then young lady found herself in the convent at Clifton, and the result was her liberation. After this the House determined over and over again, first in the Session of 1852, that they would inquire as to whether proper means of exit were afforded under the present law to the inhabitants of these convents; but the House was defeated by the use of its own forms. In 1853 and 1854 my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Marylebone, and the late Mr. Phinn, another hon. and learned Friend, induced the House over and over again to affirm the imperfection of our laws for securing the personal liberty of the inmates of those institutions. The representations which I received from the country during the sittings of the Committee last Session, and previous to its appointment, were so strong that a Committee upon conventual and monastic institutions ought to investigate this subject, that I have thought it right to include words in this Motion which will leave it at the discretion of the Committee whether they will not proceed to inquire into this part of the subject. Sir, I remember that last Session the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government said that I was bound to show some special case in order to justify such an Instruction to the Committee. Well, Sir, I showed a special case in 1865; for I then stated to the House that a case had been brought before Mr. Justice Wightman, in connection with the convent at Colwich, in Staffordshire, and that Mr. Justice Wightman, after perusing the affidavits, made by a large number of witnesses, copies of which I have in my possession, decided that he would instruct certain persons, whom he selected, to go down and inquire whether the lady in question, a Miss Selby, was really confined in that convent from which she had escaped, and to which she had been brought back by Dr. Ullathorne against her will. It was then discovered that the lady had been removed from the convent at Colwich to the very convent at Wimborne from which the nun had escaped whose case was brought before the House by Mr. Lacy in 1851. The persons appointed by Mr. Justice Wightman followed Miss Selby, by his directions, to Wimborne, where they had an interview with her, and she informed them that she found her then present abode a happy home; but she would not reveal why she had escaped from the convent at Colwich. She never would reveal that; but she said she was contented to remain at Wimborne, and added very significant words to this effect—"Were I to leave this convent all my relations are Roman Catholics and they would reject me; I should be cast penniless upon the world." In these words, Sir, you have described one of the means by which many an unhappy lady is retained against her will within these convents. I was told in 1865, and have been told since, that I have been propagating false reports; Dr. Ullathorne has done all in his power, by writing and otherwise, to impugn the evidence to which I have alluded; but I hold in my hand a letter from Mr. Mander, a justice of the peace, resident in the neighbourhood of Colwich, and who was commissioned by Mr. Justice Wightman, with two other persons, to prosecute the investigation, the result of which I have just mentioned to the House. Here is his letter to *The Times*, in which he declares that he is ready to produce all the evidence, which satisfied an English Judge, before a Committee of this House To-morrow; and, having long known Mr. Mander, I can answer for it that nothing can shake his evidence or destroy the effect of these affidavits. If, then, the right hon. Gentleman asks me for a special case, I give him the case which satisfied Mr. Justice Wightman as to the necessity for investigation. But there is yet another case. Whilst this House was engaged last Session in considering the propriety of appointing a Committee to inquire into the property of those conventual and monastic institutions, a nun escaped from the convent at Badesly Clinton, not far from Birmingham. That lady was brought before my brother magistrates, and it was proved that she was insane. She is still insane, and is at present an inmate of the County Lunatic Asylum. In the course of that investigation it appeared that she was a cloistered nun, and that, although connected with that convent, there are ladies—nuns—who go forth to teach and on other missions; there are a certain number within the convent walls described as "of the inner circle," and who, we know, are never seen beyond the precincts of the convent. This lady was one of these "cloistered nuns." All this came out before my brother magistrates. I am enabled, therefore, to speak with confidence as to the circumstances of the case. That convent belongs to the Order of the Discalced Carmelites; and I have been at some pains to ascertain whether it is a rigid order, whether the discipline is severe, and I find that it is the same Order to which belonged the convent at Cracow, in which was made the miserable discovery of Barbara Ubrick, who was found mad, and confined under circumstances of such barbarity, that I believe nothing had a more powerful effect than that discovery in bringing the Austrian Government to the determination to break the concordat, under which they were bound to preserve such a system. Such was in Austria the effect of these revelations in that case. But I was not satisfied with that, and I have by me here, obtained from a gentleman, who was himself a member of a monastic Order, and a priest, an exact description of the discipline of that Order, which is so severe, that it is most likely to affect the health and the sanity of any unhappy lady who may be subject to it; in my opinion the severity of the discipline is sufficient to account for the insanity of the lady of whom I have spoken. There is yet another matter, for I never make a proposal to this House without endeavouring to satisfy the House of its propriety. Last Session I moved for a Return, the result of which, with the permission of the House, I will place before you. Part of the evidence adduced before Mr. Justice Wightman, in the case of the Colwich Convent, was to the effect that the burials of all nuns dying within the convent were conducted within the walls of the convent, and in the case of a convent, now removed from Derby, it was shown that the register of deaths had not been kept, and yet that funerals took place within the convent walls. All these facts I shall be prepared to prove. So I moved for a Return of the number of coroner's inquests, held on persons of either sex, known to have been at the period of their death inmates of any conventual or monastic institutions, distinguishing the finding of the juries in England and Wales, in each of the years 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, and in the first six months of the year 1870. Hon. Members will find that this Return has lately been delivered, and is No. 41 of the Parliamentary Papers issued in the present Session. I have compared this Return with the annual Returns of the coroners under the Act of Parliament, and find this result. All the coroners in England and Wales have made Returns except 12, and from these Returns it appears that in the course of the 5½ years three inquests only were held upon males, who had died within the walls of conventual or monastic institutions. Now, we know that the monastic institutions for men are, at the utmost, 69; according to the evidence of the Roman Catholic witnesses who were examined before the Committee last Session there are only 30, whilst the convents number 200, at least, in England and Wales, so the nuns must be much more numerous than the monks and friars; yet there has not been a single coroner's inquest upon any female, upon any nun, in those conventual institutions during the period comprised in the Return. You may go back for years, and you will find that such a thing as a coroner's inquest on a nun has never been held within these establishments. But inquests have been held upon males. Can there be a more pregnant fact than that? I made careful inquiries before I moved for that Return. It extends over 5½ years; and if a Return extending over a longer period were ordered, I do not believe you would find such a circumstance at any time as that the causes of the death of a female have been investigated by a coroner in any of these conventual institutions. I say that considering the number of these nuns, estimated by some to be from 10,000 to 13,000, it is impossible that there should not have been deaths, the causes of which ought to have been inquired into by coroners. Deaths occur among the males, and some have been investigated; is it to be presumed that there have been no deaths among the females, who are in far greater numbers, the causes of which deaths ought not also to have been investigated? If the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government asks me for proof that the House of Commons was right in 1853 and 1854, I reply that this evidence of itself ought to induce the House to inquire more accurately than it has ever yet done into the character, discipline, and circumstances of those institutions. But I pray in aid the experience of all Europe, the decision of Spain, which has placed all those institutions within the reach of the civil power. I pray in aid the laws of France, which, to the extent of her ability, has for many years held those institutions in the grasp of the civil power. I pray in aid the practice of Germany and of Prussia. I pray in aid the decision of Austria and the action of Italy. I trust this House will not leave England to be the only country in which those institutions are to be permitted to increase and multiply, while their inmates are suffered to remain beyond the reach and knowledge of the law. Let me beg the House to reflect upon the rapidity with which those institutions are increasing. In the year 1830 there were only 16 convents in the whole of Great Britain; in 1863 there were 162; and in 1870 this account shows, and I believe it is correct, or nearly so, there were 233. So that the total increase of convents in 40 years was 217. Of monasteries in 1830 there were none; in 1863 there were 55; and in 1870 the number, according to the Roman Catholic "Directory," the accuracy of which is disputed, but has not been disproved, was 69. The increase in the convents from 1830 to 1863 was not less than 146, or at the rate of 4½ per annum during that period; but let the House observe this—that from 1863 to 1870—that is, for seven years—the increase was 71, or at the rate of 10 per annum. Sir, it is not as if the number of these institutions were stationary; but the fact is, that gradually, progressively, in an increasing ratio, these institutions multiply; apparently in proportion as the inhabitants of like institutions in foreign countries find themselves brought under the control of the civil government, the chiefs, directors, or generals of these various Orders seem to have given a stimulus to the multiplication of such institutions in Great Britain, where they are virtually, at all events, comparatively, independent of the civil power. The circumstances are of growing strength, and therefore I say that it is the duty of this House to inquire whether some legislative or administrative organization should not be adopted for the control, for the due inspection and examination of these institutions. I am unwilling to detain the House; but I trust that the House will forgive me, if I advert for one moment to the substance of a pamphlet which has been particularly addressed to my supposed misdeeds in having requested a majority of this House to interfere. *The Dublin Review*, which is well known to be an Ultramontane organ, has devoted an article, in its number for October last, to what the writer describes as my misdeeds. The persons who appear to have been most alarmed at the prospect of some action on the part of this House are naturally the Jesuits. I see by an account copied from *The Civiltà Cattolica* into *The Times*, that there is a large increase in the numbers of that Order, and that Stoneyhurst and Roehampton are two of the principal centres of the Jesuits in England, although the Order is prohibited by law in this country. Last Session it pleased the Rev. Father Gallwey, who places after his name the letters "S.J.," and thus announces himself to be a Jesuit, to publish a pamphlet, which was directed against the action of the very humble Member who now addresses the House. This person, Father Gallwey, seems to suppose that I asked the House to appoint a Committee for the express purpose of dragging, as he describes it, nuns from their seclusion, to submit them to the ordeal of public examination; and Father Gallwey seems to have been rather alarmed, not quite sure, lest some of the nuns might not be glad to have the opportunity of appearing—

> "What, so easy"—writes Father Gallwey—"as that a lady, long secluded from the staring world, and brought suddenly before a tribunal, as one suspected of grave crimes — her modesty abashed by the unaccustomed gaze of men—should, in her confusion and distress of mind, answer most incoherently? If I may take a few liberties with Hotspur's speech, her account of her state would be this—
>
> 'I, then, all smarting, with my face red hot,
> To be so pestered with a Newdegate,
> Out of my grief and my impatience,
> Answered confusedly, I know not what,
> We do or we do not, for he drove me mad.'
>
> This will be the state of a nun under torture in a Committee-room. What wonder, if she say too much, or too little, or blunders, or trembles, or falters, or contradicts herself, and thus prepare future texts for Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Whalley, and Mr. Murphy, and much future anguish for herself?"

During the sitting of the Committee last Session we were favoured with the presence of so many ladies, who, I believe, were Roman Catholics, that I hope by this time the nuns are assured that we are not such ruffians in the House of Commons as most Ultramontane writers, and as this Father Gallwey, would have them believe. The pamphlet is clever, and it is worth remarking that Father Gallwey addresses himself particularly to the Roman Catholic Members for Ireland, and exhorts them to use every device known to them, all their experience as Members of this House, for the purpose of defeating the action of the House—

> "Neither is it necessary for me," again writes Father Gallwey, "in the next place, to dilate here upon the opposition that can be made to this oppressive measure by our Catholic Members of Parliament and their friends. They have had, in the course of a long struggle for religious liberty, to learn the use of every allowable stratagem. May they be inspired to use them all now! For, in the face of this most wanton aggression upon nuns, I think theologians would be easy with Members who fight the battles of the oppressed, if they were even almost, but not quite, to adopt the prayer which Mr. Puff puts into the mouth of the gallant Earl of Leicester—
>
> 'Lord grant us to accomplish all our ends,
> And sanctify all means we use to gain them.'"

Now, this is rather peculiar in its style and tenour by way of advice coming from a minister of religion, yet it seems, although jocosely turned, to be given in earnest, and it embodies one of the most vicious and fatal principles upon which the Jesuit Order is known to act—that the end justifies the means. What I have quoted may give the House some idea of the difficulties which I, as an active Member and promoter of the Committee of last year, had to encounter in endeavouring to accomplish the desire of a majority of this House, for information relating to these institutions. Let me now, in concluding these observations, show to the House what is the latest evidence with regard to the social effects which may be anticipated from the increase and growth of those institutions. Hon. Members of this House have, no doubt, seen in Ultramontane publications, continual denials of the truthfulness of the accounts of the demoralization which was found to exist by the Commissioners of Henry VIII., before he finally suppressed the monasteries in this country. Now, I take what I am about to read to the House from the letter of a correspondent of *The Times* at Naples, and I only take it because it is the best summary I have seen of the information furnished to the Italian Government, with regard to the state of those institutions and their effects in Southern Italy. He writes, under date October 9, 1866—

> "The following statistics, which I copy from no doubtful papers, explain, in a great measure, the causes of the recent insurrection in Palermo. Leaving Lombardy, Venice, and the Pontifical States out of the calculation, the number of the members of Religious Orders is—of males, 5,687, occupying 625 houses; of women, 12,481, occupying 537 houses. Of the Mendicant Orders, including those suppressed since 1860, but existing individually, there are 18,856 males, occupying, or supposed to occupy, 1,209 houses; and 1,372 women, occupying 43 houses: making altogether 38,396 persons dedicated to a so-called religious life, and divided among 2,414 houses. To bring the case more nearly to Palermo, it is stated that there are upwards of 80 religious houses in that city alone, while one-third of the land in Sicily is mortmain. Indeed, the great proportion of the land is divided between monastic bodies and barons almost of feudal pretensions. To confine my remarks, however, to the Religious Orders, it must be evident that to a man and a woman they are opposed to the constitutional government of Victor Emmanuel, and possess an influence as wide as it is degrading. They daily feed and demoralize thousands; for the monastery is the refuge not of the sick, the halt, or the blind alone, but of the lazy and the ruffians of the neighbourhood, and anyone who has witnessed the scenes which occur at the doors of the religious house would certainly be ill-disposed to call it a 'holy' house. Estimate the number who were thus fed daily by 2,414 houses in all Italy, and you will arrive at the number of those who never lifted a finger to obtain a honest livelihood, who depended altogether on their midday *minestra*, and who wallowed in filth, ignorance, and superstition till *tocco* of the next day. There comes, then, an order to suppress these religious bodies; thousands of other interests are touched, for their daily dependents have spread the epidemic of laziness and superstition far and wide, and a whole army is ready to rise in defence of the Church, or rather of the trencher. If to those be added the outlaws, brigands, *renitenti*, or deserters, and the discontented and disappointed, who hoped for better things from the new Government, you have a multitude, who might well prove a danger to the State, and should have invited greater precautions. As a proof of the indolent character of the Sicilians, generated in a great measure by the circumstances described above, a letter from Palermo states that 'in the large cities there is no bourgeoisie; near to Palermo there is scarcely an industrial establishment, and not one smoking chimney.' As to the monasteries, the Government has now an opportunity of suppressing them with a large amount of public sympathy, which should not be lost, and those of the Dominicans, the Paolotti, the Benedittini, and others in Palermo have been already occupied by the troops. The friars of San Francesco have been all arrested, and will be tried by a military tribunal. . . . . General Cardona may suppress the insurrection, but great administrative talent will be necessary to secure order and prosperity."

That is from *The Times* of October 15th, 1866, and the letter is dated the 9th of that month. I have adduced this compendium of the information contained, as I understand, in the papers of the Italian Government, merely for the purpose of justifying the House in not regarding with indifference the rapid increase of such institutions in Great Britain. Sir, I have now to thank the House for the patience with which it has listened to me. I hope I have made no statement that I cannot prove, and I humbly submit to the House that, having to the best of my poor ability endeavoured to carry into effect the intentions of the majority of last Session, unless the House thinks fit to grant wider powers to the Committee, which is to inquire into these institutions on its behalf, it is my firm belief that the intentions of the House will be defeated. I now beg to move the appointment of the Committee. I have taken the best advice I could in framing the Notice. I have conferred with my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Marylebone and other Gentlemen, competent to give an opinion upon it, and I believe, that any Committee with more restricted powers than those which I propose, would be unable to accomplish the wishes and intentions of the House and of the country.

Mr. GREENE seconded the Motion.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the existence, number, increase, and regulation of Conventual and Monastic Institutions in Great Britain; into the income, property, and estates acquired, received, held, or possessed by or for such institutions, or by or for members thereof; and, further into the Laws affecting such institutions; and, whether adequate legal securities or means exist for ensuring the personal freedom ofthe inmates thereof,"—(*Mr. Newdegate*,)

—instead thereof.

MR. C. P. VILLIERS said, he would not have addressed the House on this subject, but for the circumstance that he had acted as Chairman of the Select Committee appointed last Session. He was induced to follow the hon. Member for North Warwickshire, in order to assure the House that the question they would have to decide presently was one of a far more simple character than might be imagined by those who had listened to the statements made by the hon. Member. He believed the hon. Member had taken a very unusual course in making this Motion, and the House would be able to judge whether he had offered any sufficient reasons for doing so. It was not his intention to join issue with the hon. Gentleman upon any of the facts he had stated, or the views he had propounded. His facts, however, had been merely assertions and *ex parte* statements; and it required all the credit which usually attached to the hon. Member to cause any importance to be given judicially to what he had stated. In making this proposal, the hon. Member had, no doubt, been a little perplexed in consequence of having been a Member of the Committee last year, which excluded from its inquiry the matters which he desired to bring under the notice of the House. The hon. Member acted throughout with that Committee, and was instrumental in inquiring into matters that were irrelevant to the subject which the Committee was appointed to investigate. In order to reconcile the House to the nomination of a new Committee, the hon. Member had asserted that the Committee of last year acted with unfairness, rejected evidence which he proposed—[Mr. NEWDEGATE: Hear, hear!]—and declined to receive information which he was prepared to give; and that the inquiry concluded with the rejection of a witness whom he proposed to call. [Mr. NEWDEGATE: Several.] He was sure the hon. Gentleman would not think he meant anything offensive to him, if he said that these assertions were perfectly gratuitous. The hon. Gentleman certainly was interrupted in the course of his examinations frequently, because he departed from the ordinary rules which were observed by persons examining witnesses, and introduced matters which the terms of the Reference excluded. The hon. Gentleman spoke of the rejection of a witness named Nichol; but he did not tell the House that he submitted that witness to the Committee on the last day of the inquiry, when there was hardly a quorum present. The hon. Member would probably remember that it was the hon. Member for Dundee (Sir John Ogilvy) who objected to a witness so important in the view of the hon. Member himself being examined before a Committee which was thinly attended. The terms of the Resolution passed by the Committee were that "no further evidence should be received this Session." The hon. Gentleman had said he was supported on one occasion by the advice and vote of the hon. and learned Member for Marylebone (Mr. T. Chambers); but should also have told the House that that was the only occasion on which the hon. and learned Member for Marylebone appeared at all. The hon. Member was disappointed, he thought, not so much at the composition of the Committee as by the conduct of some of its Members; for it so happened that of those Members whom he relied upon to support his views, some did not attend, and others did not altogether agree with him. That was not the fault of the constitution of the Committee, but rather the misfortune of the hon. Member. The majority by which the hon. Member carried his first proposal for the appointment of a Committee, and the definition of its functions, did not, owing to certain circumstances, represent the majority of the House, and subsequent consideration by the House resulted in the striking out of those words in the Instruction to the Committee, which would have caused the inquiry to be extremely painful and offensive to Roman Catholic subjects of the Queen. No doubt this emendation interfered with the scope and nature of the inquiry which the hon. Gentleman wished; but, instead of declining to take part in the inquiry under the circumstances, he assented to his nomination as a Member of the Committee, and so, tacitly, acquiesced in the scope of the inquiry. During the sittings of the Committee, the hon. Member took a prominent part in the inquiry; in fact, he was regarded as being the most remarkable member of the body. For more reasons than one, he (Mr. Villiers) was extremely anxious that the hon. Gentleman should preside over the deliberations of the Committee; but though he declined to take that position, he could not, as Chairman, have enjoyed a larger discretion than was allowed him both in producing evidence and conducting such inquiries as he desired to make. The hon. Member must recollect that general surprise was felt and expressed by the Committee at the small number of witnesses and the meagre nature of the evidence he produced, considering the large expectations he had raised in the House and the country. But he was not aware that there was anything in the inquiry of which the hon. Gentleman had a right to complain. The course he had taken was an attempt to cast a sort of slur on the Committee. The hon. Member must be perfectly well aware that he (Mr. Villiers), as Chairman of the Committee, was instructed to lay the Report on the Table of the House with a distinct recommendation that the Committee should be re-appointed; and he thought the Committee had some reason to complain of the hon. Member for seeking to originate another inquiry, upon assertions of unfairness which were not made in the Committee, and had not been heard of before that evening. Nothing transpired during the inquiry to lead the Committee to suppose that they required further powers, and though the hon. Gentleman had commented upon some of the evidence given, he must have been rather staggered by the clear and intelligent way in which the professional witnesses set forth the precise state of the law and its operation in respect of Catholic charities, and by the very candid admissions made on the part of the Catholics themselves as to the manner in which they were compelled to evade the law by reason of the difficulties placed in the way of persons receiving and possessing property to be applied to charitable uses. It was this last point which prevented the Committee from going into certain minor details in relation to the inquiry, and on which the hon. Gentleman proposed to offer evidence. It would be for the House to determine whether they would support the re-appointment of the Committee of last year; or whether they would consent to the appointment of the new Committee proposed by the hon. Gentleman. There were abundant precedents for Committees which had not been able to conclude their inquiries in one Session, applying for re-appointment; but he believed there was no precedent whatever for an hon. Member severing himself from the Committee to which he had been appointed, and originating another inquiry of still wider range. The House would have to consider whether it would be wise to establish such a precedent.

MR. PEMBERTON observed, that he had supported his hon. Friend last year; but he should be unable to vote for the Motion he had made on this occasion. The Resolution which the hon. Member for North Warwickshire originally proposed last Session involved an inquiry into two subjects of a totally distinct character: one as to the character, management, and internal arrangements of convents and religious houses; and the other as to the amount and description of property held in trust for their benefit. If it had been possible to divide that Motion into two distinct propositions, he should have opposed the former, because he did not think a sufficient case had been made out for instituting an inquiry which would have been utterly distasteful to a large portion of their fellow-subjects, and he should have supported the latter proposition because he thought advantage would arise from an inquiry as to the property of religious houses. The hon. Member carried his Motion in a large House, by a majority of 2; and subsequently, after several nights' discussion, terms of Reference were adopted, on the Motion of the Prime Minister, by a majority of 290, confining the inquiry to the condition of the law respecting the property of conventual and monastic institutions. It was evident that the House deliberately intended that such should be the result, and it was accepted by the hon. Member as a compromise. The hon. Member seemed to suppose that the Committee were ordered to inquire into the property belonging to these institutions; but this was not the case, for the inquiry was only into the law as to such property. There was nothing which would authorize a Committee appointed under that Reference to inquire into the amount or nature of the property held by any particular institution. The evidence that was given before the Committee was of a very vague and uncertain character. One witness led them to believe that he was going to give them very important evidence; but he explained afterwards that it was only circumstantial evidence that he had heard from other parties, and it was very properly excluded. There was another gentleman who had a grievance. A child of his had been converted to the Roman Catholic religion, and that was all the information that he could give them. There was a third gentleman whose wife's brother had left his fortune to a community instead of to this gentleman's wife, and he was very indignant, and he went fully into the history of a trial before the Probate Court that established the will in question. Under these circumstances, he (Mr. Pemberton) trembled to consider the fate of any Committee who should sit upon an enlarged inquiry such as that now proposed. His hon. Friend said that the Committee were hampered by the terms of the Reference. Speaking for himself only, he thought that he could say that he thought that the hampering was felt by his hon. Friend only; and this was shown by the Report of the Committee, from which it appeared that in several instances the whole of the Committee divided against him. Of course, if the present Motion were carried, the Committee would gladly devote their best efforts to the performance of the duty imposed upon them; but he, for one, did not think it respectful to the House, after the discussions which had been held last Session, that what had then been solemnly done should be undone, as it were, by a side-wind, especially as the Committee was capable of being re-appointed.

MR. PEASE, as a Member of the Committee, objected to their labours being ignored. The hon. Member for North Warwickshire not only wished to get rid of the compromise of last Session, but to take up ground from which he was then beaten, and also that there should be an enlarged scope given to the inquiry. The Committee of last Session ought not, he contended, to be treated as though they had laboured in vain. What caused the hon. Member for North Warwickshire now to propose a new Committee, with enlarged Instructions, was the refusal by certain solicitors and conveyancers to give more detailed information in reference to the property of these institutions than they had laid before the Committee. For his own part, he considered the manner in which those professional gentlemen had given their evidence was not only highly creditable to themselves, but very much simplified, and aided the labours of the Committee.

MR. GREENE observed, that there was the small majority of 2 when his hon. Friend (Mr. Newdegate) first brought forward this matter; and he believed that the Prime Minister voted in the minority on that occasion. His hon. Friend did not complain of the action of the Committee, but of the Instructions given to them. [Mr. NEWDEGATE: Hear, hear!] It would be in the recollection of the House that after one or two Divisions, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government came down with a Motion altogether different from that of his hon. Friend, knowing full well that in moving that Instruction his followers were but too ready to support him, provided that they could do so consistently with the feelings of their constituencies. The hon. Member for North Warwickshire protested against it, and also against the way in which the Committee was proposed to be formed. It was quite clear the powers of the Committee were not sufficiently extensive. The question really was, whether convents and monasteries should be inspected, and upon that the Division should be taken. In Spain they had put many of them down; in Italy, since 1850, there had been 2,097 clerical establishments suppressed, and in Portugal there had been suppressed 652 monasteries and 118 nunneries; but in our Protestant country it was permitted that such institutions should be carried on without any control whatever. All that was asked for was liberty of conscience and liberty of action. They asked that if there were persons confined against their will in such places, they should have the opportunity of coming out. In 1829 there were but six convents in England; but now there were 216 convents and 69 communities of men. He well recollected how annoyed the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government was when the hon. Member for North Warwickshire carried his Motion in the first instance, and how roused the feeling of the country was on the subject. He believed that it was the desire of the country that the matter should be investigated, and the honest and proper way to meet the matter was to carry the Motion now before them.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 196; Noes 79: Majority 117.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," by leave, *withdrawn.*

Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

ARMY REGULATION BILL—[BILL 39.]

(*Mr. Secretary Cardwell, Sir Henry Knight Storks, Captain Vivian, The Judge Advocate.*)

SECOND READING. ADJOURNED DEBATE.

[FIFTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [6th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time;" and which Amendment was,

> To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the expenditure necessary for the national defences and the other demands on the Exchequer do not at present justify any Vote of Public Money for the extinction of Purchase in the Army,"—(*Colonel Loyd Lindsay,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

SIR JOHN HAY said, that as this was the fifth night of the debate on the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay), he wished to express to the House an apology, if he detained it for a short time in going over some portion of the ground which had already been traversed, and alluded to the matter which was now before the House from a different point of view from that in which it had been treated. He did so because he perceived that the Government measure would not re-organize the Army in any sense, but would only introduce a destructive element by abolishing the system of purchase which at present existed for the promotion of officers in the Army. During the last 10 years he had had the honour of being appointed by that House to serve upon three Committees, whose duty it had been to consider subjects which were extremely germane to the question now before it. He had had the honour of serving on the Committee on Navy Promotion and Retirement, over which the right hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. S. Walpole) presided; he had also had the honour of being a Member of the Committee on Seniority in the Artillery and Marines, over which the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) presided; and he had had the honour of being a Member of the Army Colonels' Committee, in reference to promotion in the East India Army, and of which the hon. and gallant Member for Bewdley (Major Anson), who made an excellent speech the previous night on the subject before the House, was Chairman. He desired to allude to the Reports of these three Committees, because the system of promotion in the three services which these Committees referred to, were the very systems of promotion, one of which must be adopted in the British Army in exchange for the system which now prevailed. He would take these Committees in the order in which they had sat and reported to the House. In the system of promotion and retirement in the Navy, it was ascertained by the Committee that up to the rank of captain in the Navy promotion was by selection, and from the rank of captain to that of flag officer promotion was by seniority. Either promotion would have to be by selection or by seniority under the altered conditions of the Army which was proposed by the present Bill. The Committee reported on the subject of promotion by selection, that—

> "Notwithstanding the weight which deservedly must attach to some of these rules, your Committee are not prepared to recommend, as a general rule, a recurrence to a practice which the Admiralty had for nearly a century endeavoured to uphold, and were compelled to abandon."

The late Lord Herbert of Lea was one of the witnesses who gave evidence before a Committee on the Navy, Army, and Ordnance Estimates, and on the 10th of July, 1848, he said—

> "Then, again, I must say in respect to the Army the amount of promotion is very much larger in the Army, though the reductions in the dead weight have been greater. The Army themselves maintain an enormous retirement out of their own pocket by the system of purchase. Old men are bought out by young men, and there is a constant stream going through the Army, which has prevented their suffering from the evils which afflict the Navy."

That was the evidence of one whom both sides of the House respected, and it was entitled to great weight, as being the opinion of one who had had great experience in the management of both the Army and the Navy. With regard to promotion by seniority, the Report of the Committee on the system in the Artillery and Engineers states—

> "Your Committee are of opinion that the system, or, rather, the combination of contrivances under which officers are retired from the Artillery and Engineers is unsatisfactory. It is complicated, uncertain in its operation, based upon no clear principle, and inadequate for its purpose."

And the Committee added—

> "There can be no doubt, from the evidence of General Lefroy, that under them, at a future date, promotion in the Artillery will be entirely paralyzed."

After such evidence as that there ought to be some very strong reason for suggesting the change which had been put forward by the Government Bill. The speech of the hon. and gallant Member for Bewdley (Major Anson) gave a very clear statement of what the present system was, and what results were to be expected from the Bill. He would not traverse that ground again; but he desired to point out to the House that a great deal of mischief had been done to the system of purchase by the name which was attributed to it. If the word purchase were not used, if there were not some sort of belief that promotion in the Army was a system of bargain and sale, he could not but believe that the House would hesitate before they consented to tax the country to the extent to which they proposed to tax it for the abolition of purchase. There were very few professions certainly, hardly any profession, in which the person who entered it had not, to some extent, to lodge a bond for his good behaviour, and that practice in the Army must be, and was, very much to the advantage of the country, for it happened that an officer, owing to his being able to pass an examination of a very high character, received his first commission and his promotion without any favour whatever. The ordinary average officer of good character and of good ability, passing such a test as might be thought necessary for the purpose, entered the Army, and lodged a bond for his good behaviour, and at each succeeding step he increased that bond. If at any period of his career he should fail in the performance of his duty and be cashiered he would forfeit his money; but if he fulfilled his duty with credit to himself and advantage to the country he could retire, at any time when his services could be spared, without adding a fraction to the national charge, but receiving back the money he had lodged as a bond for his good behaviour, and the money thus became the nest egg on which he and his family could live. Now, the proposal which was before the House was that the security to the State which was provided at present by the bond, which each officer gave by the purchase of his commission, should be done away with; and, in addition to that, the officer at the end of his career became a burden to the country to an enormous extent. Various estimates had been given of that expense; but no distinct estimate had been submitted by the Government of the amount of charge which would be entailed on the retired list. But all the estimates approximated very nearly, so nearly that he thought the House might fairly be guided by them. In the evidence which was before the Select Committee on the Artillery and Engineers, it was found that, though no sum of money was reported by the Committee in these two corps, the cost for the retirement which the Committee seemed to deem necessary would amount to £286,000 a-year, and the right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington), having a regard to the interests of the taxpayers of this country, hesitated to incur so large an outlay. Comparing the number of officers in the artillery and engineers with the number of officers in the Line, it appeared to him that the sum of money which would be necessary for the retirement of officers of the Line would amount to £850,000 a-year. The hon. and gallant Member for Truro (Captain Vivian) had stated, or the statement had been quoted in that House, to which he had assented, that the sum would amount to about £1,000,000 per annum, and an estimate of £1,100,000 had been given by the noble Lord the Member for Berwick (Viscount Bury). The House might assume that about £1,000,000 per annum would be necessary for retirement, and that £8,000,000 or £10,000,000 would be required for the purchase of the commissions, which were at present the property of the officers, and it would therefore be necessary to saddle the country in perpetuity with a sum of £38,000,000, in order to secure the doubtful benefit of extinguishing purchase in the Army. The hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Candlish) had recently addressed the House on the extinction of the National Debt, and would he support a proposal for adding £40,000,000 thereto? If he did, his vote would hardly bear out the views he had expressed to the House. That being the case, he could not see why the House should suddenly plunge into this enormous expenditure, when it had been shown by three Committees before the House that promotion by selection, promotion by seniority, and promotion by the bonus system, on which latter the Indian Committee reported adversely, were systems which could not be recommended in place of the system which at present prevailed. The advantages of the system of purchase had been frequently pointed out. In the first place, there was much less dissatisfaction caused among the gentlemen in the profession, some of whom had passed the highest tests, at being passed over by reason of an arrangement in which all had agreed —namely, the lodging of a considerable sum of money in the hands of the Government. If any process of selection were adopted, all officers who were passed over would deem themselves aggrieved. There was only one mode in which selection could be exercised with advantage to the State, and that was by a general in command of an army in the field. In that case, it was desirable that a commander should have the power of rewarding distinguished services, for that would give a great stimulus to personal bravery and gallantry. The want of that power was complained of by the Duke of Wellington in his despatches from Spain. There had never been jealousy in the Army or Navy when, in the course of a war, the good luck of an officer enabled him to distinguish himself, and when he received a reward for his bravery. On the contrary, rather a desire was kindled in the breasts of others to distinguish themselves in a similar manner. But during a time of peace when an army was quartered in all directions, and in all climates, it was impossible for officers to bring to the notice of any Board of officers in a satisfactory manner the merits of officers who were performing their ordinary duties. Every promotion, except a promotion by seniority, would be challenged by those who were passed over, and the result of the challenge would be the very natural feeling of dissatisfaction in the breasts of the officers who were passed over on the ground that they were less meritorious than those who had been promoted. The system of selection, under these circumstances, would naturally dwindle down to seniority. There was one branch of the Navy which the right hon. Baronet (Sir John Pakington), when he was with him in the Admiralty, entrusted to his care. It was a very small matter—the Paymasters of the Navy. He had then submitted to his right hon. Friend a scheme of promotion to which he acceded. No promotion was made in that branch of the service while he was there; but in the vacancies which occurred—he had always waited for three vacancies before filling up any of them—two were given to seniors, and one was given to some young man who had distinguished himself. But the number of young officers promoted in the year was so very small that those who were passed over, although they might feel aggrieved, were not ablé to make their grievances known. The scheme must have dwindled at once down to a seniority promotion if the expedient had not been adopted of occasionally giving promotion to young officers, so as not to keep the upper branch so old as to be unfit for service. The plan to which he had just referred was not a new one, but had been recommended by the Army Organization Committee of 1848. It would be utterly impossible, however, to apply a rule of that kind to promotion in the Army. If the attempt were made, he believed that, except in the case of officers who had rendered eminent service before the enemy, the promotion would, in practice, be entirely by seniority. And if it were to be by seniority alone, they would do away with a great deal of emulation and of *esprit de corps* to an extent that would be destructive to the regimental system. He therefore felt that before the House pledged itself to this enormous expenditure — for it was an enormous expenditure—of £38,000,000 to change the system of promotion which had worked well, it ought to take care to investigate that system of promotion which was proposed to be established in its place. There was another system which was brought under the notice of the Army Colonels' Committee—a system of bonus, in which all the officers contributed to buy out the man at the head of the regiment; but even under that system there was not enough money to obtain that rapid flow of promotion which could give vitality to the Army. Before sitting down, he desired to say a word on one of the branches of the military profession, and to point out that the money proposed to be spent in the abolition of purchase might have been laid out in a manner much more advantageous to the public. There would be laid on the Table of the House in a very few days—he believed it was now very nearly completed—the continuation of the Returns of guns which had been made, and which was supplementary to the Return laid on the Table of the House last year. He believed he should not be mistaken if he said that these Returns would show the House that, at this present moment, for our peace establishment—not for any war establishment, but for our peace establishment, including the Navy, there would be required an expenditure of £3,228,000, and that not for ships which were obsolete, but for effective ships and for the field artillery. He thought that 1,628 guns were required for the forts which had been built on our coast, besides a number for Gibraltar, Malta, and Quebec. About 3,000 guns would be required to complete the field artillery, and 1,000 guns for ships which were on the effective list. And in addition to that, a large sum would be required to provide munitions of war, carriages, and the *matériel* necessary to render the guns useful. Now, with this expenditure staring us in the face, was it wise to spend £8,000,000 at once in buying up commissions, and to incur a permanent charge of something like 1*d.* or 2*d.* in the pound income tax in order to provide for the retirement of officers from the Army? For his own part, he believed no system which had ever been successfully worked had been so advantageous in regard to promotion as the so-called system of purchase. However that might be, he was of opinion that until hon. Members had before them all the details of the proposed system it could not be right to impose on the taxpayers a charge of £1,000,000 a-year in perpetuity and a payment of £8,000,000 down. For these reasons, he intended to support the Motion of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire.

MR. ANDERSON said, he hoped neither the Speaker nor the House would entertain the idea that the course he had felt it his duty to take on the previous night's debate was from any undue wish to force his opinions on the House, or to attribute too much to the circumstance that the constituency he represented was a large one. In ordinary questions it might be different; but he thought the House would admit that in questions involving a large amount of taxation there was a peculiar fitness in the House learning the opinions of the large constituencies, so far as it could do so, through their Representatives, and when he had observed that London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, and Sheffield were all unrepresented in the debate, he thought that Birmingham was not enough. There was the additional reason that though the general subject appeared to have been pretty well threshed out, the two points on which he particularly wished to speak—the Volunteer question, and the payment of the over-regulation prices—had been very slightly touched. As regarded the Volunteer force, the scheme was very faulty. The Secretary of State for War had said that the Volunteers were satisfied. He wished to remove the impression that they were so. He knew they were not; and he did not believe they had in any way done anything that could give that idea. On the contrary, the officers of the West of Scotland had prepared a return which absolutely proved that not 5*s.* but 12*s.* 10*d.* was the deficiency, and their returns had never been in any way refuted. The War Office had made out 5*s.* to be the deficiency; but it was done by taking some exceptional corps who had nothing to pay for ranges, who got Westminster Hall for nothing to drill in, and who turned out so seldom that their uniforms lasted long; but these figures could easily be contradicted. However, supposing 5*s.* to be the amount, did Government give that? They had taken great credit for being the first to acknowledge that Government ought to pay all necessary expenses, and having found out that 5*s.* was necessary, and that the

Volunteers had, therefore, been bearing that deficiency for years, the duty of Government was at once to relieve them of the burden; but instead of that they had proposed a scheme which they knew, or ought to have known, could not give even 5*s*. The right hon. Gentleman proposed that five sergeants and three officers shall be enabled to earn £2 10*s*. each, and provided that every one of them should succeed in doing this, he contends that that would amount to 5*s*. a-head for 80 men. But he ought to know that the establishment is only four sergeants, not five, to 80 men. And he also knew that many officerships were vacant, and could not be filled, on account of the pecuniary burdens. The scheme was, therefore, only calculated to make those officers who had done their best to be efficient, and to bring their men up to the standard, bear the burden of those who had failed, or who did not exist; and he believed it would be shown that though some odd companies earned the full 5*s*., no whole battalions would be found to have done so. They ought first to have fairly freed them of the acknowledged burden, and then imposed conditions. Then about shooting. The scheme was to make no allowance at all to those men who did not do sufficient shooting to get out of the third class; thus depriving them of the 20*s*. they now earned. The right hon. Gentleman said he had seen 60 rounds done in two minutes at Wimbledon, and therefore he was not asking much; but did he know anything of the difficulties about ranges? Was Government prepared to provide accessible ranges? Was it not the fact that City Volunteers had to travel from three to ten miles to get to their range, and when there to fall in and take turn in their squad? It was not consistent with musketry regulations to fire through the classes in one day—so that, instead of two minutes, it took nearer two days! But, supposing it to be a good rule to apply to the Volunteer force, why penalize them alone? The right hon. Gentleman said it was an anomaly for a rifleman not to go to the butts; but if an anomaly for a Volunteer, who with his administration cost less than £4 a-year, was it less so with a Militiaman, who with his administration cost over £11 a-year; who notoriously could not shoot; who was seldom taught to shoot at all? That needed no proof. He had merely to state that, while the number of men was not very widely different, the ammunition expended by the Volunteers was £60,000 a-year, and that by the Militia only £8,000, showing how little they shoot. But was the Lineman so much of a shot that even his position justified thus penalizing the Volunteer alone? Let the right hon. Gentleman deprive the Lineman who could not shoot of his pay, and the Militiaman who could not shoot of his pay and allowances, and he was very sure the Volunteer would not shrink from a similar test. Why, if there was one thing the Volunteer could do, he could shoot. If there was one service the Volunteer force had conferred on the country, it was that they had made rifle shooting a national pastime and a national science, and had in that taught England to lead the world. He thought that was a service that could not be denied to the Volunteer force, and yet this was the very point that was selected to penalize them in. The Bill gave no encouragement to extend their efforts in nationalizing rifle practice. The next penalty he came to—for as regarded the force the Bill was all penalty—was that they were to be put under the Mutiny Act when brigaded with other troops. But what was their present position? In case of invasion they were to come under the Mutiny Act, and perform all the duties of regular soldiers; but, on the other hand, they were to receive all the emoluments also. Here the right hon. Gentleman proposed to give them the penalties and duties without the emoluments. That was unfair; but it was more than unfair, more even than useless, for it was damaging. At present, when in the field, their discipline was quite good. He had himself been in the force from the beginning, and had been present at every great turn-out in Scotland, and whether in battalion or acting on the Staff, he never saw any want of discipline in the Volunteers; and he had no hesitation in saying that if there was any slackness of discipline, it was more the fault of the commanding officer not using his powers, than of any unwillingness in the men to obey. But their difficulty was to get men to turn out, not to deal with them after they were out, and how was the Bill to help them in this respect? Actually by a penalty that would deter the men from coming. The reasons why they could not get our men out were well known. In the first enthusiasm of the Volunteer movement, employers took a pride in having their men out; but that had all died away now, and employers looked with disfavour on their young men asking for holidays to attend drill. Unless, therefore, the Bill should offer some inducements to get the men out, it will do harm instead of good. They wanted more inducements; and he proposed at least the very small one, that those who had already given five years efficient service should be as free from Ballot as the future yearly engagement men. The fact was, that far too much was expected from the Volunteers. They had done far more than was expected at first, and the more they did the more was dēmanded, till now officers not only without pay, but bearing a heavy pecuniary burden, were expected to pass as severe an examination as salaried officers of the Line, and the men without pay were expected to be as good as Regulars. He quite approved of one part of the right hon. Gentleman's scheme, and that was attenuated battalions—keeping up the *cadre* of a regiment, and letting the rank and file get few. But to make that good they needed something at the back of it—if not a people trained by conscription, at least a people with considerable knowledge of drill and skill in arms. And how was that to be got? He would propose two mild expedients. One was to encourage the Volunteers, so that a greater number of men should pass through their ranks. They did not care about the same men staying always, but allow them to retire after a time with some privilege. The Volunteers had done something towards disciplining the people, and their services had not been acknowledged. Already, he believed, that they had trained twice as many, or more, as remained in the ranks. These men would be quite ready to return in case of emergency, and the number might be greatly increased, so that when danger came the ranks of the Army could be filled not with raw recruits, but with men who could fall into their places, and do good service there. The other expedient was to introduce drill at all schools. He could see no objection to that; and its results would be to give, in the course of a very few years, a considerable amount of training to the people. He wished to say a little about the purchase system. He considered it a bar to all economy and all reform, and that its abolition would open the door to many economies that were hardly thought of. The hon. and gallant Member for Bewdley (Major Anson) had made an excellent speech, and had brought forward his arguments in a very able manner; but he had over-proved his case. He tried to show that under the present system the Army was cheaply officered. He even said the officers now served their country for nothing; but, able as his arguments were, one simple fact was enough to sweep them all away, and it was that each man in the Army cost over £100 a-year, and the hon. and gallant Member for Truro (Captain Vivian) proved that only £34 went to the private. So it was evident £66 per man over the whole Army went to pay for officers, for administration, for pensions, and for stores. He thought that was absurd. If our Army costs £15,000,000—five going to the one, and ten to the other—it proved that our mode of officering the Army was not very cheap. He was surprised that the Gentlemen in the profession did not hail the Government Bill, instead of endeavouring to crush it. The Government offer, in the matter of over-regulation price, was very liberal, and would hardly be supported if submitted to the constituencies. He, for one, should oppose it strongly, as he considered that to pay over-regulation prices was only rewarding men for having broken the law. They had to consider not only the £3,000,000 which it would cost to do it, but also the effect on the future. Would it be anything but an inducement to men to find new ways of evading any new law we made? A great deal had been said about keeping up the gentlemanly feeling in the Army, and a great deal about their indifference to money and their sensitiveness of honour. Why, up to 1824, every officer had to sign a declaration, on his honour as a gentleman, that he had not paid and would not pay over-regulation prices. Yet they did it; and even now adjutants of Volunteers had to sign a very strong declaration to a similar effect, and yet men who considered themselves officers and gentlemen bought and sold adjutantcies every day. In the Queen's Regulations, up to 1868, there had been the most stringent rule on the subject. It provided—

> "That any officer guilty of paying or receiving more than the regulation sum for his commission shall be tried by court-martial and cashiered, and that even if he have left the service he shall be liable to indictment for misdemeanour."

He was sure those gallant Officers in the House who had been in the Army had all done their purchasing and selling with that regulation staring them in the face; and, though it had now dropped out of the Queen's Regulations, the Act of Parliament was still unrepealed, and, as the Committee had reported that the military authorities had in no way sanctioned the practice, he would oppose paying the over-regulation price. He would also oppose the proposal of the hon. Members for Warrington (Mr. Rylands) and for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz), to pay down the regulation price at once; but as that had already been replied to by the right hon. and gallant Member for Ripon (Sir Henry Storks), he would not now trouble the House with repeating it. Subject to these amendments, he would cordially support the Bill. He wished to ask if the Bill applied, as regarded Ballot and barracks, to Scotland, as he noticed that the rules for Ballot were strictly limited to England, and the machinery for building barracks did not suit for Scotland, but he had no particular wish that that provision should apply?

Mr. HERMON said, he could not support the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay), for he was in favour of the abolition of purchase, if such a proposal were coupled with a good scheme of retirement and promotion. As, however, he did not see that these points were provided for in the Bill of the Government, he could not vote for that measure. In proposing to pay over-regulation as well as regulation prices, the Government were going quite as far as they could, and by this handsome dealing with the money question had disarmed a good deal of criticism. But in the opinion of military men the Bill was not calculated to improve the service or uphold the regimental system, which was so highly extolled. The Secretary of State proposed to build barracks for the Militia out of the county rates. Now, he looked upon the defence of the country as an Imperial question, and though these barracks were a step in the right direction by preventing billeting, they should be paid for out of the Consolidated Fund or out of the annual Revenue. The right hon. Gentleman proposed an increase of £3,000,000 in his Estimates besides the sum necessary for the abolition of purchase; but the country was not parsimonious, and would not grudge the money, if only there was a guarantee for its judicious expenditure. He regretted, however, to find no good practical scheme in the Bill for the amalgamation of the Army, the Militia, and the Volunteers. His own proposal was, that after paying the Militia for four weeks' drill, they should have permanent pay of 2*d.* a-day, although the Chancellor of the Exchequer might prefer 1*d.* That sum would depend upon the men presenting themselves one Saturday afternoon every month, which periodical drill would keep them in form. If the Government abolished the purchase system without establishing a good plan of retirement and securing an efficient re-organization of the Army, they would simply be destroying a system which had done well in times past.

Mr. R. R. TORRENS said, he was desirous to elicit from the Government an account of what might reasonably be assumed as the set-off against the very heavy charge which the present measure would necessarily lay on the taxpayers of the country. While the minimum charge for the abolition of purchase was definitely fixed at £8,000,000, there was much indefiniteness about the maximum, some placing it at £15,000,000 and others at £20,000,000. There was still more indefiniteness as to any savings that might be assumed as a set-off against this charge. The first item of saving mentioned by the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan), as a consequence of the short-service system, was a prospective diminution in the remote future of the charge now incurred for Chelsea Hospital and military pensions, although he (Mr. R. Torrens) thought the right hon. Gentleman might with advantage show more faith in that principle, and substitute 9 for 12 years, applicable to men enlisting under the 1st Schedule, and a maximum of three years' service with colours before entering the 2nd Schedule. Other savings might, however, have been more definitely stated, such as the amount of pay given to cornets and ensigns, as that grade in the service was not to be continued. He should like to see the Secretary for War lift his hand a little higher, and prune the upper branches of the service, dealing with the dead weight and the non-productive branches of the Army. He should like to know whether the Government would pledge themselves not to make any more appointments to honorary colonelcies, for thereby a saving might be effected, without impairing the efficiency of the Army, of £163,000 a-year? He would also ask the Government whether, as the number of general officers was in the proportion of one to 240 rank and file, they contemplated to reduce the number gradually, as deaths occurred, to something like the reasonable requirements of the service? Such a proceeding would effect a saving of £60,000 or £100,000 a-year. Another question he would put to the Secretary for War was whether he contemplated in a short period to discontinue the payment to Army agents out of the public funds, amounting to £37,000 a-year? Adding all these savings to the saving which might be expected from the abolition of the rank of ensigns and cornets, and on account of the diminished expenditure for Chelsea Hospital and the Pensioners, it was impossible to calculate the amount of saving at less than £500,000. He put these questions in no spirit of hostility, but to enable the Government to impart more information on the subject. He must express his unmitigated condemnation of the compulsory Ballot Clauses of the Bill, which, in case of an emergency, would place undisciplined and untrained men in the field in these days of scientific war and arms of precision. That would be a highly culpable mistake, which, indeed, had been most impressively pointed out by the Secretary for War himself. He hoped the Government would be prevailed upon to entertain a proposition which he had urged on their acceptance, requiring, as a condition to receiving public money in aid of primary schools, that military drill should be systematically taught to the youth of the country. Then these clauses might safely remain in the Bill, for when an emergency arose there would be a body of trained men at once to place in the ranks. The 24th section of the Revised Code permissively authorized instruction in drill, and two hours a week would be allowed to count as instruction under the head of military drill. The time allowed was ample for the purpose; but the subject should be included among those selected as standards of examination, and should be systematic and uniform throughout the country.

Colonel DYOTT said, he thought the unreasonable and unjust statements which had been put forth during the debate ought not to pass unnoticed. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War congratulated himself that in rearing a mere superstructure, he would recognize the fundamental principles on which our military system was now based, his object being to combine all the various elements into one harmonious whole. But his Bill did not fulfil the expectations held out. The system of purchase was one of the foundations upon which the regimental system was founded. Yet it was abolished, while the principle that the Militia service was the old constitutional service, so far as a Reserve was concerned, was entirely demolished. He could see no possible connection between the amalgamation of the Militia and the Line and the abolition of purchase. At present there was a much closer connection between the two branches of the service than could be under the Bill, because half-pay officers served in the Militia, while non-commissioned officers of the Line were the most numerous on the Staff. If fault was found with the present system in point of numbers, it must be because of there being too many and not of there being too few. Six companies of 100 men each, rank and file, were deemed, some years ago, the handiest battalion that could be taken into the field. It had been said that the Militia was ill-trained and ill-officered. Now, so far as his own experience was concerned, that charge was altogether unfounded. What was likely to be the case for the future? One hon. Gentleman had stated that it was necessary to have a solid nucleus of professional officers; but were they to be established without the local authorities having any voice in the matter? He should like to know how the Secretary for War reconciled that with the statement that he had raised his new superstructure upon the old fundamental principles of the service? In his opinion, if the Army Regulation Bill was to be carried out to its full extent, instead of re-organizing the Militia service it would tend very greatly to disorganize it. It would not at all tend to increase that harmony which ought to exist amongst the officers at the present time; and with regard to the men, the proposal to send Militia recruits to some central place of training, to be kept there for six months, would deter many men from enrolling themselves in the ranks. Hitherto there had been no difficulty in raising and maintaining the Militia regiments, and his own had given 1,460 men to the Line. He thought it would be much better to let the present system alone, than to adopt the change proposed by the Government. In his opinion, the Bill contained the minimum of good and the maximum of evil. If the present system had some faults, it had also some good, and he, for one, would

> "Rather bear those ills we have
> Than fly to others that we know not of."

For these reasons he should, with a clear conscience, vote against the second reading of the Bill.

Sir WILLIAM RUSSELL regretted that, owing to the terms of the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay), the debate had been confined almost exclusively to the subject of the abolition of purchase in the Army, which was in truth only a secondary point in the much larger question of the re-organization of our forces. He agreed cordially with the statement of the hon. and gallant Member for Berkshire that the purchase system had given us a constant flow of officers, who had done their duty on every occasion to the satisfaction of the country. Four arguments had been used against the abolition of the purchase system. It was said that the purchase system had given us good officers, and that it was not likely the system of non-purchase would give us the same class of men; but he had not heard any reason to satisfy him why we should not have the same class of men for the future that we had had in times past. It was next said that it would destroy the regimental system. That system, no doubt, was extremely valuable; but he thought that if the Government proposed to maintain the regimental seniority up to the rank of major that would be sufficient to maintain the regimental system in its most important point. With regard to the rapidity of promotion and self-adjustment, which were two great and important points in favour of the purchase system, he could not see that the proposal of the Government would prevent either. On the contrary, he thought that the two things which they proposed would assist very materially—namely, that the major and lieutenant-colonel of a regiment should hold those appointments for five years, as Staff appointments. The next point that would have to be considered with regard to the rapidity of promotion was, that the country must be prepared to give a fair scale of retirement to take the place of the existing money payments. He would make the payment by the country of the money which the officers would lose by the Bill a necessity. He thought that if officers who had served not less than 5 nor more than 15 years should receive on retiring from the service a bonus of £100 for every year they had served, that would be a sufficient inducement to those who had entered the Army and found that the Army did not suit them, or they did not suit it, to enter some other occupation in which they would do better. Thus the stagnation would be relieved in the lower ranks of the Army, where it would be most likely to exist. With regard to the retirement of the senior ranks, that must be left to the Government, which alone could effectually deal with the matter. Of the arguments against the abolition of purchase, one was that any scheme of re-organization was rendered impossible by its existence. He could not himself see that such was the case. Without saying that re-organization was rendered impossible by the retention of the purchase system, he believed that its abolition would greatly facilitate such re-organization. He now came to the great argument which weighed with him in voting upon this measure. He referred to the great injustice that was done by the existing system to the poorer officers, many of whom were the most efficient in the service, but who were passed over from time to time by others possessed of more means. Having himself served for 30 years, 25 of them on full-pay, purchasing all his steps, he had seen many cases of that kind, which had forced on him the conviction that the purchase system must sooner or later be swept away. He thought the Army would be very unwise if it did not accept the offer of the Goverment, and endeavour through its Representatives in that House to get the terms modified so as to suit it better. He greatly doubted whether the officers would have so good an offer again, because, though the country was now prepared to deal liberally with them, it might not at another time be in the same mood. He would also support the second reading of the Bill, because he was fully convinced of the absolute necessity of an effectual re-organization of our forces. But he regretted to say that the Government had not dealt with the subject in the large, comprehensive, and satisfactory manner that might have been expected. He did not think they had started on a sound basis. The proposal of the Government simply amounted to an extension of our present inefficient machinery. What the country required was a voluntary system. He did not believe that it would submit to a compulsory system till the voluntary system was proved to have entirely failed. He had entire confidence in the voluntary principle, and believed that it would always prove sufficient for our requirements. Another thing which the country required was that a large body of civilians should be passed through a school for drill and discipline, so as to be thoroughly trained at the least possible cost and disturbance to the civil occupations of the country; then to be returned to civil life, from which they would again be withdrawn when required for the national defence. Again, owing to our Indian Empire and our Colonies, and the requirements of our national obligations, it was absolutely necessary that we should have men enlisted for a longer term of service, that those men should be of the smallest possible number, and in the highest state of efficiency. It was useless patching up this old system of ours, which, well as it had worked in times past, and valuable as it had been proved to be, was entirely unsuited to the present times. Every nation in Europe was making its entire male population into soldiers, and he would like to see Her Majesty's Government lay down some sound, elastic, and intelligible principle on which the forces for the defence of this country should be raised—a principle which he could nowhere find in this Bill. He would not wish to copy servilely any foreign systems. He would pick out from them those portions which would suit our national habits and tastes. He would not submit to have all our male population trained as soldiers. We had a great advantage over foreign nations. We had the "silver streak," which was most valuable to us. We had our magnificent Navy, which was a match for all the navies in the world, as our first and main line of defence, and to which we ought to devote our main care. He believed that no nation could break through that first line of defence unless by surprise. Our Navy might be eluded; but it could not be defeated. England wished for peace; but she was determined to have no more war panics: she was determined also that our opinions, as a nation, should be respected by foreign nations, because they knew that that opinion could be enforced. With regard to the period of service, he could not agree with the hon. and learned Member for Nottingham (Mr. A. Herbert) that three months was a sufficient period for training. We did not give a military training to the boys in our schools which was given in Switzerland, and which he thought would be a great advantage; but as we did not do so, three months' training would not be sufficient. It might be sufficient for mere drill, but not for discipline, which was a far more important matter. It took 12 months to teach an infantry soldier discipline, and an artilleryman would require two years' training. A year would amply suffice to teach an infantry soldier drill and discipline, without taking him too long away from his civil occupation or giving him a distaste for it. He believed that the only real and constitutional force on which this country ought to rely, was not our Regular Army, but our general Militia. He called it a general Militia in order to distinguish it from the present Militia regiments, which he would call the local Militia. He believed that that general Militia must be the tree deeply rooted in the soil of this country, and drawing its supplies from that soil would furnish nourishment to its branches. He believed that the enlistment in that Militia must be voluntary; that it should be for one year, the Ballot being retained to make up the quota should the number of Recruits be found insufficient by the voluntary enlistment. This tree should have a branch, consisting of the standing Army, which should pass out by voluntary enlistment after the first year, and from that should come the Army Reserves and the Pensioners. There should be another and main branch rising from the stem, which should be the local Militia, similar to the Militia as at present existing. That should be for five years, and from this should spring their Militia Reserves, which should exist for 10 years, and then going back to the general Militia. The general Militia ought to be the most perfect machine possible for the purpose of manufacturing trained men. The force must always be embodied. It must be quite complete, composed of all the various branches of the service, infantry, artillery, hospital appliances, and all the various services. It should be located in 10 different departments of the country, each forming a division of the Army of Defence. This general Militia should consist of men of from 18 to 21 years of age, who should be recruited and enlisted for terms of one year's service in this force, five years in the local Militia, and 10 years in the Reserve. The officers of the general Militia should be appointed from the Regular Army. It should be considered a Staff appointment in the Army, both for officers and non-commissioned officers. They should receive, during the time of service, extra pay, and should have a step of rank on leaving it, in order to induce the best men to be anxious to serve for this purpose. Then to meet the requirements of India and the Colonies, they would have a 12 years' term of service for the men taken from the general Militia into the standing Army. He did not think that there would be any difficulty in getting the men to volunteer from the general Militia into the Army. Then there would be this great advantage, that all the men joining the Army would be trained soldiers. All the rest of the men must go into the local Militia for five years. If this scheme were adopted they would get a standing Army of 150,000 men by voluntary enlistment, all trained men instead of recruits; an Army of Reserve and Pensioners, which would give, after allowing for casualties, a force of 725,000 men eligible for service in case of emergency, with 160,000 Volunteers, to whom he would give all encouragement—making a total of 885,000 out of an annual enlistment of 50,000 men, at no greater cost than the present charge for the standing Army. These 885,000 men would consist of 50,000 general Militia, 150,000 standing Army, including the men in India; 100,000 of the first Army of Reserve, 100,000 second Army Reserve and Pensioners, 125,000 local Militia, 200,000 first Militia Reserve, and 160,000 Volunteers. He urged upon the Government to found their scheme upon some larger basis than they at present contemplated. With regard to the Volunteers, they had received but scant courtesy from the Secretary for War. He thought they deserved every encouragement that could be given to them. Although they could never be expected to work in large bodies, their services, as light troops, would be available in case of invasion. If the attempt were made to put the Volunteer force under the Mutiny Act, he believed the result would be that one-half of them would resign. He did not think there was any occasion to put them under that Act, considering the way in which the Volunteers had indicated their anxiety to serve the country. The general scheme of the Government should be based on a sound and broad principle that would admit of elasticity. In his view the Militia should form the mainstay and source from which all our troops should be derived. He proposed to vote for the second reading of the Bill, because he approved the principle of re-organizing the forces; but he also proposed to embody his own idea of re-organization in clauses which, if the House approved, might be incorporated with the Bill in Committee.

Major WALKER said, he did not intend, towards the close of the fifth evening of debate on this Bill, even to refer to the purchase or to the regimental system. He had chosen for himself a much humbler task—that of criticizing, but in no unfriendly spirit, the proposal of the Government with reference to the Militia service. He did so the more readily, because he thought the subject had been touched upon imperfectly, and there was a general concurrence of sentiment that the Militia was the only constitutional force of the country, and that something should be done towards its amalgamation with the Line. With regard to the doing away with the power of the Lords Lieutenant in the appointment of officers, that proposal had his entire concurrence; for not only was the present system a cumbrous one, but he thought it was seemly that officers who commanded Her Majesty's troops should hold their commissions direct from the Crown. The grounds, however, on which the change was justified had been much exaggerated. One popular idea on the subject was that Lords Lieutenant had been in the habit of making these appointments purely from personal or political motives, and that, consequently, the ranks of our Militia force were officered by country gentlemen entirely ignorant of military duty. On this point it would suffice for him to remind the House that the very large majority of the commanding officers in the Militia had served in the Regular Army; while the minority were far from being civilians utterly ignorant of military duty. Doubtless much remained to be done. Considering the neglect the Militia service had suffered during the last 10 years his wonder was, not that inefficiency should exist, but that there should be so much efficiency, and he could confirm the statement of the Secretary for War that since the right hon. Gentleman had applied himself to raising the Militia service in the estimation of the country, there had been a gradual but marked improvement in both the number and quality of those who offered themselves for service. In reference to the proposal of bringing officers into the Militia from the Regular Army, he had always advocated that some such course ought to be adopted, in order to impart a professional leaven to the civilian element which formed the bulk of the service. While that was desirable, the principle involved was one which might be productive of great good or of great evil. A great good would arise if the introduction of the professional officer were limited to cases where officers of regiments in the higher ranks of the Militia were incapable of performing their duties efficiently. If, on the other hand, the professional element were used simply as a convenience for the service, as a means, for instance, of disposing of men on half-pay, and of reducing charges on the non-effective list, then he feared a great evil would be the result, because there were already in the Militia 2,000 gentlemen, many of whom had acquired a thorough knowledge of their professional duties. In the course of this debate, much had been said about a service of seniority. The Militia had certainly a service of seniority; but it was one aggravated by several peculiar circumstances. It was a service of seniority in which promotion was entirely checked at the stage of lieutenant-colonel. Promotion in the Militia, especially in the higher grades, was very uncertain and slow; and if, in addition to this stagnation, officers were brought in from the Line to fill the higher appointments, another obstacle would be raised, and the system would become entirely blocked, as in the course of years the junior ranks would be crowded with men from 40 to 60 years of age. He therefore hoped the Secretary for War would see the delicacy of working this system, and the propriety of establishing a high standard of efficiency for Militia officers in every grade, and that he would, at the same time, afford every fair opportunity of attaining that standard by means of schools and camps of instruction. As to the small amount of training which it was proposed to give to Militia recruits, his observations would differ from those of hon. Members who had criticized that portion of the measure. If he could see his way to calling out the Militia for the 12 or 24 months he would gladly support such a scheme; but there was one important consideration which had rather been lost sight of in the course of this debate, and that was that the Militiamen and the soldiers of the Line were not really drawn from the same classes of society. It was a popular idea with officers of the Regular Army that all recruiting for the Militia was a sort of poaching on the preserves of the Line, and that every man enlisted in the Militia was a soldier lost to the Regular Army. But that idea had very little foundation in fact. It might be true, though he disputed even that, that the social classes from which both ranks of men were taken were to a certain extent identical in each case; but the motives which induced the Militiaman to enlist were very different from those which induced the enlistment of the soldier of the Line. The man who enlisted in the Line had generally quarrelled with the society in which he lived—with his town, his village, or his home—or else he was a man of a reckless and roving disposition, who sought to satisfy the instincts of his nature by foreign service and expatriation. But the Militiaman enlisted from entirely different motives—he had not the least idea of divorcing himself from the occupations of civil life, and only joined that force because he found his pay, and the annual retaining fee, a very welcome addition to his scanty means, while the healthy exercise and the pageantry of soldiering afforded a pleasant variety to the monotony of his daily toil. He would give the House an illustration in support of this view. At the close of the Sepoy war a large body of Militiamen were quartered at Aldershot. It was decided to disembody a large portion of them, and at the same time it was thought desirable to increase the strength of the standing Army, because there was growing up between this country and France that uneasy feeling which a year later resulted in the Volunteer movement. It was believed that some Militia officers had stood in the way of their men volunteering into the Army—that, if the regiments were disembodied, the officers would not have any object to serve, and that the men being permeated with martial instincts would be only too glad of the chance of entering the Line. It was imagined that there would be no difficulty in securing a large proportion of those Militiamen for the Army, and volunteering was, therefore, commenced in anticipation of receiving a large accession of troops. Recruiting officers were sent down from Westminster; but the result was that of the three battalions, numbering 1,500 men, they only brought back four recruits. He would give another instance. Shortly after the Volunteer movement commenced, the training of the Militia was, as a matter of paltry economy, reduced to 21 days in the year. The commanding officers, finding it impossible to carry on the Militia under these conditions, made strong representations on the subject to the Secretary of State for War, and after some negotiations it was decided to increase the training to 27 days, on condition that there should be a reduction of 25 per cent made in the rank and file in order to provide funds for the additional training. This step threw 20,000 or 30,000 men into the recruiting market. Now, if the Line and the Militia were recruited from the same classes of society, it is obvious that the result must have been an immense accession to the number of men available for the Line. In point of fact, however, that period was the very one in which the recruiting for the Line fell to such an extent that the Army was 20,000 below the establishment, and it became necessary to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the subject of recruiting. He wished now to make a few remarks respecting the training which the country could afford to give to the Militia. If the period of training were largely extended the present class of men would be driven out of the Militia, and it would be necessary to begin an active and dangerous system of recruiting in opposition to the Regular Army. He thought, therefore, that the Secretary of State was right in approaching this subject of increasing the period of training in a very tentative manner. He should be very glad if the period could be extended to three months; but he did not think the right hon. Gentleman could go further without interfering with the recruiting for the Line. Referring to certain points which were omitted from the Bill, he said everybody who had studied the subject was aware it was of the first importance to bring the Militia together in brigades and divisions. It was not worth while arguing whether it was sound policy to establish the largest possible military unit for the purpose of training and exercise. The regiment was in this country the military unit. This, indeed, was inevitable because we could not keep our Regular Army together in great bodies, as large numbers of troops were always on service in the Colonies. But what was impossible in the Regular Army was perfectly easy and practicable for the Militia. It should be remembered that the Militia was a local force. The men were year after year at the same head quarters, and, therefore, there could be no difficulty in bringing them together. Every professional soldier would agree with him that four battalions accustomed to act together in brigade, and knowing their brigadier and Staff, would be worth at least five battalions brought together hurriedly, perhaps on the eve of action, and utter strangers to one another and to the officers who commanded them. He regretted, therefore, that he did not find either in the Bill or the Estimates any indication of an extensive system of brigading the Militia. He admitted it was not easy to introduce matters of this kind into the Bill or the Army Estimates; but, still, if the scheme was to be carried out on a large scale some indication of such intention would probably have been given in one or the other. There was another point of equal, if not greater importance. We could get any number of men and bring them into a fair state of efficiency; but this was useless unless we could place them under the command of well-trained and well-instructed officers. There was little difficulty in obtaining the services of an almost unlimited number of young men of the leisure classes of the country, who were best fitted for the purpose, and there could be no difficulty in giving them sufficient instruction for the simple duties they had to perform. To a certain extent the Secretary of State had provided for the necessity by establishing certain schools of instruction; but he feared the right hon. Gentleman fell short of the necessities of the case in more than one respect. In the first place, the amount of training was quite inadequate. It might be better than nothing that young men joining the Militia should go through a course of one month's instruction; but that time ought, in his judgment, to be multiplied by three, in order to be really effective. A more serious objection to this part of the Government measure was that it was one of those permissive schemes which were so popular at the present moment. The permissive system might do very well for a Liquor Bill; but it was not right to tell a gentleman who was to have the command of troops that it was optional with him whether he should know his duties or not. He hoped, therefore, the Secretary of State would exchange permission for compulsion, and insist that every officer should go through a sufficient course of instruction. In connection with the Militia service there was another important question, on which he had spoken every Session since he had had the honour of a seat in that House. He meant the question of billeting. As far as drill was concerned it was impossible to get the same amount of work out of men quartered in billets as could be got out of men quartered in barracks, for the same punctuality and restraint which were to be found in barracks could not be found under the billeting system. In many cases men who were quartered in billets had to go backwards and forwards between their quarters and the place of drill eight, nine, and ten miles a-day. Such a waste of power was wholly indefensible. Drill, however, was but a small part of a soldier's training. Discipline and subordination were far more important. In barracks a man was always imbibing ideas of discipline and subordination; but in billets the moment a man was dismissed from parade he was his own master, and his officers and non-commissioned officers ceased to have any control over him. In such circumstances there were no means of establishing any system for his education or recreation, and he too frequently spent his time in listless idleness or mere animal enjoyment. It was impossible seriously to contemplate the present method of billeting if the Militia was to be made a practical and efficient service. The provisions in the Bill enabling counties to build barracks would, in his opinion, prove entirely delusive, and he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would bring in a large and statesmanlike measure on the subject, for until this were done our Militia system would be costly, demoralizing, and inefficient.

CAPTAIN GROSVENOR remarked that his noble Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) had at the commencement of his speech expressed his regret that so narrow an issue had been selected for discussion on the second reading of the Bill, and he confessed he had heard that expression of regret without surprise, because he entertained an opinion, which was doubtless shared by his noble Friend—but which it was quite natural, under the circumstances, that his noble Friend's modesty should have precluded him from offering to the House—an opinion that if, instead of the first Amendment on the Paper, the House was discussing one which boldly affirmed that the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War would not place the military system of the country upon "a sound, economical, and enduring basis," no independent Member, who had paid the slightest attention to the subject, however anxious he might be to support the Government in its general policy, could refuse his assent to that proposition. His noble Friend's Amendment to that effect could not now, unfortunately, become a subject of discussion, and he regretted this the more, because his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay), who spoke with so much authority on military subjects, and his hon. and gallant Relative, who always addressed the House with so much effect, he referred to the hon. and gallant Member for the county of Tipperary (Colonel White), showing a want of tactical skill which could hardly have been expected from them, and, passing over the weak points which he should have thought might have been attacked with some prospect of success, had elected to run their heads against a fortress bristling with defences — against the very stronghold of the Ministerial position. He ventured to think that in the purchase clauses, conceived as they were in a liberal spirit, and directed as they were towards a practical end, was to be found what some had called the soul, and others the pith, but what he regarded as the keystone of the Ministerial measure. He hoped he should not be accused of underrating the class of officers who had served their country under the purchase system, because such an accusation would be unfounded. No one could recall their deeds of heroism with more heartfelt gratitude; none could dwell with a more honest pride on their honourable and gentlemanlike bearing. But when he reflected that there were branches of our combatant services where purchase did not exist, yet where gallantry was unsurpassed, and the officers of which, if tried by the test of honourable tone and gentlemanlike demeanour, need shrink from no comparison, the conclusion appeared to him obvious that it was not in consequence of, that it might be in spite of, the purchase system that this country had been served by a class of men of whose gallantry as officers, and of whose uprightness as gentlemen we were all so justly proud. But if he was not inclined to credit the purchase system with the advantage to which he had referred, there were two other advantages that had been frequently put forward in its favour in this debate, and which candour compelled him to admit had a more direct connection with it. He referred to a rapid flow of promotion and to the almost entire exclusion of military appointments from the operation of favouritism; and although he was far from taking it for granted that by no other means could an adequate flow of promotion and an equitable distribution of appointments be secured, he would go so far as to admit that the easy attainment of these two advantages under the purchase system was sufficient to account for its existence, and would be sufficient to justify its continuance if the objections to it were only of that theoretical character ascribed to them by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington). There were, however, in his opinion, three objections of a very practical character which might be urged against the system. First, that which was stated the other night by the Surveyor General (Sir Henry Storks), and the statement of which was characterized by the right hon. Baronet to whom he had just alluded as a vague declaration, whereas an illustration by which it was accompanied was declared from the same source to have nothing in it. To his mind, however — and it was with the greatest diffidence that he expressed dissent from anything that had fallen from so high an authority as the right hon. Baronet—the argument seemed to possess great practical force and the illustration to be perfectly valid. The Surveyor General's position was that Government had been unable to carry out any re-organization of the Army system because, when any such scheme had been suggested, they had been met by the vested interests that had grown up under the purchase system; and he illustrated his argument by referring to a scheme, put forward but not carried out, for abolishing the ranks of ensign and cornet. Why was not that scheme carried out? Everybody knew the reason, because these vested interests stood in the way. The hon. and gallant Member for Bewdley (Major Anson) said that was all nonsense, because by the payment of £200,000 those particular vested interests could have been swept away; but so far as he was concerned he was neither surprised nor sorry that the Secretary of State should have declined to commence doing that by driblets which he must have felt would very soon have to be done wholesale. He did not contend that no scheme of Army re-organization could be commenced so long as the purchase system remained; but that the vested interests would have to be met and bought out of the reformer's way at every turn, a far more inconvenient and expensive mode of dealing with them than that which was contemplated under the Bill. He might be told that the course to which he had just referred was precisely that indicated in the Bill, because the Government did not propose to pay to the officers at once the value of their commissions. He would come to that in a moment; but first he would respectfully urge the Government to accept the suggestion of the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) that they should keep no unwilling officers, or, in other words, that no limitation beyond those already in existence should be placed upon the retirement of officers desiring to accept the proffered terms. Returning to his argument that it was better to meet these vested interests in the gross than in detail, and that this was the policy adopted in the Bill, that argument was not affected by the fact that the Government did not propose to pay all the money at once, and for this reason, that the moment the Bill was passed all uncertainty as to the sums to be paid would disappear; and no new vested interests could arise to complicate the questions of the future. The second practical objection he saw to purchase was that the feeling of the majority of the country was dead against it. That might, perhaps, be described as a vague declaration; but he would venture to appeal to hon. Members on both sides of the House who had, in common with him, the pecuniary interests of the officers in the Army at heart, whether it would be wise, under all the circumstances of the case, to put that declaration to the proof. The war that had just concluded, so startling in its progress—so fatal, to all appearances, in its termination for the future tranquillity of Europe—had fairly opened the eyes of this country to the fact that if she wanted to maintain her greatness and her independence, she must have something more in future to protect her than "a streak of silver sea," something more even than a fleet upon that sea; she must have in the last resort an Army to fall back upon which, as regards its rank and file, should be a national Army, and, as regards its officers, a professional Army. On the very threshold of the formation of such an Army stood the vested interests created under the purchase system, if not actually to bar the way, to clog, to impede, and to retard. Was it reasonable to suppose that they could withstand the concentrated force of public opinion. Ought not the House and the public to be too thankful that they could be removed from the path in such a manner as to prevent the men in possession from crying out that the Government by their removal was sanctioning confiscation and condoning robbery? His third objection to the purchase system was that it had made amateurs instead of professionals of the officers of the Army. Receiving, as they did, a bare interest for the money they had disbursed, they took in exchange for what should be pay the *prestige* of the uniform, the social life of the mess-room, and the luxury of just sufficient occupation to save them from the reproach, though he feared not always from the tedium of idleness. Ready as they had always been in time of war to face the foes of their country with unflinching gallantry, in time of peace, with very few exceptions, they received little and they gave little. They had neither inclination nor inducement to study those scientific details of their profession which in every pursuit constituted the superiority of professionals over amateurs. If England wanted officers professionally skilled she must remember that "the labourer is worthy of his hire." If she paid her officers well she would get fair value in return for her money, if she gave them fair inducements to work, their attainments would soon rise to a level with their bravery. He did not think that was the moment, with the clear though narrow issue before the House, for him to refer to the many objections that might be taken to the Government Bill. He would vote for the second reading of the Bill; but hoped that its scope might be greatly extended in Committee, for otherwise he feared it would not be safe to trust to it as the guiding principle of our military system.

MR. DISRAELI: Although I did not insist yesterday on the adjournment of the House, and gave only one vote on that occasion, I confess I am not sorry to have an opportunity of trespassing for a short time on its attention, because I entertain on this subject some opinions different from those which have been expressed by some on my own side of the House; and because I have observed considerable diversity of opinion here, and also from the opposite Benches on several topics, which induces me to hope that I may offer some suggestions which may tend to a more general agreement. And I would venture to observe that when the hon. and gallant Gentleman who has just addressed the House rose, five Gentlemen on the Benches opposite rose at the same time, which seemed to me an argument in favour of the opinion that the resources of debate last night were not quite so exhausted as the right hon. Gentleman opposite imagined.

Now, with regard to the question before us, this is what would strike me in considering it—that if none of those events which have rendered the last seven months memorable had occurred, the purchase system would still have been a subject for debate. It was, and had been for years, a Parliamentary question. It was a question on which there had been Royal Commissions and Parliamentary Committees; on which public opinion was gradually forming itself; and on which, in all probability, the opinion of the House of Commons would have been asked in due course of public business. But the events which have made the last seven months memorable have made the people of this country require something much more than the abolition of the purchase system. What has agitated them during the autumn, and what has induced them to express their feeling in a manner which has commanded the attention of the Government, has been the conviction, from the experience so recently gained, that the security of their own country was not sufficiently assured, and that the protection of the Empire was not complete. Measures to effect those great purposes were the measures which were expected by the country. Now, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, when he introduced his measure, laid down a programme of his intention, from which we were to gather the purport and provisions of his Bill. He told us that, in the first place, the object of his Bill would be to render the Army more efficient; secondly, that it would secure for this country ample and adequate Reserves; and thirdly, that it would place all the military resources of the country under one single and supreme organization. That was a general description of the measure given by the Secretary of State, and as a general description satisfactory to the House. Sir, in considering the Bill as the fulfilment of that programme, I am bound to say, though anxious to consider it in a spirit of candour, that I cannot view that alleged fulfilment without some surprise. I will not enter into the question whether the measure of the Government has a tendency to render the Army more efficient, because I admit that there is a vagueness in that expression which might lead to a controversy probably inconvenient on the fifth night of a debate at any time inexhaustible. But, Sir, when I ask myelf the real question — whether this Bill supplies those adequate and ample Reserves upon which the mind and attention of the country were fixed, I cannot say that the course of this debate has satisfied me that that object has been fulfilled. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State has not concealed from us that he looks to the short service system, and to the provisions which he has proposed in reference to it, as being the source of the Reserves on which he particularly counts. But we have some experience of the short service system. I will not presume to obtrude my opinion upon that system when there are authorities on both sides of the House upon such a subject, to whom the House would naturally listen with an attention which I have no right to command. But I may be allowed, as a civilian, to express my general impression, and it is one favourable to the short service system. I am in favour of it. I supported a measure of the Government last year which had that object. The results of that measure are not altogether unsatisfactory. But surely the House will agree that those results are not such as the people of this country expected in consequence of the important events of the last seven months, which convinced them that the country was not in a proper state of defence, and that the basis of a proper state of defence was a great system of military Reserves. The right hon. Gentleman has proposed the same policy in his present Bill. He has developed to a certain, but slow and limited degree, the same scheme of short service from which last year he anticipated the commencement and creation of a military Reserve. But if we are to guide ourselves by the consequences of his previous measure, it appears to me that the objections which have been urged against the proposition of the Government, that the results must be slow, and not at any time considerable, appear to me to be well founded. Now, I watched with great attention the answer of the Secretary of State upon that head. Objections were urged by Gentlemen on both sides of the House with great effect upon that subject; and I confess to me it appeared that the answer of the right hon. Gentleman wanted substance, and was of a shadowy and speculative character. It dwelt upon contingencies, it contemplated consequences; but it contemplated consequences at the termination of a considerable time. I do not think that the Government have made out their case, or that they have satisfied the House that the provisions which they have brought forward with the object of creating and establishing this ample and adequate Reserve are calculated to effect that object.

Now, Sir, there is another source from which that Reserve might be derived. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State does not altogether discard that source; but it is one from which I believe the country generally anticipated that the best results might have been expected, and that was the Militia. I am greatly disappointed at the mode in which the Government dealt with the whole question of the Militia, and particularly as to the furnishing of these Reserves. I cannot but believe that they might have found, if they had availed themselves of that course, a much surer and larger means of effecting their object than they can attain by so strictly adhering to a Reserve furnished by the Line through the medium of short service. The Reserve, which the right hon. Gentleman anticipates, is a contracted one. We wanted a comprehensive one. The way in which the right hon. Gentleman deals with the Militia is unsatisfactory, and, to a certain degree, trifling. I am not sure myself whether the first effect of the provisions in the Bill with respect to the Militia would not rather tend to diminish the number of those who enlist, instead of increasing them. I am connected with a part of the country in which that service has always been popular. There is no part of England in which Militia service has been more popular as in that county which I represent. There are two things which the people there thoroughly understand—they understand the present scheme of Militia, which, as I have said, is highly popular, and they understand also embodiment, which is not less so. But the proposition of the Government is a proposition which greatly interferes with their lives and livelihood, and I cannot believe that it will be received with the same feeling of sympathy which an embodiment of the Militia under the present system commands. It is probable that you will obtain a certain number of Militiamen who will submit to a considerably increased term of drill without being embodied, and you may thus obtain a more effective Militia after a certain period; but I think it is very doubtful whether the general result of the provisions in the Bill of Her Majesty's Government will not be to diminish their numbers. But certainly the provisions of the Bill which Her Majesty's Government should have brought forward ought to be of a very different character if their object was to find a fruitful principle of military Reserve in a largely-developed scheme of Militia.

Nor, Sir, are the other provisions of the measure altogether of that satisfactory nature which I expected, and which I really believe the country itself looked for. I did not suppose that the right hon. Gentleman was going to introduce a Bill which should furnish us with the number of guns that we should have, or the ambulances which we ought to possess, or the baggage which we require. The right hon. Gentleman is quite right in repudiating such minute details. But I thought we should have a fulfilment, a completer and more substantial fulfilment, of the three great principles of his programme—that we should see more clearly the means by which the Army was to be made more efficient, by which ample and adequate Reserves were to be obtained, and by which the whole of our military means and arms should be placed under one simple and supreme organization. It appears to me that the method contained in the Bill by which this last object is to be attained is very slight and very shadowy. One might say, with regard to the Volunteers, that all that is done with them is to secure their being placed under martial law on Easter Monday.

Much more was expected from the Government, without dealing with those details which could not be looked for in a Bill like the present. A scheme for the organization both of the Militia and Volunteers, and of their blended and united action, was expected to be found in the provisions of a Bill the object of which was the re-organization of the Army and the formation of the Reserves of England. But having thus given my first view of the general character of the Bill, though I find it less satisfactory and complete than I expected, I cannot forget the expressions which I used on the first night of the Session with regard to the measure of the Government—expressions which were maturely considered—namely, that I should give to their measure of military organization my support, though I might object to many of its details, and even at the expense of some point of principle—referring to the possibility of their making propositions which I do not, I admit, find in the Bill. I cannot, therefore, because I find the measure inadequate on the whole, and less vigorous and decisive than I imagined, reconcile it to myself, or bring my mind to think that it is my duty to oppose the main question that is before us—namely, the second reading of this Bill. But I do so, I confess, with the conviction that if we go into Committee on the Bill it will not be a formal Committee, but a real working Committee; that the provisions of the measure may be strengthened; that we may see in this Bill something of that doctrine of evolution which is so fashionable at present; and that the tentative efforts and certain indications and dispositions of Her Majesty's Government, which are now only faintly adumbrated, may, by the encouragement and interference of the Committee, be brought out in substantial legislation; in fine, that we may see many of their suggestions carried out in vigorous, masculine, and commanding provisions.

Well, having said so much generally as to the measure of Her Majesty's Government, I have now to consider the Amendment which has been moved by an hon. and gallant Friend of mine (Colonel Loyd Lindsay), who brought it forward with all that spirit which one naturally expects from one so distinguished. Now, the question of purchase, which has taken up the greater part of this important debate, but has not, I am glad to say, prevented, if not a complete, yet a most interesting discussion of the still more important subjects contained in the Government measure, is, as I ventured to say before, not a novel question in the House of Commons. It is one of those questions that have perplexed mankind for a considerable period. It is a question of which it may truly be observed that a great deal may be said on both sides. It is a question very much belonging to the same class of questions as marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Each side is convinced that their solution is the only one absolutely necessary for the welfare of society; while calmer minds, who do not take so extreme an interest in the subject, are of opinion that, whichever way it may be decided, it is possible affairs may go on much the same. But the question of purchase in the Bill of Her Majesty's Government assumes a character very different from that which it has ever taken before in Parliamentary debate, because it assumes a financial character. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that we should proceed with due caution and with all that prudence which becomes the House of Commons when financial questions are concerned. Now, Sir, before touching upon the amount that may be required—and in forming an opinion as to the conduct we should pursue, I think that this a matter of some importance—I would say at once, if there be a great desire in the country upon a question like purchase that we should put an end to it, a Minister would, in my opinion, be most unwise to oppose it, provided he is convinced that the country really understands the question, and fully knows the cost about to be incurred in order to obtain the satisfaction of that desire. If the country is suddenly become so squeamish and scrupulous that it cannot endure the idea of the State selling a commission—if that be the passion of the people at present, I am quite of opinion that that is a sentiment that ought to be well considered, and, perhaps, deferred to, by a Minister. But, Sir, I say, before a Minister assents to some proposition which is supported by public passion, and which may be a source of considerable expenditure, he ought to be sure that the country really comprehends the question before it; and that when people say they are ready to make a sacrifice to effect their object they may not afterwards repent of their generous indiscretion, and turn round on the Government, and say—"See in what disaster you have involved us." Therefore, as far as the question whether the State should sell a military commission or not is concerned, if the country is of opinion that it is a violation of that sublime equity which becomes a nation, and can afford to pay for what they desire, I think a Minister is quite justified in proposing and prosecuting a scheme for the purpose. But before I come to the consideration of financial details, I must say if that be the case I think there is a great deal in the suggestion which was made in the speech of the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz), a speech distinguished by its common sense, and, indeed, he never speaks without showing much of that quality. I think that point well worthy of consideration. The nation may be so scrupulous as to feel that there ought to be a termination to what they now consider a public scandal—the State selling commissions. But the nation ought to be fully satisfied of that, and, at the same time, to take care that an attempt in this direction shall not increase still more the burdens of the country, whilst in the end it would fail to achieve the object it seeks to bring about. It appears to me, so far as I can form an opinion, that the question for us to consider is not whether it is politic or expedient to promote these arrangements between officers for over-regulation prices, but whether merely as practical men it is in our legislative power and capacity to terminate such practices, and whether we may not be hurriedly induced to enter into a vast expenditure, and find in the end that the very system which we made so many sacrifices to abolish still proceeds and flourishes.

Now, one word as to the cost which we are called upon to incur in order to terminate this system of purchase, which, after all, is only one portion of the Bill, which we are now told is the pith of the Bill, but which, as I have reminded the House, was, and had been, a Parliamentary question for years; whereas, we know the Bill of the Minister is brought forward in consequence of the great events that have recently taken place in the German and French War. We have not as yet any clear estimate given us of the financial results of putting an end to the preliminary and secondary in the Army. The minimum estimate given to us was £8,000,000. Now, in the course of this debate I have endeavoured, so far as the utmost attention could enable me, to ascertain from Her Majesty's Government the data upon which they founded that estimate. All the other estimates that I have seen exceed £8,000,000, and it appears to me that Her Majesty's Government have formed their estimate in somewhat the same way as two years ago they estimated the fortunes of the Irish Church. Having counted on a number of men becoming generals, and a number of men dying, they make their computation as they make estimates sometimes of the national fortunes, when they put to the credit of the nation the amount of all unclaimed dividends. They have gone upon this assumption, that what is due will not be asked for. Now that appears to me to be a dangerous mode of making estimates. The country, I think, must prepare itself for the payment of a greater amount than £8,000,000 as the cost of getting rid of this old military system. Can the country afford to pay for its abolition? If the country can afford it, whether the sum be £8,000,000 or £16,000,000, few could object to such a result, provided the country desires it. But can, I repeat, the country afford it? I, for one, do not take by any means a dark view of our financial position. I have read some estimates made by what are called great authorities on the subject, which are calculated to frighten any person, but I give no heed to them. I have little doubt that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will, after all, be able to meet us with a confident brow. What I desire to impress on the House is this, that we could decide with much more convenience and satisfaction on this question of purchase, so far as its financial aspect is concerned—and I am now confining myself entirely to that—if we only happened to be in possession of that statement which in a very few weeks will be laid before us. Because if this were to happen that the people of this country should find, in the course of a month or so, that they have to incur a new tax in order to do away with the system of purchase, the state of affairs would, I think, be somewhat like that which prevails in a portion of Ireland, recently described by the noble Lord the Chief Secretary for Ireland — it would be intolerable. Now, I want the House fairly to consider that part of the question. I saw an Estimate to-day of what might be the probable cost on the forthcoming Financial Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the contribution which the country might be called upon to make this year for the abolition of purchase. As to the accuracy of that statement, I give no opinion. All I can say is that it appeared in an organ of great financial reputation and of violently Liberal views. By that sum I see that the Government are prepared for a payment this year of a sum not considerably under £1,000,000 sterling. If we plunge without sufficient consideration into a speculative series of measures which may increase the taxation of the country in order to terminate a point of a doubtful character, and about which there is great controversy, the step is one which I cannot but feel we shall not be justified in taking. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire has framed an Amendment as to the question of purchase which has been described by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War as disingenuous. I confess that I was not myself consulted with respect to the Amendment which my hon. and gallant Friend gave us with the impetuous valour which distinguished the Charge at Balaklava. I must, however, say that I cannot believe that there is anything with which he is connected that can be of a disingenuous character; and I can see nothing in the language of my hon. and gallant Friend's Amendment which at all justified such an imputation as that cast on it by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. [Mr. CARDWELL: I made no such imputation.] Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman wishes to make an explanation to my hon. and gallant Friend. I shall, of course, give him this opportunity of doing so. [Mr. CARDWELL: I have no explanation to make.] I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that my hon. and gallant Friend has been suffering from this imputation some time. But now, as my hon. and gallant Friend has got rid of this difficulty, I should be very glad if he would consent to disembarrass us of another, though I cannot suppose that after the appeals which have been made to him by others, any appeal from me will be effective. I cannot help saying, however, that it seems to me to be most unwise, in dealing with a large measure, the second reading of which I believe the majority on both sides of the House wish to see passed, to invite our decision on a limited issue which cannot be discussed to advantage except in Committee. It is in Committee, and in Committee only, that this question of purchase, with all its details, can be satisfactorily settled. It is in Committee only that some modification of the proposals of the Government can be made, and I do not at all despair myself that the proposal which has been suggested by the hon. Member for Birmingham may not in Committee be maturely discussed and considered. There are seeds of compromise which, it appears to me, may be combined with that increased efficiency of our Army which hon. Gentlemen opposite seem to think is so much involved in the abolition of purchase, and that regard to financial discretion of which, I trust, the House in Committee will not forego the consideration. There is another reason why I am anxious, if possible, to go into Committee on the Bill—however I may disapprove some of its provisions—without a Division. This is a subject which at this moment engages the attention not only of this country, but of Europe generally. The eyes of Europe are on England re-organizing her Army. It is, therefore, of importance that we should on the main question show, if possible, an unbroken front. I expressed the same views on the first night of the Session. I then took the liberty of intimating my opinion that whatever might be the measure of the Government when introduced, so long as it was a *bonâ fide* measure for the re-organization of the Army—and I do not think any candid person can doubt the *animus* of the measure, though he may believe its provisions to be inadequate—it should receive at our hands the fairest consideration. The *animus* of the measure is surely good, and the proposal of the Government is the first attempt to weld the three great arms of the country—the Regulars, the Militia, and the Volunteers—into one force. Though many of us may think that the machinery proposed is not sufficient for its purposes, these are not, in my opinion, reasons sufficient to justify us in opposing in any way the second reading. The Committee, then, is clearly the place for the consideration of the Amendment of my hon. and gallant Friend, and where I am in hopes we may come to some arrangement that may meet the views of my hon. and gallant Friend, as well as the full concurrence of the Government. Now, Sir, these are my views on the matter. I am ready to fulfil the expressions I used on the first night of the Session, and whilst supporting the second reading I wish to leave myself open in Committee to propose, and support even, extensive alterations in the Bill; but into Committee I wish the House to go. I hope my hon. and gallant Friend, particularly after having received so complete an explanation from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State will not consider it a point of honour to ask his Friends in this House to support him against the Motion for the second reading; and that we shall be able on the earliest day which the Government may appoint, to consider in Committee many Amendments with the view of making this a more effective and more vigorous measure—above all, one securing to us more adequate and ample means for the military defences of our country.

MR. GLADSTONE: I wish, Sir, if necessary, to add emphasis to the supposed apology of my right hon. Friend near me for an expression which he did not use. For myself, I should say that the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay), whatever else it may be—be it wise or unwise—is certainly very ingenuous. It raises very fairly an important issue on the great question of Army organization, and it calls on the House to affirm that on account of the expenditure necessary for the national defences and other national purposes, it would not be justified at present in voting the public money for the extinction of purchase in the Army. The Amendment fulfils at least one vital condition of a Motion applicable to the second reading of a Bill. The carrying of it would be plainly fatal to the measure, as it is intended to be, and that being so, of course it is for the hon. and gallant Gentleman and others to consider the course which they will take with respect to dividing the House, while we, from our point of view, after five nights' debate, will naturally ask that the voice of the House on the proposal of the hon. and gallant Gentleman should be pronounced "Aye" or "No." [*Murmurs.*] When I say "the voice of the House," I mean that it would not be consistent with our duty to acquiesce in the withdrawal of the Amendment. I mean nothing more. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Disraeli) demands from me distinct notice; and it forms, I think—if I may presume to say so—something in the nature of a land-mark in the history of this question. The right hon. Gentleman not unnaturally expresses disappointment with the Bill of the Government; but, at the same time, he has stated as a reason why the House should not reject the second reading of the Bill that this is the first proposition which has ever attempted to weld into one harmonious whole the three great arms intended for the defence of the country. I think that is a frank and valuable admission. I think, also, that it fulfils the pledge given by the right hon. Gentleman, that he would apply himself to the consideration of this measure in a fair and just spirit; and I hope that, if I proceed in my turn to canvass the criticisms he has delivered, I shall be able to do so in a spirit corresponding with that to which I have just referred. The right hon. Gentleman has taken exception to two parts of the measure—one relating to the Reserves and one relating to purchase. In one portion of his speech he stated that the Bill was the fulfilment of the programme of the Government. Now that, as he afterwards indicated himself to be aware, is far from an accurate description of the case. The Bill of the Government fulfils only so much of the programme and intentions of the Government as forms the legitimate and necessary subject of legislative arrangement; but those portions of military organization which form the necessary subject of legislative arrangement constitute but a limited portion of the entire question. However, the Bill deals with three great questions—one relating to the combination of the arms, on which the right hon. Gentleman has touched in a manner quite accurate. Next, he touched upon the question of Reserves, and complains that my right hon. Friend's provisions on that subject are not satisfactory. He states, and I am glad to hear him say so, that he himself is favourable to the principle of short service so far as it goes, and he is not slow to confess that in some degree there has been a change in his opinions on that subject, due, probably, to the pointed instruction which we have all, in one form or another, been receiving from the great events that have occurred upon the Continent. If I am to judge from the language of the right hon. Gentleman at a time when the Secretary of State for War, under circumstances far less favourable to the acknowledgment of the necessity for military reform, induced the House to adopt the principle of short service, the vote of the right hon. Gentleman was not given as I presume it would be given now. While, however, approving of short service, the right hon. Gentleman is not prepared to admit that short service forms the basis on which we ought principally to found our system of Reserves. I think I may assume that both sides of the House are agreed in the general proposition that what we ought to look to is an Army with the colours relatively small, and Reserves, ready at all times to join that Army in an effective state, which shall be relatively large. Now, as I understand the matter, it is undoubtedly our contention that, for the purpose of providing such an expansion, short service ought to be our principal, and would be our shortest and most effective resource. I understand the right hon. Gentleman to sustain an opposite opinion, and I heard an hon. and gallant Friend on this side of the House concur to-night with the right hon. Gentleman in this respect. He thinks we ought to look not to short service as our principal resource, but to the Militia. Well, if we are to look to the Militia as our principal resource, I ask you what effect the adoption of such a proposition is to have upon the first initial steps for training and arming the Militia? We hold that, for our main Reserves for the Army, we ought to have men who have gone thoroughly through the training of a soldier, so that when called again into the ranks, they may be that which the German Landwehr is—that is to say, worthy in all respects, not only to support the efforts of the Regular Army, but to compete with the Regular Army in its distinctions—nay more, because I am not technically accurate in comparing them with the German Landwehr, that they shall act as Reserves to the Regular regiments of the Army. Is the House prepared to adopt the proposition that it shall be a condition of entry into the Militia that all who come there are to undergo that period of military life and military training that are necessary to raise them to the character of soldiers in that high sense? I hope that the House will consider well what is involved in such a proposition. What sort of demand are you going to make upon a labouring population, whose training for the Militia we have never dreamt of making more than a temporary severance from civil life? Hitherto, I repeat, that training has been little more than a holyday, or such a temporary military training as is compatible with civil life, and I hope the House will consider what is really conveyed by the alternative measure. My belief is, that if you are to look to such a method of procedure you will not improve your Militia force, and that you would be obliged to make changes that would involve a total revolution in the character of that force, and injure it seriously. However, I admit that it is a question that may be very fairly raised and very fairly discussed when we come to deal with the provisions of the Bill. I must, however, take the liberty of saying that I think the objections urged against the Bill by the right hon. Gentleman are plainly in conflict one with another on this head. He said the Militia ought to be your chief resort for your Reserves. Therefore, the Militia must consist of soldiers thoroughly and perfectly trained; and he objects that we do not make an adequate provision for this. What is his other objection to the Bill? That my right hon. Friend (Mr. Cardwell) has inserted provisions which tend to make the Militia less popular, and to repel the people from joining its ranks. What are those provisions? They are the provisions by which my right hon. Friend proposes to lengthen the necessary period of drill and discipline for the Militia. He has not even aimed at inserting such provisions as would be necessary to make the Militiaman an accomplished regular soldier. But thinking it necessary to enlarge the period of attendance for military recruits, he is immediately met—so far, I admit, not altogether unjustly—and told that he is repelling recruits from the ranks of the Militia. If, however, the plan of the right hon. Gentleman is to be adopted, and our Militiamen are expected to join in masses at a moment's notice, not upon an emergency alone, as comrades to our regular soldiers, my right hon. Friend must greatly strengthen these provisions of his, and still more severely repel recruits from the ranks of the Militia. Well, then, with regard to purchase. The right hon. Gentleman at one portion of his speech appeared, I thought, not perhaps fully to appreciate the great importance of this question. What kind of importance it is I will endeavour to describe by-and-by; but the greatness of its importance cannot be over-rated; and such is the view of the Government. Here I must venture to criticize that portion of the speech of the late Secretary for War (Sir John Pakington), in which he said the proposed abolition of purchase was nothing more than a party project and a sop to the Democracy. I am convinced that the right hon. Gentleman was himself endeavouring to look at the Bill in a spirit of impartiality, and I cannot help regretting that he failed so egregiously in giving effect to the good intention. Those Ministers who want to frame party projects and give sops to Democracy would think twice before exposing themselves to the obvious popular disadvantages of pressing, at a period when their duty compelled them to ask for large augmentations of Army expenditure, that the House should incur a special expenditure, which they themselves estimate at £8,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman has adverted to a variety of estimates upon this subject, and I wish to commemorate one which is worthy of being held up to public admiration, but which might possibly be deprived of admiration, as it was delivered at a time when the state of these Benches reminds one of what was said of old—*solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant.* It was the estimate of the hon. and gallant Member for Stamford (Sir John Hay), who showed to his own satisfaction that £38,000,000 would be the real cost of the abolition of purchase. If that be so, I must say the sop to Democracy is not a very skilfully devised one. I think the £38,000,000 was made up first of all of £8,000,000, assuming that to be the first cost, and then of £1,000,000 a-year, capitalized at £30,000,000 more. I cannot object to the right hon. Gentlemen's precepts of prudence which he has laid down in this matter; but I must object to the mode in which he appears disposed to give effect to those precepts of prudence. He thinks that common sense recommends that we should attempt to deal with purchase so far as the regulation price is concerned; but that we should leave the over-regulation prices to look after themselves as transactions between officers themselves, and not make them the subject of legislative interference. It appears to me that such a plan would be the gravest error which in the present juncture could be committed. The right hon. Gentleman treated regulation prices as representing sales made by the Government to the officers of the Army, and over-regulation prices as representing sales made by the officers of the Army to one another. But, as a rule, that distinction is merely a formal one, with respect to the payer and the recipient of the money. The Government are not the recipients of the regulation price for their own use and benefit more than of the non-regulation price. [An hon. Member here named the case of first commissions.] Certainly, in exceptional cases that may be the case; but what do those exceptions constitute out of the total? It would be idle for me to detain the House with these minute exceptions—for minute they are, compared with the great totals involved. Speaking generally, Government are the stewards of the transaction as regards regulation prices, and the payer and receiver are the same in both cases. If, however, the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman were adopted, the consequence would be that the regulation prices would be thrown into the form of non-regulation prices, and you would realize the reproach, that commissions are put up to the highest bidder. My right hon. Friend quoted two opinions on this subject, which may have escaped the notice of the right hon. Gentleman. When in 1824 the question was raised about the declaration made by officers with respect to non-regulation prices, Lord Hardinge stated that the effect of those non-regulation prices was to introduce a constant traffic in commissions, by which officers in the Army were most seriously injured; and Lord Palmerston said that if commissions were permitted to be sold, and the price to be paid was not fixed by regulation, but left a mere transaction between man and man, if every officer were permitted to purchase according to his means and desire of promotion, abuses would occur beyond all calculation. The right hon. Gentleman also says that our calculations of the amount to be paid for the abolition of purchase are unsafe calculations. I admit that is impossible to scrutinize those calculations too sharply in the interests of the public; but let it not be supposed that my right hon. Friend has neglected any means which a responsible Minister is bound to adopt to insure safety, so far as safety can be insured. He founded his calculations on the process of actuaries. How does he supply the actuaries with the cases? He takes the average number of sales in every year and estimates the deaths at the actual rate of deaths in the infantry during the last 10 years, and he takes in each rank, to regulate his future proceedings, the maximum of sales within the last five years, each rank of officers separately. I do not know what error has been committed in the adoption of these rules. I do not mean to say that they are calculated with mathematical precision; but if the sale of commissions are slower than he calculates, the effect will be not to increase, but to diminish the cost of the operation. The right hon. Gentleman has spoken of the measures of the Government as small and inadequate, and seems to think that we have no due sense of the exigencies of the country. It is fair, I think, to bear in mind that my right hon. Friend, as comparing the present Estimates with the Estimates for three years, shows upon them an augmentation of 53,000 men in the Militia, and 20,000 men in the Regular Army at home. We may be censured for the reduction of troops in the Colonies; but so far from admitting the justice of that censure, we pride ourselves on that reduction, which is to be commended in point of policy, as it is convenient in point of economy. In 1868 the Militia Reserve was under 3,000 men; in 1870 it was 20,000 men; and in 1871 it is estimated to be 30,000. I refer to these figures to show that my right hon. Friend has not only been looking into the distant future, but has been making provision for the present. I greatly rejoice that the right hon. Gentleman has given the weight of his authority to the adoption—for so I understand his speech—of the principle that purchase ought to be abolished; and I cannot help hoping that that declaration proceeding from him will sink into the minds of many hon. Members who sit behind him, and will be made by them the subject of reflection—not only of those who sit behind him, but of a few who sit on this side of the House, and will, perhaps, have a more winning effect, and be more operative in carrying persuasion home, than any argument that could be used by us in the position in which we stand. But, still, we think, even with the advantage of the admission he has given us, there will be up-hill work to undergo in dealing with this question, because we are in conflict with a system which, strange and anomalous as it is, is, in the first place, very powerfully represented in this House; and, secondly, in regard to the Army at large, and not merely to those purchasing officers, who are the class almost exclusively represented in this House, it is a system of so old a date, and has fitted itself into all habits and arrangements; and, undoubtedly, to propose to officers of the Army the abolition of purchase is not a mere financial or pecuniary change, but a fresh starting point for a new career. Therefore I should not be surprised if we encounter a good deal of hostile opposition. But it is necessary to put out of the way the apprehensions which exist. Hon. Gentlemen have argued, as if once having got the £8,000,000 which we propose to devote to the abolition of purchase, they are entitled to consider that sum as already appropriated to military objects, and each one indulges his own inclination in showing that fortifications, and guns, and small arms, and arsenals, and various other objects would offer more convenient methods of disposing of the money than the abolition of purchase. But, so far as the Government are concerned, while we have made up our minds that the expenditure of this large sum—for it is a large sum, although not a very large sum when you consider that it is little more than six months of the military expenditure of the country, while it refers to a reform which will spread over a great number of years—yet we must be bound by the assumption that the £8,000,000, if given for the abolition of purchase, must be devoted to other uses instead of remaining in the pockets of the people. It is boldly argued that if purchase is abolished pay or emoluments must be increased in one shape or another, and that is the foundation of all the calculations of the hon. and gallant Member for Stafford (Captain Talbot). Now, I want to know why we are to asume that by the abolition of purchase there must be an increase in the charge on the British public in respect of the officers of the British Army. If that misapprehension which some entertain that purchase represented a price which the State received for its commissions were a sound view of the matter, I could understand the plausibility of the representation that, when you cease to sell commissions, you must expect to obtain the benefit in one way which you lose in another. But this is the true economical statement of the case regarding the officers of our generation, and the officers of the British Army as a whole. The officering of that Army is, at present, loaded with a mortgage of £8,000,000. But how did it come to contract that mortgage, but because it is worth the while of the incoming officers to get into the place of the outgoing officers? If it be worth the while of the incoming officers to pay £8,000,000 to get into the place of the outgoing officers, the place of the outgoing officers is worth £8,000,000 to sell; and if the new generation of officers, instead of paying the £8,000,000 to the old generation of officers, is to come in without paying one farthing, I want to know why this is to constitute the reason for paying increased salary? I represent it in this way, as I read the matter. The abolition of purchase is itself a very large in-increase of pay. I take the cost at £8,000,000, at any percentage you like; I take it at 4 per cent, which will give a sum of £320,000 a-year. I think that is the sum of money which will remain in the pockets of the incoming generation of officers in lieu of the outgoing officers, and I want to know why is this a reason for an increase of pay? That is a paradox which it is very difficult to sustain. I do not enter at the present moment into the quesiton whether the reason is to be this—that the gentlemen officers are to be displaced, and officers of another class who must be wholly dependent on the Army for their means of support are to come in their room. If I believed in that result of the abolition of purchase I should see something to be said in support of that paradox. But my belief about a gentleman officer is this—he is very much like other Englishmen. He is not too fond of work unless he is obliged to work. That I take to be the greatest defect of the wealthy classes of this country. We are not like Germans, where everyone is busy from morning until night to turn to the best account the mental faculties he possesses. That is not the character of the English boy at school—that is not the character of the Englishman in public life, unless you put a pressure upon him. But put a pressure upon him—in popular language called the "screw"—and there is nothing that he cannot do. But, of the various classes of this country, I believe the gentleman class, who, I do not scruple to say, and I hope it will not be offensive, wants a stimulus, does not get a sufficient stimulus; but when made to exert itself, when put into fresh, free, and full competition with other classes — I do not mean by examinations alone—it will hold its own. We should make a great mistake were we to suppose that the abolition of purchase constituted in itself a great reform. I have said this improvement cannot be over-rated; but it is not the institution of a great reform. It is the removal of what we believe an insurmountable impediment to essential reform. It has been said over and over again in this debate that if you want better conditions of education you can have them, and that you may impose whatever regulations you like. I believe—such is my confidence in the liberal spirit and good sense of our officers—that, loaded and saddled as they are with the expense of their commissions, they would endure much in the way of improved regulations; but how is it possible to ask when their offices are their property that they should be subject to that unrestricted handling for which it is necessary that Government should have unrestricted power? It has been assumed in the debate that were purchase abolished almost everything else is to continue as it is. We have heard a great deal about retirements and about admissions to the Army; but that, in my opinion, is a narrow and insufficient view of this question. If the system of purchase is to be abolished at this great cost—I would almost call it this vast cost—the reason why it is to be abolished is, that the whole position of the officers of the

Army may be fully and freely considered, and may be subjected to review in all respects where it may seem susceptible of improvement. It has been said by some that there is nothing to be amended—that where there is anything to be done the officers are always ready and able to do it—that it is invariably and exclusively the civil arm that fails. and that most remarkable declaration, for I hold it to be a most remarkable declaration, by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Berkshire, that the Balaklava Charge was not only *magnifique*, as General Canrobert declared it to be, but likewise agreeable to the spirit of the art of war. Well, Sir, so far as gallant self-devotion is concerned, so far as contempt of life is concerned, so far as sense of duty is concerned, so far as close, and confidential, and affectionate relations of men engaged in the work of war is concerned, I do not suppose that anything can be wanting or added to the officers of the British Army as they are. But has it been sufficiently considered by the hon. and gallant Gentleman, not only that war is a science in the study, but an art in the field—the most difficult of all arts, and that one of all arts which makes the severest demands on those who are called upon to enter upon it? I think it is no slight to the officers of the British Army to say of them what we are accustomed to say of ourselves when engaged in arduous duties—namely, that we fall short in their accomplishment. It is not only the question of retirement and admission into the Army—there is the preparation of the officer for the service—the method of his first appointment; the mode of promotion when in office; the rate at which he ought to be promoted; the number of officers in relation to men; the emoluments of officers in whatever form received; the tenure of the officer; the condition on which the transfer of his services and his retirement should be made—and all this independent of that in which all is summed up—namely, the duties of the officer. Perhaps if I were to refer to what I understand to be the actual state of things in the British Army I ought also to say that a subject of consideration when purchase is abolished would be the system of leave given to an officer, for the liberality of that system which I generally find to prevail, undoubtedly is carried to a point which is not quite consistent with the great object so well described by my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Westminster (Captain Grosvenor) in his able and interesting speech this evening, when he said, speaking in sharp, definite terms, but with immense precision and truth, that we should have, not amateur, but professional officers. Now, if it be difficult to carry on the art of war, where does the knot of the difficulty lie? What are the officers of the Army? They are the brains of the Army, without ceasing to form a most important portion of its manual force. Is it an easy matter; is it a matter to be done without thought; is it to come by accident, that you are to have officers in your Army raised to the highest degree of perfection? How has the Prussian Army been formed? It is not the work of to-day, it has taken half a century to make the Prussian Army what it is—not only half a century, but half a century in a country of traditions the most military in all Europe, because not even France herself has been so military in traditions as Prussia has been under the extraordinary series of warlike Sovereigns whose personal character has contributed, during so many centuries, to make it what it is. And in Prussia it would not have been possible to realize all these results had it not been that she made her last great start under circumstances of distress and difficulty which made exertion absolutely necessary—circumstances of distress and difficulty compared with which our position in undertaking our task is one of ease and security. Our officers have done everything we had a right to expect from them under the rules we had laid down for them, and if I estimate very highly the work yet to be done with reference to them, and if I hold that without the very best system for our officers all other improvements must be looked upon as dust in the balance, because they will want the living centre on which to depend, I hope it will be seen that in being thus conscious of the present deficiency I throw no imputation or blame on the officers of the British Army. I cannot understand for the life of me why the paying of £320,000 a-year into the pockets of a body of gentlemen is to entail a further payment to them in other respects. My right hon. Friend has been complained of for not laying down a detailed scheme of retirement; but if he had done any such thing he would have proved himself unfit for the office he holds. No doubt a scheme of retirement is a matter which it is essential to consider and determine; it is part of a system, all the parts of which are to be balanced one against another; and what is contributed to, or taken from each portion, must influence the whole scheme of retirement. What the Secretary of State would answer is this—if the country is going to pay £8,000,000 it is not for the purpose of getting worse officers than we have now, but for the purpose of getting the very best officers we can. If we have been raising the pay of the soldier, if we have been shortening his service, if we have been endeavouring to improve his condition, if we are so ambitious as even to seek to draw him from a far better and more desirable class than that in which the recruit has in former times been found, it is not that he may have inefficient and ill-trained officers to command him. The idea is to have the very best men and the very best officers; but though we are to have the very best officers they are not to go into the Army by compulsion, they are to go into it by free choice; and it will be an absolute necessity that Parliament should make the conditions of service such as will draw the best men, first, relatively to the duties of the soldier in the ranks; and, second, relatively to the higher duties of the officer. It will also be necessary for Parliament to make provision with regard to future emoluments and future retirements, and other conditions of the officers' position; but it would be unwise in any Minister, in order to curry favour, prematurely to frame a scheme before he is in possession of the essential data upon which the whole of such a scheme must depend. I do not think I need further detain the House, and I am obliged to it for having listened to me with so much patience. I accept the challenge of the right hon. Gentleman opposite in the spirit in which it is given. We should go into Committee expecting, even inviting, criticism, and not with a pedantic assumption that in matters of so much difficulty we have in all cases been able of ourselves to hit upon the right expedient. We shall look for a spirit of co-operation in all those who may join us in endeavouring to adjust the clauses of the Bill, and above all, we shall proceed in this confidence that as we believe in regard to those who sit over against us, so also they will believe in regard to those who have framed this measure, those who have prepared the plans of the Government, and those who sit on this side of the House at large, that we have but one common object in view—an object of the highest and purest patriotism—that is to secure that in the future, if possible even more than in the past, the British Army shall be and remain worthy of the British nation.

Colonel LOYD LINDSAY said, he was well aware he had no right to make a reply; but he wished to offer an explanation in answer to the appeal of the right hon. Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli), the Leader of the party to which he belonged. In the exercise of the discretion which belonged to every Member of the House, he had proposed the Amendment before them; and he did so because he wished the question of purchase to be considered separately and apart from the rest of the provisions of the Bill, and because he deemed it essential that it should be brought prominently before the constituencies of the country. The debate had lasted five nights, and a speech which was made last night by an hon. Member opposite went so straight to the point—["Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must confine himself to what he proposes to do now.

Colonel LOYD LINDSAY said, he simply wished to explain the course he proposed to take, and to give the reason why he did not propose to press the Amendment, for the object he had in view had been answered by the debate. With regard to a matter personal to himself, the right hon. Member for Buckinghamshire was anxious that the expression which the Secretary of State was believed to have used should not be applied to his conduct in moving the Amendment. ["Order!"] The Secretary of State spoke with great kindness towards him, but said that the Amendment was not characterized by "that frankness" which belonged to himself. In a conversation with the right hon. Member for Buckinghamshire he used the word "disingenuous" as expressing the same idea; and his right hon. Friend, with great kindness, endeavoured to obtain a withdrawal of the sentiment, in the reporting of which he accidentally used a word which the Secretary of State did not employ—a mistake for which he apologized. Satisfied with the excellent debate which had taken place, he begged to be allowed to withdraw the Amendment. ["No, no!"]

Mr. CARDWELL said, he certainly was surprised at having attributed to him the word "disingenuous" when he had not used it; and he had not the slightest intention to use any expression which could give pain to the hon. and gallant Member.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday* next.

COUNTY JUSTICES QUALIFICATION AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir Roundell Palmer, Bill to amend the Law disqualifying Attorneys, Solicitors, and Proctors in practice from being Justices of the Peace for Counties, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Roundell Palmer, Sir George Grey, Mr. Spencer Walpole, and Mr. George Gregory.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 77.]

TURNPIKE ACTS CONTINUANCE.

Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into the eighth and ninth Schedules of 'The Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1870.'"—(*Mr. Winterbotham.*)

And, on March 20, Committee *nominated* as follows:—Lord George Cavendish, Sir Robert Anstruther, Mr. Beach, Mr. Wentworth Beaumont, Mr. Wilbraham Egerton, Mr. Hardcastle, and Mr. Welby:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Three to be the quorum.

CONVENTUAL AND MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into the state of the Law respecting Conventual and Monastic Institutions or Societies in Great Britain, and into the terms upon which income, property, and estates belonging to such Institutions or Societies, or to members thereof, are respectively received, held, or possessed." — (*Mr. Villiers.*)

House adjourned at a quarter after Twelve o'clock, till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 20th March, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Poor Law (Loans)* (50).

Second Reading—Justices Procedure (England) (31).

JUSTICES PROCEDURE (ENGLAND) BILL—(No. 31.)—(*The Lord Cairns.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

Lord CAIRNS, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, that the object of the measure was to consolidate the existing Acts which regulated the procedure and practice of magistrates' and petty sessions courts in England. Their Lordships, he thought, would be aware both of the magnitude and the importance of the task which he had undertaken. There were, he was informed, not less than 10,000 acting magistrates in England and Wales, and nearly 1,000 magistrates' or petty sessions courts, and considering the number of persons interested in them, and the number of cases, small in themselves, but important as regarded their consequences decided by them, their Lordships would see the desirability of collecting in one statute the whole of the law and procedure applicable to such tribunals. The only general Acts which at all resemble consolidation Acts, governing the proceedings before justices, were the Acts generally known as Jervis's Acts, which were passed nearly a quarter of a century ago. Those Acts were not complete Acts of consolidation, and were imperfect in many points of detail, and did not give that facility in the administration of justice which was expected of them. Moreover, various circumstances had since necessitated alterations both in the law and procedure of the courts. Although in England we had not as yet any consolidation of the law of procedure, yet in recent years a consolidation of the law in this direction had been accomplished in Ireland and Scotland—in the former country in 1851 by the Petty Sessions Act, 14 & 15 *Vict.* c. 93; and for Scotland by the Summary Procedure Act, 27 & 28 *Vict.* c. 53. The present Bill was originally introduced into the other House in 1865; but, after it had made some progress, the state of Public Business necessitated its withdrawal. Considerable attention had since been paid to the matter with the view of simplifying it as much as possible. Although responsible for the measure in this House, their Lordships were well aware that he had no claim to be its author; but it might be satisfactory to them to know that it had been prepared under the superintendence of Mr. Oke, chief clerk of the Lord Mayor's Court, who was well versed in the subject, and had had large experience both in that court and other petty sessions courts in the country in matters of this description. If their Lordships consent to give the Bill a second reading now he should propose its committal *pro formâ* on Friday week, for the purpose of rectifying some errors in printing and in the arrangement of the clauses, so that after Easter it might go through Committee in the regular way.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Lord Cairns.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the Bill was one of considerable magnitude as regarded the number of its clauses. His noble and learned Friend was quite correct in stating that the last attempt at amalgamating the Acts relating to magisterial procedure was introduced in the other House in 1865, where, however, though it had the cordial support of a large number of acting county and borough magistrates, of the Justices Clerks' Society, and of the Jurisprudence Committee of the Social Science Association, it was not proceeded with; and since that time no further proceedings had been taken. Since the introduction of the present Bill he had made inquiries at the Home Office as to the necessity of such a measure, the result being that no complaint had been made by magistrates of the working of the Acts passed 23 years ago by Lord Chief Justice Jervis, which consolidated all the then existing statutes respecting magisterial jurisdiction. He could not find that any serious defect or impediment had arisen. The Bill contained one new provision to which no objection could be offered—especially as it had been for some time in operation in Ireland—namely, one giving police magistrates the power of keeping order in their courts. Although this purported to be a consolidation Bill, he was informed, as the result of a cursory inspection of the measure by a competent legal authority, that care had not been taken to preserve the language of the old Acts. It was most important that this should be done in a consolidated Act, for the language of every Act was subject to criticism and legal investigation, very few being so fortunate as not to require judicial construction, and when such a construction had been definitively settled, it was very undesirable to deviate from the phraseology, as this might necessitate further argument and a new decision. He did not object to the second reading; but he would suggest the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee, as a Committee of the Whole House was hardly competent to discuss a Bill of this character.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY thought that, considering the number of Peers on Select Committees and the number who usually attended the House, the latter were the more select body. If, as appeared desirable, the Bill were referred to a Select Committee, he would suggest a departure from the inconvenient practice of having it a very large body. Three or five Peers would form a sufficient Committee.

Motion *agreed to*: Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Friday* the 31*st instant.*

GREECE—MURDER OF BRITISH SUBJECTS BY BRIGANDS—MR. F. NOEL.

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY asked the noble Earl the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Whether and when it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to lay before the House such further Papers relative to the Greek Massacres of last year as may show the progress, if any, of the judicial proceedings which were then instituted, and the present position of Mr. F. Noel with regard to that inquiry? He had no wish, he said, to raise debate upon that horrible occurrence, knowing that other noble Lords equally interested in the matter were far more competent to do so; but he was anxious that such further information might be given as would enable the House to discuss the question fully at some future time. It would not be fair to the English Government, to that body which was inaccurately called the Greek Government, or to the other persons concerned, to enter into a discussion on the partial information at present published. His judgment might possibly, of course, be modified by the additional Papers; but as far as the Blue Book of last year went, he could see nothing to cast suspicion on Mr. Noel. It was incredible, indeed, that a gentleman to whom some at least of the relatives of the victims felt a debt of gratitude, should have had any complicity in so horrible a crime.

Earl GRANVILLE said, the Government had no objection to produce the Papers, and believed they would be laid on the Table before the end of the week.

The Earl of CARNARVON said, he was glad to hear the noble Earl's answer, and thanked the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) for the manner in which he had brought the matter forward. It was clearly desirable to postpone a discussion until the House had the whole case before it. He was sure the noble Earl (Earl Granville) would do everything in his power to obtain a satisfactory solution of the matter; but he felt bound to express his great dissatisfaction with the judicial proceedings at Athens as far as they had yet proceeded. Those proceedings tended rather to confuse than to explain the matter, and, while exculpating every Greek functionary who might be supposed to have been a party to the massacre, to throw the whole blame on an Englishman—he being the Englishman who above all those on the spot concerned in the affair seemed to him to have shown special energy, courage, and good sense.

IRELAND—THE WESTMEATH, &c. (UNLAWFUL COMBINATION) COMMITTEE.

QUESTION.

The Marquess of CLANRICARDE asked, Whether Her Majesty's Government intend to postpone any especial action, legislative or executive, with regard to outrages in Ireland until after the Committee of the House of Commons, which has been appointed to inquire into the state of parts of that country and to conspiracies said to exist therein, shall have reported the result of their inquiries; whether that Committee will examine witnesses, and whether the Committee is expected to make a Report before Easter? The noble Marquess said, he thought that, after the congratulatory remarks in Her Majesty's Speech on the state of Ireland, and the slight importance attached therein to exceptions to its general condition, general surprise had been excited by the proposal of a Committee by the Government. As far back as the 24th of last month the Government intimated their intention to ask the other House to sanction the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry, which the Chief Secretary for Ireland said at the time would be a Secret Committee. On the 27th of the same month the Committee was appointed, and it was then announced by the Prime Minister that the Committee would not have the character of secrecy. Since that day no action had been taken by the Government in the matter, and the inquiry, he was informed, had only just begun. In the interval two deplorable murders had been committed—one in Mayo and the other in Leinster. These outrages, therefore, were not confined to Westmeath. The Government had abandoned the original proposal that the Committee should be a secret one, and that it should consider the remedy to be applied; intimating that their minds were already made up, and their object was simply to obtain in a constitutional manner the cooperation of Parliament in the measures to be taken. These were circumstances which induced all who were interested in the welfare and safety of Ireland anxiously to inquire whether the Government intended to wait until the Committee terminated their labours before taking any prompt action with a view to the repression of the appalling outrages perpetrated in that country. Nobody in this House, and but very few in the other House, or in the country, had expressed any doubt as to the condition of parts of Ireland, and no attempt had been made to thwart the action of the Government. He was surprised, therefore, that nothing had yet been done; and if nothing was to be done before Easter, he would ask whether it was desirable that anything at all should be done?

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, I am not aware that I have anything to add to what was stated by my noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack the other day when this question was discussed on a Question of the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Cairns), except to answer the noble Marquess's Question whether the Committee will examine witnesses, and how soon they are expected to report. I am told that they are already hearing evidence, that it is not expected they will examine many witnesses, that they will consume as little time as possible in the inquiry, and that they will report at an early date.

House adjourned at a quarter before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter before Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 20*th March*, 1871.

MINUTES.] — Select Committee — Turnpike Acts Continuance, *nominated.*
Supply — *considered in Committee*—Supplementary Civil Service Estimates.
Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Supplemental * [79].
First Reading—Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons) * [78].
Second Reading—Pauper Inmates Discharge and Regulation * [70].
Committee—Report—West African Settlements * [57]; Local Government Supplemental * [63].
Third Reading—Public Parks, &c. (Land) * [25], and *passed.*

CIVIL SERVICE—PENSIONS' COMMUTATION ACT (1869).—QUESTION.

Mr. MONK asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Government are willing to extend to the other Departments of the Civil Service the privileges accorded to the War and Admiralty Departments under the provisions of the Pensions Commutation Act (1869)?

Mr. BAXTER: My hon. Friend is doubtless aware that the privilege of commutation referred to in his Question was an experiment. It is not at present under contemplation to extend it to the Civil Service.

ARMY—EMPLOYMENT OF SOLDIERS IN TRADES.—QUESTION.

Mr. HANBURY-TRACY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has authorised the preliminary regulations proposed by the Committee for securing the employment of soldiers in trades; whether he has considered the expediency of appointing, in addition to the non-commissioned officers recommended by the Committee, a qualified commissioned officer in every regiment to superintend (so soon as the necessary drills are acquired) the instruction and employment of soldiers in trades on public works and industrial schools in the same manner that instructors of musketry are now nominated; whether his attention has been drawn to the small number of qualified pioneers existing in the Army; whether, considering the great difficulty anticipated by the Committee in the selection of suitable men, it is his intention to offer increased pay to the pioneer force, with the view of bringing that body up to a standard of efficiency equal to the Royal Engineers; and, whether from the experience gained during the last few years, it is now his intention of making the repair of barrack damages and fair wear and tear dilapidations compulsory on the troops inhabiting the various barracks on the Home station, and generally to establish an organised system whereby the spare time of the troops may be utilised to the public benefit and to their own advantage?

Mr. CARDWELL said, in reply, that the preliminary regulations have been authorized, except as regards the position and instruction of the non-commissioned officers in charge of the pioneers. I have approved the appointment of a qualified officer to superintend the workshops and manage the funds. Returns have been called for of the number of artizans who have been tested at their different trades; but the whole of the Returns have not yet been received. I have no proposal before me for increasing the pay of the pioneers. It would not always be practicable to make it compulsory on the troops to repair their own barracks; but it is my desire to turn to the best account the labour of the troops whenever it can be made available.

CURRENCY—HALF-CROWN PIECES. QUESTION.

Sir DAVID SALOMONS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If his attention has been called to the worn condition of the half-crown pieces now in circulation, and to inquire whether it would not be for the public convenience for the Mint authorities to make a fresh issue of that useful coin?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I am far from denying the use or value of two-and-sixpences; but my hon. Friend must not extract from that the admission that the half-crown is a useful coin. It is a coin which has been condemned since 1851, since which time no new half-crowns have been issued. It is manifestly inconvenient to have two large silver coins, such as the florin and half-crown, with only 6*d.* difference between them. Therefore it is not my intention to issue any more half-crowns, and if I could I would accelerate the process of their disappearance. All I can say is, that I hope they may be what is generally called "garbled" in greater numbers than hitherto at the Bank of England, so that they may be gradually broken up and destroyed.

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE—INFANT SCHOOL GRANTS.—QUESTION.

MR. DAVIES asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether a certificated teacher of a mixed school can obtain the grant of ten shillings for infants, provided only there be a separate room and all necessary appliances for an infant school, or is it necessary that there should be a separate certificated teacher as well as a separate room before that ten shilling grant can be obtained?

MR. W. E. FORSTER replied that it was necessary when the 10*s.* grant was given that there should be a separate room as well as a separate teacher; but in schools where there was no separate room, and where the infant school was a class of a general school, the 8*s.* grant would be given, and in that case it would not be necessary to have a certificated teacher in that class.

THE PURCHASE SYSTEM—HIGH POLITICAL OFFICES.—QUESTION.

MR. STACPOOLE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he contemplates the introduction of any measure for the abolition of the purchase system in high political offices, the owners of which are mulcted in considerable sums for Stamps and other fees on their appointments?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, the hon. Gentleman asks me whether I contemplate the introduction of any measure for the abolition of the purchase system in high political offices, from which he craftily means to draw me into the admission that the purchase system does exist in high political offices. I protest against being drawn into that net, and I will therefore pass over that part of the Question. As to whether I contemplate the abolition of stamps and other fees on appointments to high political offices, I have to say that the abolition of stamps I do not contemplate; but I have been for some time inquiring with my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury and other gentlemen into the question of fees, and I do hope I shall be able to do something in that way.

METROPOLIS—CAB REGULATIONS. QUESTION.

MR. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he will state the reason why, under the new Cab Regulations, the driver of a two-wheeled cab hired by distance, but requested by the hirer to wait, is entitled to charge at the rate of eight pence for each period of fifteen minutes, while a four-wheeled cab is only allowed to charge six pence?

MR. BRUCE, in reply, said, the simple answer to the Question was that the time of the Hansom cabmen was more valuable than that of the four-wheeled cabmen. When under the regulations of last year the owners of cabs were allowed to fix their own fares there was an almost unanimous expression of opinion on the part of the four-wheeled cabmen that they would adhere to the old prices, while there was an equally unanimous desire on the part of the Hansom cabmen to be allowed to charge 6*d.* an hour extra as to time. The reason they gave for that was that they travelled faster, and that their horses were better and more expensive. The loss of a quarter of an hour, therefore, would be greater to them than to the four-wheel cabmen. Under these circumstances, he thought it right to sanction the practice which had existed in that respect during the last 12 months.

POOR LAW—MILK SUPPLIES TO UNIONS. QUESTION.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the President of the Poor Law Board, If his attention has been drawn to exposures in the Milk Journal of the 1st of March, regarding the supplies of milk to Shoreditch, Holborn, and other Unions, and the system under which contracts for such supplies are granted by the guardians; and, whether he will institute an inquiry into the correctness of such statements, with the view of applying a remedy?

MR. STANSFELD said, in reply, that his attention had been drawn to the statement on seeing the Question of the noble Lord. He could hardly admit that the statements amounted to what the paper itself called "an exposure," because the result, as he read it, was this—that among the samples of milk which had been analyzed many were supposed to have been lowered by admixture of water, but none were found to have been adulterated. Under these circumstances, he did not think that a case had been made out for inquiry into the correctness of the statements in question. He was free to confess, however, that it might be useful that some inquiry should be made into the methods by which contracts were granted, and he would take the subject into early consideration.

POST OFFICE—COUNTRY POSTMASTERSHIPS.—QUESTION.

MR. KAVANAGH asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether it is true that Her Majesty's Government have determined for the future upon giving the appointments of Postmasters of the country Post Offices to pensioners from the Army and Navy; and, if so, whether he would not also consider the claims of pensioners from the Royal Irish Constabulary; and, whether these appointments will remain as now vested in the Treasury or be transferred to the Post Office authorities?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, the question of making an alteration in the mode of appointing postmasters in country offices had been under consideration, but no decision had as yet been arrived at.

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE.

QUESTION.

MR. WHITWELL asked the Vice President of the Council, When he will communicate to the House, or lay upon the Table the alterations in the New Code?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, the New Code being now in legal operation, I hope to lay on the Table to-morrow the Minute of the modifications proposed by the Government to meet what they supposed to be the wishes of the House, and which they themselves think desirable from the fresh information they have obtained. It may be convenient if I briefly mention them to the House. Article 25 will be altered to allow the attendance of children to be counted between the ages of three and four, though they will not be paid for unless they are four on the day of inspection. As regards night schools, for one year they will be required to be open 60 instead of 80 times, and from each scholar will be required 40 instead of 50 attendances. In the 2nd Schedule the maximum time for which pupil teachers can be obliged to serve will be, as under the Revised Code, six hours instead of five hours per day, and 30 hours instead of 25 hours per week. We had reduced the time thinking it might be too long for the pupil teachers; but we find that the half-time system prevents our maintaining the reduction; and though we must maintain the minimum of two hours per meeting for secular instruction, we do not wish to interfere with the managers if they wish to keep the school open for three hours for either secular or religious instruction. At the same time, we reduce the hours of special instruction by the teachers to pupil teachers from six hours to five hours per week, as was the case in the Revised Code. There will also be some alteration in Article 75, by which managers will be able at once to supply the place of pupil teachers dismissed for misconduct, and as regards half-time attendances, we provide for the exceptional position for this year of children under the Printworks Act. There are two other points. My hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Dixon) seemed to think that in some cases the surplus of educational income might be applied to other than educational purposes; as, for instance, to chapel funds. We believe that we prevent this being done by our administrative arrangements; but to make our intention and practice quite clear we introduce into Article 32, relating to the reduction of the grant, a provision by which the grant is reduced "by any expenditure not for educational purposes out of the income of the school." The only other provision relates to a matter in which many hon. Members take an interest—the teaching of music. For reasons which I have already stated, we cannot this year include music among the special subjects; but on every account we are most anxious to encourage its teaching, and we believe this can be best done by making it part of the school work in all elementary day schools, infant as well as others; and we have, therefore, included among the new Minutes a provision that, after the 31st of March, 1872, the grant to day schools shall be reduced—

> "By one shilling per scholar on the average number in attendance unless the Inspector be satisfied that vocal music is made a part of the ordinary course of instruction."

This provision must, of course, be laid on the Table of the House again at the beginning of next Session; but in the belief that it will be then approved by the House, we state now that it will be inserted in the Code of next year, in order that managers may this year make arrangements for teaching singing in those comparatively few schools in which it is not already taught, and especially in order that the school boards may provide for it in their new schools. By the end of this year we hope also to have arranged for inspection of music.

Mr. SPENCER WALPOLE said, that under the Revised Code it was required that the alterations which might be made from year to year should be so specified that not only the House, but the country generally should be made acquainted with them, and he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is prepared to lay on the Table the new alterations proposed in such terms that hon. Members might see in what they consisted?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER replied that, as regarded the alterations made by the New as compared with the Revised Code, it would be quite impossible to explain them in the manner which the right hon. Gentleman's Question seemed to indicate. To do so it would be necessary to print them in italics or in red letters, or to draw a line through every word of the Old Code. The modifications, however, were so expressed that he thought no hon. Member or manager of a school would be in doubt as to their scope and meaning.

ARMY—COMMISSIONS.—QUESTION.

Mr. LEA asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is aware that a considerable number of Officers hold Commissions, other than honorary Commissions, simultaneously in the various branches of the auxiliary forces; whether he is aware that a considerable number of Officers on full pay, and borne on the strength of Infantry and Cavalry Regiments of the regular Army, also hold Commissions in the Yeomanry force; if it is desirable, in the interest of the public service, that Officers, whether Commanding Officers of corps or not, should hold more than one Commission at a time, either in the regular Army or in the auxiliary forces; and, if it is his intention to put an end to the practice by calling upon such Officers to elect which force they will serve in, and to resign the Commissions they may hold in the other branches of the service?

Mr. CARDWELL replied, that it was intended, within a limited time, to make such provision that two commissions could not be held at the same time by one officer.

NAVY—KEYHAM FACTORY.—QUESTION.

Mr. J. D. LEWIS asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If his attention has been called to the fact that the workmen at the Government Factory, Keyham, Devonport, are leaving their employment in large numbers, owing to the low rate of wages; and, if so, what course he proposes to adopt in order to keep up a sufficient supply of skilled labour in that establishment?

Mr. GOSCHEN replied, that no such representation had been made to the Admiralty. The superintendents of the dockyard, he might add, had been authorized to offer a higher rate of wages in those cases in which a superior class of workmen were required.

EMIGRATION.—QUESTION.

Mr. W. M. TORRENS asked the Under Secretary for the Colonies, Whether any replies to Earl Granville's Circular Despatch of the 14th February 1870, regarding Emigration, have been received other than those from which certain fragments are quoted in the paper termed a Report from Sir Clinton

Murdoch to Sir Frederick Rogers of the 5th August 1870, recently laid upon the Table; and when the Despatches on the subject referred to will be laid before this House?

MR. KNATCHBULL - HUGESSEN said, in reply, that the Report alluded to was made upon all the despatches then received, the pith of which it contained. But as he understood that some sort of promise of the production of the despatches had been made, and his hon. Friend desired to see them, they should be produced as soon as possible, together with two or three Papers subsequently received.

FRANCE—STATE OF PARIS.

QUESTION.

MR. GOLDSMID asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he has any information beyond that which has appeared in the morning papers to give the House, relative to the state of Paris; and, whether it is true that the orders for the departure of the Prussian troops has been countermanded?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am under the impression that no information has arrived in London through the usual channels over and above that which appeared in the morning papers. I understand the hon. Gentleman's Question, however, to refer to official information with respect to the state of Paris, and I have to inform him that we have no further information of that kind. I may say that Lord Lyons has been requested by the French Government to follow them to Versailles, leaving in Paris certain members of the Embassy. With regard to countermanding the departure of the Prussian troops we have no information.

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY.—QUESTION.

MR. MUNDELLA asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether offices and other business premises left in charge of a watchman and his wife are subject to the Inhabited House Duty?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, a house would not be liable to the duty under the circumstances mentioned by the hon. Member.

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

ARMY RETIREMENT.—RESOLUTION.

MR. TREVELYAN, in rising to move the following Resolution:—

> "That, in order to check the creation of vested interests which would have to be considered in arranging a sound and equitable system of retirement, no appointment should in future be made to honorary colonelcies,"

said, that during the last six months no question had so deeply interested the country as a comparison of our own military arrangements with those of Prussia. It was constantly asked how she was able to produce results so great at so small a cost. In endeavouring to supply an answer to that question he would point out that Prussia had only 150 generals for an Army of 300,000 men. Of these 150 generals every one was on active service, having a definite duty always to perform, and continuing an active general only so long as he performed that duty. There were 13 generals of districts, 28 generals of division, 4 generals inspectors of cavalry, 52 generals of infantry brigade, 27 generals of cavalry brigade, 13 generals of artillery brigade; the total number, as he had stated, being 150, whose pay and allowances amounted to £100,000 a-year for an Army of 300,000. When any of those generals retired he went on the pension list, and there were 473 generals on that list, at a cost of £120,000, or in other words, there were altogether 623 generals in the Prussian service, the charge for whom was £220,000. Now, what was the state of the case in the English Army. We had on full-pay and receiving pay as colonels of regiments 199 generals, on retired full-pay 177, on unattached or half-pay 204, or a total of 580. It was very difficult, so delusive were the Estimates, to ascertain the exact cost of this staff of generals; but, as nearly as he could ascertain it, he found it to be as follows:—For those employed on Staff pay £25,000; for honorary colonelcies, £162,500; salaries, including those paid at the Horse Guards and under other heads, £15,000; full-pay of general officers, £72,800; distinguished services, £9,000; generals of Royal Artillery and Engineers, £36,000; and the unattached half-pay paid to officers of the rank of general, £51,000; making a total annual cost of £371,000. The result was that, while the Prussian Army on a peace establishment consisted of 300,000 men, with 150 generals, or 1 to every 2,000, our peace establishment consisted of 133,000 men, with 43 generals employed on active service, or 1 to every 3,300. Our expenditure, as compared to the Prussian expenditure, was as 5 to 3, and the service obtained from the generals was as 5 to 19. Each general employed cost the Prussians £1,467, while in the English service each general employed cost £9,275, the active and retired being calculated in both cases. The real cause of the great expenditure upon this head in the British service was that there was no fixed establishment of generals in proportion to the real wants of the service. In our immense list it was difficult to say of a single officer whether he was an active or a retired servant of the public. Two great principles appeared to have been lost sight of, the one being that rank should always mean service, and that a man when promoted to the rank of general should, at the same time, be appointed to discharge a certain share of the duties distributed over a certain number of general officers. The next principle lost sight of was that everybody should be paid either in the shape of salary for what he was doing, or in the shape of a pension for what he had done. When unable to perform the functions of a general the officer holding that rank should be retired on a pension, which ought never to be increased or diminished. At present there were 839 colonels and lieutenant-colonels on our lists. It was said that the purchase system quickened promotion; but the youngest of those colonels would have from 20 to 25 years to wait before he could become a major general. Then there was a practice in operation of promoting to unattached rank on half-pay, so that some officers not only got a salary for doing nothing, but they actually received promotion while they were doing nothing. The Commander-in-Chief was not to blame in the matter, for he had no choice; the Duke of Cambridge had himself stated that the immense unattached list had been greatly swelled in order to compensate poor officers who could not purchase promotion, while as to the richer officers who could afford to purchase, the Duke of Wellington had distinctly defended the system, observing that as a man who reached the rank of colonel could not sell out, his money was sunk in the service, and would be lost to himself and his family for ever. The Government had brought in a Bill to abolish purchase in the Army; but declined to name the amount of the retirement. He did not question the wisdom of this course; but maintained that, before proceeding further with that Purchase Bill the Government were bound to state whether they intended to utilize the present means of retirement. About £500,000 a-year went in retirement already, and one of the largest of the items which made up the sum was caused by these honorary colonelcies. The institution of these honorary colonelcies dated from the time when noblemen, attached to the Hanoverian dynasty, kept up regiments in the character of territorial magnates. The colonels of those regiments contracted to pay their men, and to supply them with clothing and equipment, on consideration of receiving a certain lump sum from the public Exchequer. Any person who had read Horace Walpole's letters would be aware that some of those regiments were very nice jobs. In 1707 the Army regulations, in rather clumsy language, stated—

> "The sole responsibility of the colonel for the pay and equipment of his regiment is the principle of military finance, who is held responsible in his fortune and his character for the discharge of his duty in providing the supplies of his regiment."

Now, he believed that the public opinion at present was tending towards the view that the military officer in command should be responsible for the finance and commissariat of his command; but he should have no pecuniary interest in the matter. His responsibility should be that of an administrator, not of a contractor. The colonel who received the lump sum from the Exchequer found it necessary to have an Army agent in London, and the men who were the present Army agents were simply the successors of those first agents who were the confidential men of the territorial magnates. The matter had been inquired into several times, and in 1854 Lord Herbert gave the colonels a fixed sum, but continued their responsibility for the clothing; but in the next year that was taken away by Lord Palmerston, who left the colonelcies pure, unadulterated, and unmitigated sinecures. In the bad early days there used to exist a system of rewarding public servants with pensions on the Civil List, and by sinecure appointments; but there was now a regulated system of pensions in proportion to the length of service and amount of salary. This equitable and impartial system had not penetrated to the Army. There were 10 colonels at £2,200 a-year, 2 at £2,000 a-year each; 4 at £1,800 each; 28 at £1,350; and the remainder at £1,000 each; the total cost—leaving aside the payments to colonels-commandant of the Artillery and Engineers—being upwards of £160,000 a-year, and in many cases these colonelcies were far from being pensions in the right sense of the word. At least £25,000 or £26,000 a-year of the money was given in payment to officers who were now receiving salaries from the Crown. The Commander-in-Chief — and in all the cases he mentioned he wished to be understood as speaking without the slightest personal motive—received £4,000 a-year and a colonelcy of £2,200; the Adjutant General had £2,000 a-year with a colonelcy of £1,000; and the Military Secretary, whose office was a great abuse, would receive under the new arrangements £1,500 a-year in place of £2,000, and a colonelcy of £1,000. Either the salaries of those officials were sufficient for the duties imposed upon them, or they were not. If they were sufficient there was no need for the colonelcies in addition, and if the salaries were insufficient they ought to be increased by being raised in amount, and not by the addition of colonelcies. The late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Childers) had established a system of pensions in the Navy which had worked very well. That right hon. Gentleman had fixed the pensions of admirals at £850 per annum, of vice admirals at £725, and of rear admirals at £600; and these pensions had been sufficient to tempt 8 admirals out of 20, 8 vice admirals out of 24, and 20 rear admirals out of 48 to accept retirement, reducing the list of admirals from 92 to 58. Pensions on this scale, therefore, were fairly sufficient for men in that rank of life and that standard of expense. In the Ordnance Corps the colonel-commandant received £994; the pay of a general officer was £600. The prizes for Marines were something over £700 a-year, and the ordinary prizes for other corps were £600 a-year; 700 was, therefore, a fair average pension for a general officer. That was at the rate of twice or three times the sum consumed every year by one man. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington) said the other evening—

> "I desire to disclaim on my own part any defence of the system of honorary colonelcies, for I think the system is not a good one, and might very easily be improved."—[3 *Hansard*, cciv. 1888.]

That from the lips of the right hon. Gentleman, when translated into language used by Gentlemen below the Gangway, was that its history and origin proved it be an ancient and indefensible abuse of the first order. He might be allowed to state how he thought the establishment of generals should be constituted. At the very outside we should have 60 generals in active service. We did not want 40. In such an Army as ours even 60 generals could not be empoyed. We should have no supplementary generals; but when new duties arose an officer should be promoted for them, for, in administrative matters, one man appointed on promotion was worth two taken off the redundant list. Sixty generals at £1,000 a-year, consolidated pay and allowances, would be more than adequate for the whole service. Suppose there were 180 retired generals—and no one should be allowed to retire until he had had gone through the duties of a general—at the rate of £700 a-year, that would amount to £186,000 a-year, instead of £371,000. So that on the generals alone three-fourths of the money required for abolishing purchase would be saved. Now, in organization, if any good was to be done the matter should be taken in hand at once. He hoped, therefore, the Government would ascertain forthwith how many generals were really wanted, and then select those who by age and abilities ought to be on the active list, rigorously and in the most determined manner insisting that all the others should be considered retired. Nothing would give greater confidence to the country than that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Cardwell) should come down to the House and say he found so many generals could be saved, and that he would not employ one single man more. The House must be aware that a large number of general officers had sacrificed their regulation prices for a great many years to put themselves in a position eventually to succeed to these honorary colonelcies, and the course which ought to be taken with them was plain. There should be adopted, as at the Admiralty, a substantial system of pensions equal to the expectation each might have to an honorary colonelcy. Each should succeed to a pension as an honorary colonelcy fell vacant, and they should be allowed to commute their hopes for money down. These reforms would require determination, and even audacity, but the occasion was no common one. It was necessary that Parliament and the Government should rise to it. Let them take the opportunity of abolishing purchase to arrange the active and retired list on a rational and economical basis. He hoped the Government would declare that the morbid growth which had accumulated around purchase for two centuries should cease, and the country would see them through it. He entreated the right hon. Gentleman to pause before he committed himself to the principle that it was better in the interests of the Exchequer and the public to tempt men into a service by distant, large, uncertain prizes, rather than by ascertained, well-regulated, and moderate pensions. If that were the opinion of the Cabinet they had better at once reverse the policy of the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), and establish 80 or 100 post captaincies of £2,000 or £1,500 a-year each, giving all the best of them to the Lords of the Admiralty. He hoped, to obviate the necessity for a Division, the right hon. Gentleman would assure the House that he would fix a working establishment of generals, and arrange a sound and equitable system of retirement, as an earnest to the country that he was going to deal in a searching and courageous spirit with our unmanageable and unintelligible Army expenditure. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

Mr. A. BROWN, in seconding the Motion, said, he would not follow his hon. Friend in the history he had given of these honorary colonelcies, which, no doubt, was both correct and concise. It was a great mistake to suppose, as he had himself at one time imagined, that honorary colonelcies were given as the reward of distinguished services. In fact, in two instances honorary colonelcies were held by officers who had not even war medals. The proper system was that rewards for distinguished service should come before the House in the shape of Votes in the Estimates, and not of appointment by the Horse Guards, over which the House had no control.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in order to check the creation of vested interests which would have to be considered in arranging a sound and equitable system of retirement, no appointment should in future be made to the paid colonelcy of a regiment which did not involve the active command of the regiment,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan,*)

—instead thereof.

Mr. CARDWELL: In addressing the House the other evening I stated that when the question of retirement came to be considered, there was a sum of more than £500,000 already paid in the form of retirement, which would have to enter into the consideration that would have to be given to the subject, and that of that sum a considerable amount was paid in honorary colonelcies. In many of the remarks of my hon. Friend I entirely agree; and I am not at all disposed, any more than the right hon. Baronet (Sir John Pakington) who preceded me in the office I have the honour to hold, to enter upon a defence of the system of honorary colonelcies. I quite agree in the doctrine that has been laid down that any payment of a sum of money which is received for the service of the State should have the form of either pay or pension; and it is as a pension that the payment to an honorary colonel should in general be regarded. It is the change of the ordinary pay of a general officer from a sum of not quite £500, to a sum, except in certain cases of larger amount, of £1,000. My hon. Friend who seconded the Motion said these honorary colonelcies were not given for distinguished service; but that is certainly not according to my experience, for I do not think that during the time I have had the honour to be in office a single appointment of this kind has been made in which the recipient has not been a very distinguished officer. There is, of course, something to be said for not having a uniform scale of pensions and retirement, and for having the power of selection, so that distinguished and gallant service in the field may have its special reward. That, however, need not be accomplished by the particular mode which is now adopted; and it is a very fair subject for consideration, whether that mode ought to be adopted, or whether there are not other and better modes which can be adopted for accomplishing the same ends. I think it is also most desirable to consider whether the present scale of establishment of general officers is the scale which ought to be established, whether it is established on right principles, or whether, on the contrary, it would not be better to adopt the plan by which service as a general should be made the mode of arriving at the rank of general. The system of retirement is a subject of the greatest possible difficulty. It has been a great subject of consideration in the Navy; and when the purchase system is abolished it will be a subject of the greatest care and interest with regard to the Army. In times of peace, of the officers who constitute the officers of the Army a very large proportion—about one-sixth—will usually be over 60 years of age. It therefore follows, as a matter of course, that in some mode or other you have to make a provision for those who have given you their youth, their strength, and the best portion of their life, and who have arrived at a period when they are no longer capable of active exertions, and when it is no longer suitable that they should be employed in the junior ranks of the service, and, of course, you have not, in the higher ranks of the service, anything like a sufficient number of offices to find occupation for them. Therefore, either by pension or retirement, or in some other way, you have to make provision for a large proportion of men in the service who are most advanced in life. The present establishment of general officers was fixed after an inquiry by two Royal Commissions, the last of which reported about 12 years ago. My hon. Friend the Member for the Border Burghs wished that I should accomplish what is necessary in about two months; but I wish to do it well, upon sound principles, and in such a way as will give satisfaction to the House and to the service. In the first place, I think we had better dispose of the question of purchase, because this matter is very much connected with the question. The truth is that when an officer arrives at a certain period of service—namely, when he holds the highest regimental commission—he is obliged to make his choice between one of two things. If he desires to realize the large sum of money which the regulation and the over-regulation prices produce, he must retire from the service by the sale of his commission; if, on the other hand, he seeks to obtain the prizes of the profession, which are given to general officers, then he forfeits his money; and, as my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay) told us the other evening, it is the best officers very often who forfeit their money. In dealing, then, with this whole question of rewards to general officers, it is absolutely necessary to consider the vested interests, not only of those who are now regimental officers, but the vested interests of those who, being general officers, have forfeited their money by avoiding the sale of their commissions, in the hope of obtaining a share in the rewards that are at present assigned to general officers. Now, when you are dealing liberally with the vested interests of those who are retiring by the sale of their commissions, it would be a misfortune and a mistake if you were to fail to do liberal justice also to those who have not availed themselves of the opportunity of selling their commissions, who have not retired, but who have gone on as general officers in the expectation of receiving the customary rewards of the service. Having, therefore, the same object in view as my hon. Friend, it appears to me that it would be premature for the House to come to the proposed conclusion on the subject. The whole question is so large, and requires to be dealt with with so much care and circumspection, that I think it would be prudent in the House to keep its own hands free, and to leave the hands of the Government free for a thorough investigation of the subject. I assure the hon. Member if I oppose his Motion it is not that I have the smallest desire to avoid going into the matter in the completest manner possible; it is, on the contrary, because I desire that what is to be done shall be done with complete knowledge, and with the most complete regard for the interest of the public and of the gallant officers concerned. On these grounds I recommend my hon. Friend not to press his Motion to a Division, and not to ask the House to commit itself on the subject. Bearing in mind that we are abolishing purchase, and that we are making the most liberal contribution for the purpose of dealing equitably with the interests of those who sell, we should be extremely careful not by any hasty measure to anticipate the conclusion at which we should arrive, or, in the smallest degree, to prejudice the interests of those who have not sold their commissions, but have waited in order to obtain the highest rank in their profession.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON: I very much agree with what has just fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, for I think it would be premature, in the position in which we now stand, and considering the extensive plans that have been submitted to us and the country, to commit the House to any decision on the subject raised by the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan). I cannot help hoping that the hon. Gentleman himself will be of opinion that there is sound reason in what has been urged by my right hon. Friend opposite. With regard to what has been said by the hon. Member for the Border Burghs, as to what ought to be our future establishment of general officers, I am not disposed to say that the establishment does not require revision and reconsideration. But, on the other hand, I do not approve of independent Members of the House, by their own motion and their own will, presuming to prescribe what ought to be that establishment. That is exactly one of the duties which devolve upon the Executive, which ought to propose to the House what is the establishment which the interests of the country require; and then it is for the House to exercise its judgment, and decide whether it concurs in the views of the Government. I am not inclined to follow the hon. Member for the Border Burghs, or the right hon. Gentleman, into the question of retirement. It is the largest and most difficult of the questions which must be considered by the House, in consequence of the plans which the Government have brought forward; and there can be no doubt that when we come to consider the proposal of Her Majesty's Government with regard to this retirement question, we shall have to consider the imposition upon the country of a very large addition to the present cost of the British Army. I did not follow the statements of the hon. Gentleman quite accurately with regard to what his ideas were as to the cost of retirement which would be involved in the plans of the Government; and particularly I did not quite understand either his view, or the view of my right hon. Friend opposite, as to the large amount—I think they said £500,000—which would be available hereafter towards the expense of retirement. I apprehend the hon. Gentleman to have referred in that statement to the present cost of honorary colonelcies. [MR. TREVELYAN: Yes.] But the cost of these honorary colonelcies is not the payment made to general officers. However, that and every other form of service must be considered; and I am glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State that which I think the House cannot call in question for a moment, that good faith must be observed with these gentlemen.

MR. TREVELYAN: I think if the right hon. Baronet had attended to me he would have known that I went into the question, and showed how good faith ought to be observed.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON: The hon. Gentleman did not go into it in any way to convince me that such a sum would be saved to the country, or available for the retirement which must come upon us. But the point most prominently brought forward by the hon. Member in his Motion and in his speech is, whether or not the system of honorary colonelcies should continue. There I am bound to say I do not agree in the opinion that they should continue. I have always thought that system an anomaly, and a most objectionable mode of paying for the services of officers. A senior officer is receiving what certainly must be regarded, under the circumstances, as very limited compensation for his services and money. He is paid £450 a-year, and yet when a general officer who holds an honorary colonelcy succeeds, he suddenly comes in for £1,000 a-year. That ought to be revised; and it is evident that the matter will not escape the notice of Her Majesty's Government. But it would be premature to commit the House to any decision upon the subject at present, and I trust the hon. Member will not press his Motion.

Sir JOHN TRELAWNY stated that when a late Government was in office, he moved for Returns in regard to honorary colonelcies, and the Returns were unopposed by General Peel; but when he (Sir John Trelawny) found that they would take three months' labour of one clerk to prepare, he hesitated to cause so much expense. From that hour to this he had regretted his hesitation; because, had such Returns been presented, the House would have been able to see what services had been rendered by the officers who had received those high rewards. Before the Irish Church Bill was passed a Resolution was adopted by the House prohibiting the filling up of certain appointments becoming vacant in the Church. This was an analogous case, for by delaying the filling up of honorary colonelcies they would pave the way for the reform in the Army which the Secretary of State was prepared to carry out. He did not agree in the view of the right hon. Baronet (Sir John Pakington), that Members below the Gangway were presumptuous in bringing Motions of this kind before the House. It could hardly be presumptuous to protect the taxpayer, who, after all, counted for something. When he saw that right hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the Table were agreed in opposing such a Motion as that of the hon. Member for the Border Burghs, he was at once "wide awake," at once suspecting that there was an abuse somewhere. He, therefore, was prepared to support his hon. Friend if he went to a Division.

Mr. J. B. SMITH said, he had some difficulty in supporting the proposition for the abolition of purchase, because it was unaccompanied by any statement on the part of the Government as to the system which they intended to substitute for it. When the House was called upon to vote so many millions for the abolition of purchase it ought to know what it was about to do. Returns which he had obtained, embracing the period from the Peace of 1815, up to the present time, showed the curious fact that the longer they remained at peace, the greater became the number of admirals, generals, and officers; whereas, one would naturally have expected an opposite result. In 1815, at the close of a war of 22 years, we had 658 general officers. These were gradually diminished till, in 1850, there were only 326; but in 1870, after 55 years of peace, they had increased to 580. In 1815 we had 319 colonels and lieutenant-colonels; in 1870 the number had increased to 525 on full-pay, while the number on half-pay had increased from 57 in 1815 to 324 in 1870. In the Navy, at the close of the war, 1816, there were 242 admirals; these were reduced by 1846 to 153; but in 1870 the number had risen to 303. He hoped the Secretary of State for War would not press the House to vote for the abolition of purchase until he was prepared with a substitute for that system. He did not see why the changes proposed by the right hon. Gentleman could not be made in two months as well as in two years. When they came to the details of organization he had no doubt it would be found that many officers were inadequately paid. According to his opinion every man should be adequately paid, and he did not think that the present pay of officers would be, under the circumstances of the new arrangements, such as they were entitled to receive. But the number of officers might be very much reduced, for we had nearly double the number in proportion to rank and file that was sufficient for the Prussian armies. Prussia had been held up as a nation that managed her military affairs better than other nations, and of that she had given good evidence in the late war. Why, then, should we have twice as many officers to the rank and file that Prussia had? Under these circumstances, he recommended the Secretary of State to review his determination.

Colonel STUART KNOX said, he hoped the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) would force his Motion to a Division, because by that the House of Commons would show the hon. Member and the country that they valued the services of distinguished officers. Appointments to honorary colonelcies were not worth £1,000, as the hon. Gentleman represented; for officers of the Line obtaining them had already £450 a-year, and, in some cases, £550, all of which was given up on obtaining the £1,000 a-year, the pay of a colonel of a regiment. The hon. Gentleman, while "stumping" the provinces, had received great ovations, and had not allowed anybody to answer his speeches; and the consequence was that he now came down to the House and dictated to Her Majesty's Government the mode in which they were to carry out this scheme. Instead of merely puting a Motion before the House, the hon. Gentleman told the Government they must act within two months. The hon. Member had fallen into one or two inaccuracies. He had included in his list of generals a number of generals who had retired on full-pay. Most, if not all of them, never were generals at all. They were colonels who had been allowed to retire with the honorary rank of generals, and therefore their appointments had nothing to do with the real list of generals. The hon. Gentleman said the Military Secretary always received his appointment in addition to the colonelcy of a regiment. Now, to his (Colonel Stuart Knox's) own knowledge, the present Military Secretary did not obtain the colonelcy of a regiment until the lapse of some years after he had received his appointment of Military Secretary; and therefore it was evident that both appointments were not necessary. He thanked the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War for having plainly stated that officers who had decided not to sell their commissions were entitled to the appointments under discussion; and he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman whether colonels who in the future did not sell, but went in under the new system to be generals, would not have the same right.

Mr. CARDWELL said, he could not accept any representations of his views on this question, unless they were expressed in the words he had himself used.

Mr. WHITWELL observed that the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) had distinctly laid down the principle that the vested interests of these officers must receive consideration. He (Mr. Whitwell) thoroughly approved the step taken by the Government to reform the Army. He believed that the right hon. Gentleman had long considered the necessity of reforming the Army, and that the Army Bill was not the product of a panic, but a measure which the right hon. Gentleman thought the interests of the country required. It would, in his opinion, be a great advantage if the list of generals were so modified that it should contain the names only of such as were fit to command an Army; or, in other words, that those only should remain on the active list in whom the country had confidence. He hoped that the Government would come to the conclusion that no more honorary colonelcies should be filled up.

Major General Sir PERCY HERBERT said, the Return which had been presented to the House was calculated to mislead those who did not belong to the profession, and he wondered that neither of his gallant Friends on the Treasury Bench had risen to correct the error into which many hon. Members had naturally fallen. It was only right that when hon. Members took up a Return in good faith, and were misled by it, some of the military Members of the Government should set them right. Many of the 150 general officers who were described in the Return as having retired on full pay he apprehended to be regimental lieutenant-colonels, with the brevet rank of colonel, but who had retired on the full-pay of the lower rank, the step of honorary rank as general officers having been given in order to induce them to retire from the service upon the smaller rate of pay.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 204; Noes 111: Majority 93.

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

ARMY—PROMOTION BY SELECTION.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. STAPLETON rose to call attention to the difficulty of selecting Officers for regimental promotion through the Horse Guards in such a manner as to give general satisfaction, and to the advantage which might be derived from the examination of Lieutenants and Captains in the order in which they might offer themselves, with a view to their promotion from lists so constituted. He heartily supported Her Majesty's Government in their endeavour to abolish the system of purchase in the Army; but he was afraid that, if the system of promotion by selection were adopted in its place, a greater evil would be created than that which it was sought to get rid of. Very strong objections existed throughout the country to the adoption of the system of promotion by selection, as calculated to induce young officers to depend rather upon the favour of their superiors, and even upon influence brought to bear upon Ministers, than upon rendering themselves fit for promotion. Sir John Burgoyne, in his letter, which had recently been published, expressed his opinion that it was a fallacy to suppose that the best men in the Army would be selected for promotion, and he added that the performance of regimental duties in time of peace afforded no criterion for estimating the qualities of an officer, so as to justify the supersession of the senior officer by the junior. The right hon. Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington) had also shown that the system of selection would not work well, arguing from his experience in the Admiralty. He (Mr. Stapleton) would go further in his opinion; selection in the Navy had not caused the best men to come to the top. He could not, otherwise, account for the fact that there had been fewer men who had attained distinction in the Navy than in the Army; although the education of midshipmen had been cared for when that of ensigns was not. They had, no doubt, been passed over in consequence of a system of favouritism. They had been told that they should follow the system of the Austrian, French, and Prussian Armies. The Austrian Army, however, had suffered two defeats, and the Government was employed re-organizing it. As to the French Army he would say nothing. In Colonel Stofell's report on the Prussian Army, which appeared lately in *The Times*, it was stated that—

> "In order to appreciate properly the advantages offered to Staff officers, it must be remembered that promotion in the Prussian Army is by seniority. The King has the power to promote an officer at pleasure, but he seldom makes use of this prerogative, and, as the proportion of officers so promoted does not exceed a thirtieth or a fortieth of the whole, it may be said that promotion goes by seniority."

In the face of that, it could not be said that promotion in the Prussian Army was by selection. He was not advocating a system of mere seniority, because they must have a principle of promotion that would enable young men to rise over the heads of those older than themselves. The plan he proposed might be described as seniority tempered by examination, or selection guided by examination. And here he would again refer to the Prussian Army. Colonel Stofell, in his report, went on to say—

> "Officers, however, on the general Staff of the Army gain, on the average, from seven to eight years' advantage."

And how did they get on the general Staff? Colonel Stofell said—

> "Every lieutenant, to whatever arm of the service he might belong, can, after he has served three years with his regiment, present himself for entrance to the War Academy in Berlin. This is a school of higher military instruction, unequalled by any in Europe, not only in regard to the merits of its teachers, but also in respect of the nature and extent of the studies."

He begged the House to observe that there was no selection here; that every lieutenant was at liberty to present himself. Colonel Stofell also described the programme of the studies pursued in that institution, and then proceeded—

> "After a searching examination, for which, on the average, about 120 present themselves, 40 lieutenants enter this Academy yearly, all with a greater or less desire to qualify for the Staff. The course of study lasts three years, commencing on the 1st of October. The first year's course lasts nine months, after which the officers return for three months (the 1st of July to the 1st of October) to their respective regiments, to take part in the autumn manœuvres. . . . . . After three years all the lieutenants are sent back to their regiments without any final examination or class list. The professors and the director of the Academy report to General von Moltke those who have shown themselves to be the most able and zealous. Twelve of these are chosen, taking care that among them are officers of each of the three arms (Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery), and in the course of the year following their departure from the Academy each one is sent for six or nine months to a regiment of another branch of the service."

There, it might be said, there was something like selection; yet the selection was not arbitrary, but was guided by careful examinations. After those gentlemen were actually sent to the Army, they had to make reports on what they had seen. Their names were concealed under seal, and their further promotion depended on the result of the considerations of those reports. Now, in our Army we already had the system of examination. Every subaltern underwent an examination before he became captain; and if they wished to promote the ablest officers without exciting jealousies let officers' names be placed on a list for promotion according to the order in which they passed an examination, which ought to be rendered as comprehensive as possible. It should include things military and things general. It should even include what Professor Huxley described as physical instruction. Each officer should be allowed to tender himself for examination as soon as he considered himself ready. He did not say, however, the examination should be a severe one, except in the higher grades. There were as many captains as lieutenants, therefore the first examination might be one which all could pass in time. The abler men would have this advantage—that they would get on quicker because they would be sooner ready. But as the number of field officers was less than that of captain, the second examination should be made severer, so as only to let through as many as were required. This examination might include field operations, for which the camps of instruction would afford an opportunity. The hon. Member also quoted the opinion of Sir John Burgoyne that the alleged necessity of preventing a recurrence to the system of purchase by private arrangements between officers could not justify the adoption of the system of selection proposed by the Government. He agreed with several Members of that House, as well as with Sir John Burgoyne, in thinking that the bonus system, as it was called, was not so great an evil as the Government supposed. He also thought that there were other provisions in the Government scheme of Army Reform—as the enforcement of the five years' rule in the case of field officers—majors as well as colonels—which would prevent the possibility of its growing up in an aggravated form. Officers would not give large sums to buy out superior officers, who must retire anyhow in a few years.

COLONEL SYKES, speaking from many years' experience, and from circumstances which had come to his own knowledge, held that the system of purchase was injurious both to the individual officer and to the public interests. A man might spend a fortune before arriving at the rank of major or lieutenant-colonel, and having probably a family to provide for would be obliged to quit the Army by the chance of death, when he would lose every shilling he had invested, at the very time when, from his experience in different parts of the world, and his military qualifications, his services would be most valuable to the country. He therefore entirely approved that portion of the right hon. Gentleman's scheme which dealt with the abolition of purchase; but his opinion was very different with regard to the principle of selection for promotion. His right hon. Friend the Secretary for War said they would not be able to get on without selected officers; but did his right hon. Friend mean that he would have to select a subaltern from some other regiment when a subaltern's vacancy occurred, or when a captain's occurred, that he would have to select a captain from some other regiment, and the same with regard to the other officers? That would be entirely subversive of regimental organization and of discipline. Let his right hon. Friend look to the Indian Armies. Not one of the 5,000 officers in the Armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay rose by selection; each rose in his regiment. They entered in the regiment as ensigns, and were promoted to be captains, from captains they became majors, and the whole majors and lieutenant-colonels were thrown into seniority tests in their respective armies, and were promoted by seniority. Why should not the same principle be adopted in England? It had worked well in India for 67 years, and he himself had risen in that manner in his own regiment without favouritism. The system had produced men of ability in India, and history recited hundreds of illustrations. The present Commander-in-Chief in India was one of those very men, and had been educated at the East India Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe. Unfortunately, since the destruction of the Indian Army by its conversion into Irregulars, a system of selection had prevailed; that was to say, the 22 officers who had formerly belonged to a regiment, and who had risen as he (Colonel Sykes) rose, were now reduced to six officers, and they were selected, and; unhappily, were not necessarily appointed to the regiments in which they had risen. And what did the men in the ranks say in consequence? They said—" Our father and mother are gone, and officers are put to command us whom we have never heard of before, whom we do not know, and with whom we have no sympathy whatever." Did the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that a regimental system could be obtained in regiments in which officers were frequently changed? How could officers become acquainted with their men—how could any sympathy exist between them and the men, with whom they did not stay more than three or four years? The system of selection had caused great dissatisfaction among European officers in India, and disgust amongst the Native troops; and he (Colonel Sykes) trusted, in case the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War applied the principle to the British Army at large, sufficient securities against favouritism should be provided.

MR. G. B. GREGORY could not but say that the principle of selection, as applied to the officers of the Army, was open to very great objection, and notwithstanding all that was said in the course of the debate last week, he had not heard anything fall from Her Majesty's Government which removed that objection. If the system of purchase was abolished, what was there to fall back upon? It must be the principle of seniority; and if that was to be the principle of promotion, the great question again arose—"What are we to pay ten millions of public money for?" He acknowledged that the principle of purchase was an anomalous one, and that it might be desirable to get rid of it. But there was another matter about which he had very grave doubts, and that was with respect to over-regulation prices. If they were to admit the principle of seniority—and he believed they would be compelled to admit it—he could see no reason whatever for getting rid of over-regulation prices. By getting rid of the purchase system they would give to the War Office, or Secretary of State, or Horse Guards, greater power of stopping improper promotion in regiments, which was a very proper thing, as no young man not thoroughly qualified ought to rise to higher posts in his regiment; but in dealing with over-regulation prices, he thought it would be desirable that Her Majesty's Government should consider the suggestions which had been thrown out by the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz) in the course of the debate; and there was, in his opinion, another practical difficulty in connection with that subject. Do what they would, they would not be able to get rid of over-regulation prices, which he believed existed, in some shape or other, in branches of the service in which there was no purchase system. He most earnestly entreated the Government to re-consider the subject.

MR. M. T. BASS expressed a hope that Government would not proceed with the manufacture of the Martini-Henry rifle without giving Parliament an opportunity of considering its merits or defects.

SIR HENRY STORKS stated that the Committee which had been deputed to consider and Report upon the merits of breech-loading rifles had protracted its sitting over a long period in order that the inquiry might be prosecuted to the utmost. Their Report had been, at the instance of the Secretary of State for War, referred to the Council of Ordnance, which would probably meet in the course of the week to consider and advise his right hon. Friend upon the subject; but, as he had previously stated, every opportunity would be given to Parliament to express its opinion on the decision arrived at. The Martini-Henry rifle had been adopted, and the necessary steps would be taken to bring that arm into the service.

SIR JOHN HAY gathered from what had been said that no investigation on other arms not already reported on would be made. Unfortunately, the Committee, to whose Report reference had been made, was appointed before the Westley-Richards-Henry, which he had used himself with much satisfaction, had been issued. The Soper, also, had not been before the Committee; he wished to know, therefore, whether those two arms would be examined by the Committee, or whether it was a foregone conclusion that the Martini-Henry was to be the arm of the service, notwithstanding many hon. Members believed other arms were superior to it.

LORD ELCHO, as a Member of the Committee, said, he would reserve anything he had to say upon the subject until the Report was before the House, and hoped his hon. and gallant Friend would do the same.

VISCOUNT BURY said, that the character of the discussion had now drifted into one upon the value of arms. The question was, whether the present was a fitting opportunity for going into a discussion upon the question raised by his hon. and gallant Friend? He (Viscount Bury) thought that the Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. Stapleton), if adopted, would strike at the very root of the regimental system. He wished to guard himself against the view of its being supposed that he sympathized with his hon. and gallant Friend.

Mr. LIDDELL said, that if the principle of selection was to be adopted, he thought they might borrow a hint from the sister service, where it was required that a record of experience and observation should be kept. He thought that, if a similar rule were adopted in the military service, it would prove very valuable.

Colonel STUART KNOX inquired why it was that the recruits in the Irish Militia had not been supplied with the breech-loader?

Mr. CARDWELL, in reply to the last question, stated that though great efforts had been made by the Government for the supply of the most effective weapons, they had not yet been able to overtake the arrears. The Artillery were trained to the use of big guns, and therefore the preference had been shown to those whose weapon was the rifle; but he was in hopes that before long they would be supplied with the breech-loader—but such was the power of invention, that scarcely had they spent a large sum of money upon one implement before they were called upon to incur a fresh expenditure. The Report of the Committee which had been referred to was about to be printed, and would soon be in the hands of hon. Members, who would have full opportunity of considering it before being asked to vote money for the Martini-Henry rifle. As regarded the Motion of the hon. Member for Berwick (Mr. Stapleton), if he understood him rightly, his proposal would break up the regimental system altogether; it would apparently combine all the disadvantages of other systems without securing the best man for the first place. The system which prevailed in Prussia was that of seniority tempered by selection. He contended that any system of selection might be described as a system of seniority tempered by selection, because in all cases there would be an unwillingness to pass anyone over who would be entitled to promotion by seniority except for very good and sufficient reasons. While, therefore, in every branch of the service they felt bound to insist upon promotion by selection in order that merit might be rewarded, and also that the growth of a new system of purchase might be prevented, that system of selection was intended to be exercised with a due regard to regimental considerations, and those considerations would naturally prevail more frequently in the lower than in the higher ranks of the service, inasmuch as in the higher ranks conspicuous merit would be more easily recognized. He was very much discouraged from going back to the old Indian system, as desired by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Aberdeen (Colonel Sykes), because the Royal Commission upon Purchase, which had gone into that question at great length, had expressed a very decided opinion against its adoption. He had no doubt that the excellent suggestion made by the hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell) would receive attention at the hands of the eminent men who were now preparing the rules by which the system of selection should be guided. He believed they would be able to establish such a system of selection in the British Army as would give great satisfaction to those who believed that their merit would secure their selection for promotion.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, he would be glad to hear when the Report would be presented.

Colonel SYKES desired to know whether promotions to the rank of major would be made regimentally or not?

Mr. CARDWELL repeated that due regard would be paid to regimental considerations; but that promotion by selection would be adopted throughout the service.

Mr. MUNDELLA, in appealing to the right hon. Gentleman not to press the Army Estimates that evening—the largest which had been proposed since the Battle of Waterloo—would move the adjournment of the debate, with a view to putting himself in Order. It was highly desirable that these Estimates should be discussed generally before the House went into Committee of Supply, and as the forms of the House would preclude his taking the sense of the House that evening upon the Motion which he had placed on the Paper, he would ask the Government to postpone the subject, in deference to the wishes of many in that House, and the feeling, as he believed, of the great majority in the country.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Mundella.*)

MR. CARDWELL desired in every possible way to consult the convenience of hon. Members; but something also was due to the public service. The Mutiny Bill must shortly be passed, and financial matters required consideration, so that he feared he could not consent to the adjournment of the debate.

COLONEL NORTH desired to learn whether his right hon. Friend purposed making a statement on going into Committee on the Estimates.

MR. CARDWELL said, he had already made his statement.

MR. CANDLISH trusted that the Government would give an opportunity for the full discussion of the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella). If the Government assented to the adjournment the night would not be lost, for there were several important measures—the Scotch Education Bill among them—on the Paper for that evening.

MR. PEASE joined in the appeal for postponement, in order that the hon. Member for Sheffield might be placed in the position he would have occupied if the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) had not pressed his Motion to a Division.

COLONEL SYKES would inquire whether the hon. Member for Sheffield would not be able to bring his Motion forward when the numbers came to be proposed in Committee.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that was no doubt the case; but it would not be equally satisfactory to Gentlemen who, having a subject of great importance to urge upon the attention of the House, would rather make the declaration of their sentiments in a manner which would seem consistent with the Motion they were supporting. It was, however, necessary that the Mutiny Bill should be passed, and that on Thursday at the latest Votes should be taken on these Estimates. Nothing could be more invidious than an attempt on the part of the Government to limit a debate on the question of public expenditure. If they went on that night they would have two nights available; but if they postponed the further consideration of the Army Estimates till Thursday, they would be in the position of being compelled to press for a Vote. If, therefore, they felt that indulgence would be shown them on Thursday they would be ready to accede to the suggestion of the hon. Gentleman.

MR. HUNT was somewhat surprised at the announcement just made by the right hon. Gentleman, when he remembered what recently took place with reference to the Army Regulation Bill. His right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition said he wished to address the House on the subject; but the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government took the very unusual course of trying to close the debate that night, and the reason he gave was that the interests of the public service would not allow a longer time for the discussion. [Mr. GLADSTONE said, that was on the question of an Amendment.] The right hon. Gentleman said it was necessary to pursue the subject, and that, if the necessary progress were not made, it would be necessary to have a Morning Sitting on Saturday. But now they were told that it was not necessary to take their Votes that night, but that they might be taken on Thursday. It might be that the Division which had been taken that evening had added force to the remonstrance from below the Gangway to which the right hon. Gentleman had yielded.

COLONEL STUART KNOX regretted to find the Government giving way upon such an important question to so small a minority, because when they should find themselves deserted by his friends below the Gangway they would, no doubt, look for support from the Opposition side of the House in furtherance of the Public Business.

MR. GLADSTONE: What I stated explicitly to the House was, that this was the latest night on which it would be practicable for us to take the Civil Supplementary Estimates, and that Thursday night was the night on which it would be necessary to take the Army Estimates.

COLONEL NORTH said, that when he moved the adjournment of the debate last week it was distinctly intimated on the part of the Government that pressure was necessary to get through with the business. Hon. Members had come down prepared to discuss the Army Estimates, and it was unfair to them that these should now be postponed merely at the instance of the hon. Member for Sheffield, who could make any observations which he desired to offer just as well that evening as on a future occasion.

LORD GARLIES wished to know whether the suggestion which had been thrown out as proceeding with the Scotch Education Bill was to be acted upon. In the absence of the majority of the Scotch Members, he should certainly oppose any such proceeding.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR PERCY HERBERT should like to know from the Secretary for War, Whether, in the event of the Estimates coming on upon Thursday, he would undertake not to ask for more than the first Vote, which was really the only one of importance?

MR. CARDWELL: The first Vote is, of course, the most important. There are, however, several smaller Votes, if the House was willing to go into them afterwards, which might be taken with advantage.

MR. CRAUFURD pressed for a distinct answer to the question whether the Scotch Education Bill was to be taken. Not a quarter of an hour ago he had been assured by the Lord Advocate that there was not a chance of its coming on. He wished, therefore, to know whether it was to be taken, and, if so, at what hour, that hon. Gentlemen might be in their places.

LORD ELCHO said, he hoped the Government would not force on the Scotch Education Bill in the absence of many Gentlemen who took a strong interest in the question. Everybody supposed that the Military Estimates would have occupied at least until 12 o'clock; and, in the absence of Scotch Members, it was impossible that justice could be done to the education question.

MR. G. BENTINCK said, that as nobody upon the Government Benches seemed prepared to address the House, perhaps he might be allowed to do so. A good deal had been heard of dual government in the Army; but now they had attained to dual government of the House of Commons. On a former occasion he had asserted that the real power and actual government of the country was to be found below the Gangway, on the Ministerial side, and now they had a literally good proof of the accuracy of this statement. For the last few days hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House had been making ineffectual appeals to the Government for liberty to express their opinions on one of the most important questions that could engage the attention of Parliament; but every possible obstacle had been thrown in their way. The moment, however, that a similar request proceeded from below the Gangway the Government at once gave way, and the whole Business of the House was thrown into confusion. In future, whenever he wished to put a Question in the House as to the conduct of Public Business, he should address himself, not to the Government Bench, but to hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway.

MR. RYLANDS said, that the reason the opinions of Gentlemen below the Gangway obtained so much weight was because they represented the views of the advanced section of the Liberal party, which often became the dominant public opinion in the country. He thought it would have been a most unfortunate thing if the Government had persisted in bringing on the Army Estimates, involving a large expenditure of public money without an opportunity being afforded to representatives of large constituencies of making known the feelings of those whom they represented.

MR. COLLINS said, he thought it desirable the House should have an opportunity of pronouncing an opinion on the proposal for such a large expenditure on our Army. Looking at the state of countries on the Continent, it appeared to him that the Government were going to legislate in a state of panic. They had at one time inconsiderably reduced our forces, and now they proposed to proceed in another direction by increasing our Army without any valid reason whatever.

MR. LEATHAM said, he was not in the House when the arrangement was come to between the hon. Member for Sheffield and the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. Had he been he should certainly have protested against it, as he himself had a Motion upon the Paper on going into Committee of Supply.

MR. DALGLISH joined in the hope which had been already expressed, that in the absence of other Scotch Members the Scotch Education Bill would not be forced on.

MR. GILPIN believed that the concession made by the Government to the hon. Member for Sheffield would facilitate the discussion upon Thursday night. He himself should now be willing to stop till any hour on that night to enable the Government to obtain such Votes as they required.

MR. M. CHAMBERS said, the House would hereafter be placed in a great difficulty by the qualified concession made by the Prime Minister. The Gentlemen who were now anxious for postponement were the very Gentlemen who contended that the subject ought to be thoroughly discussed. An hon. Member had just declared his willingness to stay till any hour in the morning rather than put the Government to any inconvenience. It was not the Government, however, who would be put to inconvenience, but the private Members, who would have to choose between suppressing their own views altogether or putting them forward in an incomplete and unsatisfactory manner. Hon. Gentlemen who were opposed to an increase of our forces might bring the subject forward when the Army Estimates came on for discussion.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he wished, in order to prevent any misapprehension, to state that many Members below the Gangway were determined that the Vote for increasing the Army by 20,000 men should be fully discussed. They strongly objected to that increase.

LORD ELCHO said, the same objection was felt as regarded the increase of 10,000 men.

MR. DISRAELI: I regret that the Government have so unexpectedly arrived at this decision, because I feel anxious that the Business of the House should be proceeded with. It seems to me that decision is inconsistent with the declaration made on a previous occasion with reference to another debate. Of course, different interpretations may be placed on that declaration; but there are certain rules to which both sides of the House have agreed, and which we ought to observe, so far as possible, for the sake of public convenience. I confess I cannot understand why, because a Division has been taken by an hon. Gentleman below the Gangway—and I do not doubt at all the propriety of his Division to-night—we should be totally regardless of the rules we have laid down for the conduct of the Business of this House. If another hon. Gentleman finds himself prevented in consequence of that Division from taking the opinion of the House, I do not see why an exception should be made in his favour by the Leader of this House. I want to know in what case and in what instance an hon. Gentleman may not rise and make his appeal to the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, who has the supreme control of the conduct of the Business of the House, with the same force and right as the hon. Member for Sheffield? If so, what is the use of all our rules? No doubt the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield was very interesting and important; but he was precluded from asking the opinion of the House upon it by the rules which have been established for our convenience. The question he meant to have brought forward could have been brought forward by another hon. Gentleman on a distinct Vote in Committee of Supply, when we should have had a complete opportunity of discussing the subject. I must enter my protest against the course of proceeding adopted by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. The right hon. Gentleman is a great purist in matters of this kind. No person weighs the value of the time of this House with such scrupulous exactitude as the right hon. Gentleman. To-day we have returned to the House, after the labours of the past week, with our energies invigorated, and in expectation of doing a good stroke of business, when we find that, in deference to the morbid sensibility of the hon. Member for Sheffield, who, no doubt, takes a leading part in the affairs of this House and of this country, leads him to make this extravagant yet successful appeal to the consideration of the Government, although his experience in this House scarcely warrants him in doing so. Really, what chance have we of carrying on the business of the country, and of making in the course of the Session that progress which no one so much desires as the First Minister, if we proceed in this way? Here is a night wasted in the most capricious manner. We might have gone into Committee and had the question of the diminution of the cost of the Army brought forward by the hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham), so that the whole subject might have been amply discussed this evening. I am totally at a loss to comprehend the sort of coma in which, after ten minutes' absence, I find the House of Commons. It seems to me to be symptomatic of a dangerous state of things. We have before us a Session of business requiring such an amount of energy that we almost look at it with a feeling of despair. I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will re-consider the matter, and after a confidential communication with his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield we shall regain our common sense, and proceed with the business of the country.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I will take the liberty of reminding the House that the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield is one of which the appropriateness under existing circumstances cannot be denied by anybody. We are unfortunately, and I say it with regret, asking for a very large increase of the Estimates. Now, so long as we have Motions on going into Committee of Supply, I doubt whether there can be found any more legitimate subject for bringing before the House by those who dissent from such an increase. The hon. Member's Motion, I apprehend, could not be made in Committee of Supply at all. It is, therefore, most reasonable on his part to make an appeal to the Government; and it would be most unreasonable on ours if we availed ourselves of a technical difficulty to prevent him from bringing the subject forward. It is, no doubt, very clever for the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) to allude only to the hon. Member for Sheffield; but, in point of fact, a large number of Members of this House are desirous to express their opinions on the Motion. I can imagine no question which they have a better right to discuss, and the Government are bound to facilitate the discussion by every means in their power. We should have liked very much indeed to go on with the Estimates; but it would not be right, when a large number of Members wish to raise a question which it is their duty to decide, as to whether there shall be an increase in the military strength of the nation, to take advantage of a technical difficulty in order to shut them out from the debate. We are confident we can rely on the moderation and good sense of hon. Members, and we feel assured that, if the Government meet their wishes, they will not let the public service suffer by preventing the Votes from being taken when the proper time arrives.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH pointed out that there was no absolute necessity for passing the Vote for Men on Thursday. That could not be done till the last Vote for the Navy had been taken.

MR. ORR-EWING said, he hoped the Lord Advocate would give the House an assurance that the Scotch Education Bill would not be brought on to-night?

THE LORD ADVOCATE said, every hon. Member had the same means he himself possessed of calculating the probability of the Bill getting into Committee before Easter. He should certainly lose no opportunity of pressing it forward; but he would not bring it on this evening after 11 o'clock. If to-night, or on any other night, a chance should arise of bringing it forward, he should make a point of being in his place, in order to take the measure into Committee. He was authorized to say that his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government had never expressed himself to any other effect than this.

MR. M'LAREN protested against the Scotch Bill being forced on when hon. Members from that country had not had an opportunity of expressing their opinions upon the second reading. If it had been an Irish Bill provision would have been at once made for it; but everything connected with Scotland was shunted to make way for something that was considered more important. This was the state of things, when the people of Scotland paid at the rate of double the amount of taxation which the people in Ireland paid.

MR. GORDON said, he felt it his duty to do what he could to protect those hon. Members who had not had an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon the second reading, though he felt that he owed no apology for having occupied so long a time on the previous occasion. It was not his fault that the Government had limited the time for the discussion in order to deal with Irish matters. It was then stated that further opportunity for debate on the Bill would occur on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair in order that the House might go into Committee, and he, as well as, he had no doubt, many other Scotch Members, would avail himself of that opportunity, inasmuch as the Bill wore a different aspect from that which he had supposed, it now appearing that borough schools were not to obtain any advance of money under its provisions, notwithstanding the great things which it was said by the Lord Advocate would be done for them. He strongly, however, protested against proceeding with the Bill at a moment when there were scarcely a dozen Scotch Members in the House.

MR. BAXTER suggested that, as several hon. Members seemed disposed to speak on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair, those Scotch Members who were present might proceed to do so at once, and the Committee might be deferred.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON contended that to proceed with the Bill would be to break the spirit of the engagements' into which the Government had entered with respect to it. Many hon. Gentlemen had understood the Lord Advocate to say that there was no chance of its being brought on that evening.

MR. C. DALRYMPLE said, that the reason why the Scotch Members were not present was, that the Government had informed them, a few nights ago, that several Bills of great importance must be advanced a stage before the Scotch Education Bill was taken.

MR. GLADSTONE explained that he did not state the order in which several great and important subjects were to be taken, but he specially limited himself to speaking of those great subjects; and said that as to the others, they must take them as they could.

MR. C. DALRYMPLE said, that the impression remained upon the minds of Scotch Members that this measure was of very secondary importance to that of the Ballot, which stood for a second reading, and to the Licensing Bill, which had not yet been brought forward.

MR. COLLINS said, he thought it perfectly monstrous that the Government should take advantage of their own *laches* in the conduct of the Business of the House, and press on a measure which everyone had been led to suppose would not be taken that night. But if the Scotch Education Bill was not to be discussed, he should like to know what business was to be proceeded with, in order that hon. Members might be made aware whether there was a chance of any Bill on the Notice Paper in which they took an interest being urged forward, so that they might go home if there was no such prospect?

MR. CRAUFURD wished to ask the Lord Advocate whether he had not distinctly stated to him that the Bill would not come on that evening?

THE LORD ADVOCATE replied that he had said to at least some 20 Members that if an opportunity offered he should bring on the Bill. Being asked whether he thought there was any chance of its coming on that evening, his answer, he believed, was that he really thought there was none.

COLONEL SYKES expressed his astonishment that the learned Lord Advocate should endeavour to entrap the House into the consideration of the Scotch Education Bill at the present time, when Scotch Members had not expected it to come on. He hoped that faith would be kept with them.

MR. ANDERSON said, he did not altogether agree with those who seemed anxious to prevent the Scotch Education Bill coming on for discussion. Those Scotch Members who were absent from their places must take the consequences of their non-attendance.

MR. M'LAGAN strongly disapproved of any Member of the Government breaking faith with them. He had been told that there was not the slightest chance of the Scotch Bill coming on to-night, and he was surprised that the Government should now propose to take it.

MAJOR WALKER said, that the Lord Advocate had assured him that there was not the remotest probability of that Bill being entered upon to-night, and he (Major Walker) repeated this to every hon. Member who asked him the question.

LORD ELCHO asked whether the Government would, after those statements, venture to persevere with the Scotch Education Bill on the present occasion? If so, he would protest against the mode of carrying on Business.

MR. SPEAKER explained that the Question before the House was that he now leave the Chair, for the purpose of going into Committee of Supply. The hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) moved that the debate be adjourned, for the purpose of entering into an explanation as to the business before them. That matter having now been settled, the question was whether the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield should be withdrawn. After that there would still be the Question that he do now leave the Chair.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," again proposed.

Mr. ANDERSON called attention to the fact that the reductions made last year on highly paid offices on the Horse Guards' Staff had been nearly all restored in this year's Estimates.

Mr. HUNT rose to Order. The Army Estimates were not to be taken that evening, and he wished to know whether the hon. Member could call attention to them in the manner proposed?

Mr. SPEAKER ruled that the hon. Member for Glasgow was in Order.

Mr. ANDERSON said, he found that the salary of the Commander-in-Chief, which had been reduced from £4,432 to £4,000, had been raised in the Estimates of this year to £4,444; that of the Private Secretary, which had been reduced from £365 to £300, was again raised to £365; that of the Inspector General, which had been £1,000 was raised to £1,365; that of the Quartermaster General remained unchanged, but that of the Military Secretary, which had been reduced from £2,243 to £1,500 a-year, was again raised to £2,000. He hoped, before going into the great question of the Army Estimates, that they would have some explanation of this circumstance.

Mr. AYRTON said, that these Votes would come before the Committee on the Army Estimates, and he hoped his hon. Friend would wait for an explanation till that occasion. He thought it would then be explained that the increase was rather nominal than real.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present—

Mr. HUNT took the opportunity of offering a suggestion to the Government which he thought would have the effect of expediting Public Business. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government professed the other night a great desire to find an early night for

the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke) to bring his Vote of Censure on the Government in connection with the Conference: would it not be possible to enable the hon. Baronet to bring on his Motion to-night?

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY — CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £211,642, be granted to Her Majesty, for the Civil Services which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1871."

[Then the Services are set forth at length.]

Mr. RYLANDS objected to the Vote, on the ground that it was contrary to the understanding come to last year that the sum should be taken in a lump.

Mr. BAXTER said, he was not aware of any such understanding; but he would withdraw the Vote in its totality.

Mr. HUNT said, he wished to call attention to the large amount of Supplementary Estimates presented by the present Government. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had on several occasions laid great stress on the fact that the late Government had found it necessary to produce Supplementary Estimates. In 1868-9 a Supplementary Estimate for £171,000 had been brought forward, and when the present Government came into office they added to it £130,000, making the whole £300,000. The late Government were subjected to very severe strictures on this account; but the next year there was a Supplementary Estimate presented of nearly £200,000 in July, and in March last year another for £170,000. In July last there was another Supplementary Estimate of £50,000, and now there was another of £211,000. He hoped if hon. Gentlemen opposite ever crossed the floor of the House they would in Opposition remember what they had done when on the Treasury Bench.

Mr. BOWRING observed that £50,200 of the sum to be voted was for the relief of Paris, in which they must all cordially concur.

(1.) £5,800, Portland Harbour (Supplementary sum).

(2.) £9,500, Public Record Repository, Acquisition of Lands (Supplementary sum).

(3.) £3,819, British Consulate and Embassy Houses, Constantinople, &c. (Supplementary sum).

Mr. RYLANDS expressed a hope that the Government would continue to rent accommodation for the Embassy rather than incur the great expense of attempting to re-build what had been burnt down.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £1,254, National Debt Office (Supplementary sum).

(5.) £3,350, Office of Works (Supplementary sum).

(6.) £3,026, Poor Law Commission, Ireland (Supplementary sum).

(7.) £4,000, Law Charges (Supplementary sum).

Mr. Alderman LUSK observed, that law charges were very heavy at all times. He did not know why, considering what was voted last year, these should be asked for.

Mr. BAXTER said, these charges had been very carefully looked into. They had been occasioned by the prosecutions for bribery at Norwich, Beverley, and Bridgwater.

Mr. WHITE contended that where bribery was proved to have extensively prevailed, the municipality should be amerced in the amount which the investigation cost.

Mr. AYRTON said, the expense of the Commissions was already thrown on the locality; but these were expenses incurred by the Solicitor to the Treasury.

Colonel SYKES held it was time that a special Committee sat upon the question of diminishing these law charges, and of determining how they could do with less law.

Mr. WHITE: Yes; and more justice.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £4,800, Bankruptcy Court (Supplementary sum).

(9.) £2,500, Miscellaneous Legal Charges, England (Supplementary sum).

(10.) £11,000, Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland (Supplementary sum).

Mr. Alderman LUSK said, these law charges were monstrous altogether. This year we were paying £2,000 more than last year, and no Fenian prosecutions had taken place in Ireland that he was aware of.

Mr. BAXTER said, that the Vote included spring assizes that were unusually heavy and protracted, and that ought to have been included in the Estimate for the preceding year.

Vote *agreed to.*

(11.) £75,000, National Gallery (Supplementary sum).

Mr. BOWRING said, he thought an explanation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting a recent purchase of pictures would be acceptable.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, the money was asked for on account of the purchase for the National Gallery of a collection of pictures made by the late Sir Robert Peel 50 years ago. The collection consisted of 77 pictures and 18 drawings, by Rubens, Vandyck, and others; it included eight pictures by Sir Joshua Reynolds; but the majority of the works were the masterpieces of the most eminent artists of the Dutch school. Among the pictures were the celebrated one of John Knox preaching, and the equally celebrated "Chapeau de Paille." All the pictures had been originally chosen with great care, taste, and judgment; the collection was in excellent order; and it was unique and complete in itself as a representation of the Dutch school. The collection had been carefully examined by two competent gentlemen, Mr. Richmond and Mr. Boxall, who reported that it was well worth the money, and he hoped that it would be no further expense to the country. The Committee were aware that the Trustees of the National Gallery had been allowed £10,000 a-year to spend in pictures; but this year £8,000 was unexpended, as was £8,500 in the preceding year; in three or four years about £20,000 of these annual Votes had been re-paid into the Exchequer, and it was now intended to stop the annual Vote for the present until, by these savings, and the amount of the annual Vote, the present purchase had been paid for. He did not mean to say that the Trustees would wholly refuse to buy any work of great merit that was offered them; indeed, they would take the responsibility of doing that if it were necessary, and of asking the House afterwards to approve their conduct; but they would endeavour to defray the cost of this collection by the annual subscription of £10,000, believing that, by this purchase, they had done better for the public than they could have done by the expenditure of an equal amount spread over a number of years.

MR. G. BENTINCK said, he did not rise for the purpose of impugning the merits of the pictures, as he believed they were quite worth the money. But the House was on the eve of discussing increased Estimates; it was about to expend a large sum of money on very doubtful objects, and in the face of such an amount of pauperism as now existed he held they had no right to waste the public funds in this extravagant manner. It was a great mistake to spend money on such luxuries, seeing that we forgot that we had ceased to be either a great or a rich country. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members might smile; but that was not far from the truth. It would be no consolation to those of our countrymen who feared invasion, or to a starving mechanic who could not find bread for his children, to say that we must have fine pictures. The whole proceeding was most unjustifiable, and if he could get any support from hon. Members opposite he should divide against this Vote.

MR. W. H. GREGORY said, he was confident, in spite of the diatribe they had just listened to, that the Vote would be supported with acclamation, not only by the House but by the country, as such Votes invariably had been. He had always found the greatest willingness on the part of the House to sanction any outlay recommended by the Ministry for the acquisition of those works of art which were a subject of pleasure to all who viewed them, and of improvement to all who studied them. There were many present who remembered the unanimity with which the House applauded the purchase of the Duc de Blacas collection for the British Museum, and by no section of the House was that transaction more approved of than by the Gentlemen below the Gangway, to whom the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. G. Bentinck) had been appealing. The hon. Member said this was not the moment to buy pictures; but were pictures to be bought like a hat or a coat, whenever you wanted them? He said this expenditure was waste. This was not waste. There was more waste in one year in building ships that would neither sail, steam, nor fight; more waste in one estimate, the result of panic and of nonsense, than in the estimates of 20 years for the purchase of works of art. These things remained to be a credit and a joy to the nation. They were not bought one year at great expense to be superseded and thrown aside as useless the next year: Every year added to their value, for every year fresh competitors entered the market for their acquisition. Every little town of Belgium, France, and Germany was forming its local museum and its picture gallery, and the advancement of taste and refinement in the products of those countries, was a proof of the good effect of these exhibitions. He hoped the same effects would, by the establishment of similar institutions in England, be produced, for we could not but acknowledge our shortcomings in those articles in which refinement of taste was the great requisite; and he trusted the time would shortly arrive when the representatives of large towns would insist on the superfluities from the central galleries and museums being spread throughout England whenever there was a fitting structure to receive them. It was impossible to overrate the value of the collection just purchased. The National Gallery had not been yet half a century in existence, and yet there were few, if any, collections in any country which embraced so wide, so select, and so fine a class of pictures of the various schools of Italian art, taking them altogether. The National Gallery owed its origin to the purchase of the Angerstein collection in the year 1823; but it could not be said that the systematic acquisition of pictures had commenced till the annual Vote of £10,000 was begun in the year 1855. The credit of this, in some respects, unrivalled collection as regards Italian art is due to the taste, learning, and activity of the late Sir Charles Eastlake, and his successor, Mr. Boxall, by the same high qualities, has added many magnificent specimens to the Gallery. Still, in regard to Dutch pictures there was a great deficiency, which was much regretted and complained of by many persons who took a deep interest in this school of art. Now that deficiency was at an end, and we could enter the lists even with the Louvre, as regards our collection of Dutch masters. By this acquisition the gaps had been filled up, the possibility of doing which could hardly have been contemplated within any given period of time, if at all. They had obtained a Terburg of the finest quality, and in the finest condition. They had obtained noble specimens of Metzu, Mieris, Van der Heyden, Wouvermans, De Koning, Ostade, Carl du Jardin, Jan Steen, all of which had previously been wanting. They had also obtained admirable pictures by other masters, already represented. Besides the famous "Chapeau de Paille," by Rubens, alluded to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, among the pictures bought was the *chef d'œuvre* of Hobbema, and two Peter de Hooghes, which would be a joy to all who saw them. Nor were our own English artists omitted. There was the Wilkie mentioned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and several pictures by Reynolds, among which the portrait of Dr. Johnson would stand comparison with the finest works of the Italian pencil. There was an additional interest, too, connected with the collection, for it was the labour of love of one of our greatest English statesmen, and it was gratifying to see that the taste of the amateur was on a par with the sagacity of the Minister, for throughout this large collection there could hardly be named more than two or three pictures which were not of the very highest order of merit, a compliment which could be paid to few private galleries. The hon. Member for Norfolk spoke of lavishing money in making this purchase; but he (Mr. W. H. Gregory) could assure the House that the pictures were bought at a sum considerably below their value; and, apparently, by the arrangements made, the country would not be put to the additional expense of 1*s.*; and he would convince the House he was justified in making that assertion. When the National Gallery was re-organized—in fact, set on a complete new footing in 1855, a Treasury Minute was passed, defining the duties of all persons connected with the institution. Among other regulations were the following:—

> "My Lords propose, in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee, to insert annually in the Estimate for the Gallery a sum expressly for the purchase of pictures. The sum need not be annually expended, but might accumulate, and thus enable the Trustees and Director to purchase a fine collection at once, if such an opportunity should offer."

The Trustees and Director have acted on this recommendation; and, at this moment, when the opportunity did offer itself, they had surrendered to the Treasury, as stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a sum of £20,700, which, with the £10,000 which would have come to them in the present year, makes up nearly half of the purchase. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer had also intimated his intention of not renewing the annual grant for the present, so that, as he (Mr. W. H. Gregory) had stated, the whole purchase would be made without taking an extra shilling out of the pocket of the nation. He confessed he should be sorry no longer to see the national Grant on the Estimates; but he was comforted by the assurance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that if any fine pictures presented themselves, he would purchase them on the recommendation of the Director. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) might rest assured that the Trustees and Director would continue to show the same desire to keep down expenditure as they had ever manifested, and would be as chary of the public money as if it were their own. Before sitting down, he wished to do an act of justice to his right hon. Friend (Sir Robert Peel), who had sold these pictures to the nation. He (Mr. W. H. Gregory) had already stated that the collection had been bought on the most reasonable terms. A couple of years ago, Sir Robert Peel would have obtained an infinitely greater sum than they were now voting; and, even at the present moment, he would have got much more than he was willing to accept. But Sir Robert Peel acted with the greatest delicacy and public spirit. He said—"My object is that all these pictures should be kept together; they belonged to my father, and I wish the nation should have them. I have had these pictures valued roughly by a competent person at £80,000; but, taking off the percentage I should have to pay if they were sold by public auction, I offer them at £75,000." It was suggested by me that the Government valuation might not come up to that amount, to which Sir Robert Peel replied that he would not stand out for some thousands, so long as the pictures were bought by the nation, and kept together. The circumstances of this sale were greatly to the credit of the public spirit and disinterestedness of the right hon. Baronet; and, while he congratulated the House and thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the acquisition, he could not refrain from noticing how much the country was indebted to Sir Robert Peel for the completion of this auspicious negotiation.

Mr. HUNT supported the Vote, believing that the money would be well spent. So far from the poor complaining, he thought these pictures would give the greatest delight to all classes, and would enrich the nation by improving its taste and refining its ideas.

Mr. RYLANDS supported the Vote, believing the collection would not only be advantageous to the National Gallery, but to a great number of the working classes, when they had an opportunity of seeing these paintings. He was glad to see the first budding of economy in the hon. Member opposite (Mr. G. Bentinck). On Thursday evening he might be able to save the country a much larger sum by joining those who wished to reduce the Estimates.

Mr. G. BENTINCK said, he did not understand the last argument, because the Votes of Thursday evening would be spent on works of usefulness. He did not dispute the value of the pictures, but thought that when there was such an enormous demand for the public money, and such an enormous amount of pauperism, it was not a wise and just mode of expenditure. It was a new fact in natural history to say that they could feed a starving man by showing him pictures.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH observed, that there was very little interest felt by the pauper classes of the country in an increase in the Army Estimates. There was a strong feeling in the country that any increase in these Estimates was not only unnecessary but mischievous.

Mr. Alderman LUSK supported the Vote, and wished to see the national collection of pictures increased. It was poor compared with that of other countries.

Vote *agreed to.*

Mr. W. H. Gregory

(12.) £1,467, Commissions for Suppression of the Slave Trade (Supplementary sum).

(13.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £21,865, be granted to Her Majesty, to pay certain Miscellaneous Expenses, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1871."

Mr. Alderman LUSK wished for some explanation of the item of £83 for the conveyance of distinguished persons.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH drew attention to the item of £2,421 16*s*. 3*d*. for the preparation of a plan and model in connection with the proposed Thames Embankment site of the New Courts of Justice. It was rather hard that when the site definitely fixed upon for erecting those buildings was the one that had been originally chosen that the country should be put to this expense to satisfy the fancy of the right hon. Gentleman who had been the predecessor of the First Commissioner of Works in Office. The expense ought to come out of the fund which was appropriated towards the erection of the New Courts of Justice and not out of the public money.

Mr. AYRTON observed, that it would be impossible to take the course suggested, because the Act of Parliament decided that the Courts should be built on a particular site, and that the funds should be applied to the purchase of the land and the erection of the buildings. The funds thus appropriated could not be applied to anything relating to the construction of the Courts on another site. A Committee was appointed by the unanimous vote of the House to consider whether some more economical method could not be devised in order to get rid of the enormous expenditure which was threatened, and it became necessary to have an architect in attendance on the Committee and to have plans and models constructed. An inquiry of that nature was always extremely expensive, and this item represented the actual expenditure incurred in that investigation, which had at last resulted in the saving of £1,500,000 to the country.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he did not regard the right hon. Gentleman's explanation as satisfactory. The item was not incurred in order to prevent a greater expenditure, for the Committee had nothing to do with cutting down the estimates for the Courts of Justice.

MR. AYRTON said, that the cutting down of the estimates was no doubt a subsequent act of the Office of Works; but it was first deemed necessary to appoint the Committee to investigate the subject, and awaken the public mind to the propriety of the reduction.

MR. MONK called attention to the sum of £1,676 paid to Messrs. Freshfield and Co., solicitors, for costs connected with the preparation of the National Debt Bill, the Forgery Bill, and the Statute Law Revision Bill. He wished to know if it was the practice to employ private solicitors to draw up Government Bills when the Government had solicitors of their own to do the work? Unless a satisfactory explanation of this item were given, he should move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,676.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER explained that these Bills were prepared by agreement between the Government and the Bank of England as a codification of the law relating to the Bank. The Bank of England paid half the expense, and they were naturally anxious that their own solicitors should be employed in the drawing up of the Bills. The work had been excellently done, and the result was two very valuable pieces of consolidation.

MR. HERMON pointed out as matter which called for explanation, an item in connection with an inquest held in consequence of a boiler explosion at Portsmouth, and another in connection with the total eclipse of the sun in August, 1868, and asked whether the sum of £5,212 for the Clerks of Unions and others in Ireland for the preparation of the Return relative to Land Tenure had been paid for a Return moved for by a Member of that House, because if Returns involved such an enormous expenditure he should refrain from moving for the one for which he had given Notice To-morrow.

COLONEL WILSON PATTEN called attention to the enormous expense incurred by the appointment of Select Committees on public questions, as evidenced by the item of £2,700 for the expenses attending the Committee for the site of the New Courts of Justice.

MAJOR WALKER called attention to the fact that Returns, &c., for the preparation of the Irish Land Bill had cost the country £89,000, and that that item ought to have been provided for in the Estimates of last year.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH asked for an explanation of the item of £500 paid as compensation to General La Mothe on account of the Jamaica insurrection. He wished to know if General La Mothe had really any claim on the finances of this country for that compensation?

MR. BAXTER said, he was not in a position to answer that question now, but he would answer it on another day.

MR. CANDLISH called attention to the item of £858 16*s.* for the maintenance of the son of the late King of Abyssinia. Such an item ought to have been known to the Government when the Estimates were first submitted to Parliament, and ought then to have been included in them. In addition to that the amount was excessive, for the son of the late King Theodore was only 10 or 11 years old, and a lad of that age could be well provided for at a boarding school for £200 or £300 a-year.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR asked for some explanation of an item of £14 10*s.* for the insignia of Prince Arthur as a Knight of St. Patrick.

SIR JOHN HAY asked how the sum of £856 for the education and maintenance of the son of the late King Theodore was arrived at, and contrasted the liberality thus shown to a Prince whose father, at least, had not deserved our gratitude, with the refusal of our Government to vote a single farthing to show proper respect to Prince Kassa, to whose friendship, they had it on the testimony of Lord Napier of Magdala, that the success of our expedition to Abyssinia was very greatly owing. Prince Kassa entertained our Envoys, protected our communications, and provided supplies of food for our troops. He now wished his Envoys to visit England for a political object connected with the civilization of his own country, and, like an Eastern Prince, he desired them to be received when they came here with a moderate amount of hospitality becoming their rank. That, however, was entirely declined, and a Prince to whom we were much indebted was treated with the greatest indignity.

COLONEL SYKES confirmed what had just been said of the importance of Prince Kassa's services to the Abyssinian Expedition, and stated that that Prince wished to send two Envoys to this country with a letter and a present to the Queen. The Envoys had been detained in Egypt since last October, and they were told that they might send the present, but that they could not come themselves, for we could not make them our guests, although it was said the Pasha of Egypt, with more generosity, had made them his guests during their detention in Egypt. The Prince had sent a message to him (Colonel Sykes), through Colonel Kirkman in his service, that he was willing to give free grants of land to European immigrants in his country for the cultivation of cotton, sugar, and indigo. We had a name and a dignity to maintain in the world, and would be made a by-word by refusing to defray the trifling cost of entertaining at the Clarendon or Claridge's Hotels, of Prince Kassa's two Envoys for a couple of months.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he could not concur in the view taken by the last speaker. After the costly and painful experience we had lately had, he thought we had every reason to look with great caution upon anything which might entangle us in transactions with Abyssinian Potentates and Princes. It was very undesirable that the Government should in any way recognize those Abyssinian Envoys, or should hold out the least inducement to Europeans to settle in those barbarous countries, except entirely at their own risk. Turning to another subject, if the Government draughtsmen were not fully employed, he was not convinced that the draughting of the Bills included in that Vote should not have been done by the legal officers of the Crown.

Mr. CRAWFORD said, the Correspondence on the subject, which was accessible to any hon. Gentleman, fully explained why Messrs. Freshfield and Co. were employed. It was thought that no one was so competent to undertake the preparation of Bills involving so much detail and so much difficulty as the gentlemen who had been so many years employed in connection with the Bank.

Mr. MONK said, he was not altogether satisfied with the explanation which had been given of the item for drawing the Bills with reference to the National Debt. No reason had been assigned why the Statute Law Revision Bill should not have been drawn by the Government draughtsmen, and he would move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £800 in respect of that Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the proposed Vote be reduced by the sum of £800."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER explained that this Bill also, although described as the Statute Law Revision Bill, formed a part of the work of consolidation of the laws relating to the National Debt.

Question,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £21,065, be granted to Her Majesty, to pay certain Miscellaneous Expenses, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1871,"

put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

Lord ELCHO inquired the meaning of an item of £46, an allowance for "a Congo pirate chief, and rations to him."

Mr. KNATCHBULL - HUGESSEN said, that he would explain the matter on the Report.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE asked for the names of the distinguished persons conveyed by packet; he referred to the Vote for £83 5*s.* for that purpose.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the proposed Vote be reduced by the sum of £83 5*s.*"—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £21,781 15*s.*, be granted to Her Majesty, to pay certain Miscellaneous Expenses, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1871."

Mr. BAXTER promised to supply the names on bringing up the Report.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(14.) £6,031, Compensation to sufferers by fire at Pera.

Mr. CANDLISH asked upon what grounds this Vote was asked for.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER stated that the officers lived in the Embassy house, and on the occasion of the fire they all exerted themselves most zealously to put it out, even at the risk of their lives; but, although they managed to save some of the public property, they lost all their own. Under these circumstances, it would be cruel not to compensate them, in accordance with uniform precedent. It was proposed to grant to each officer some proportion of his estimated loss, but not the whole.

Sir JOHN HAY believed that in many cases the Government would be recouped from insurances had not those insurances been stopped from motives of economy. At Shanghai, for instance, the Consulate offices were burnt down only 15 days after the insurance, which was not renewed, had expired. He fully agreed that the officers were entitled to some compensation.

Mr. MONK mentioned that last year it was stated that, before the Embassy house at Constantinople was rebuilt, estimates of the expense would be laid on the Table of the House; and he wished to know when those estimates would be in the hands of Members?

Mr. STANSFELD said, the estimate would form part of the Civil Service Estimates for the present year. With reference to what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay), the Government had pursued the course adopted by all owners of large property, and had been their own insurers. In the case of Constantinople, the Treasury consented to make a contribution in aid of the sufferers. It was true that the Consulate offices at Shanghai were uninsured, and were burnt down; but he felt convinced that the premiums which they would have had to pay on property in China and Japan would have exceeded in amount their probable losses by fire.

Vote *agreed to.*

(15.) £8,030, Compensation to Owners of "La Have."

(16.) £50,200, Relief of Paris.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he did not rise to oppose the Vote, which was incurred in what they all regarded as the performance of a duty on the part of the Government. He had only risen because the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Baxter), in answering a Question on this subject on a former evening, after stating the quantity of provisions then in course of being sent, had added, that the fact of their being able to send such a quantity would be an answer to the criticisms made with regard to the very great reduction made in the Government stores. The amount of tons which the hon. Gentleman mentioned to the House as being in our possession amounted to about 17 days' provisions for a fleet of 50,000 men, and he therefore did not think the amount so large when the country expected that there should be at least a year's provisions in store.

Mr. BAXTER said, he had stated that the Government with three days' notice had sent 2,500 tons of provisions and that 1,100 tons more were ready for the purpose, if necessary. He altogether disputed the statement made by the hon. and gallant Gentleman, that there were only 17 days' provisions for 50,000 men in store; but during the Recess the hon. and gallant Gentleman and others had caused great apprehension in the country by charging the Government with having greatly reduced the stores, and he took the opportunity of showing that these statements were utterly unwarrantable.

Mr. WHITWELL asked whether the amount mentioned was the total amount sent out?

Mr. BAXTER replied that £48,000 was the value of the naval store contributed by the Admiralty, and the whole was replaced by the purchase department in a week.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he would be glad to learn how the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir John Hay) had arrived at the estimate with which he had favoured the Committee — an estimate which credited each seaman with eating something like 7 lb of solid food per day.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he had not the figures by him; but he had given them on the strength of an accurate calculation made by Mr. Richards, the late Controller of Victualling. He had himself gone into the figures; but his calculation amounted to 21 days, while Mr. Richards' was 17.

Mr. BAXTER observed, that the hon. and gallant Member for Portsmouth (Sir James Elphinstone) had made a similar statement, one which he found had occasioned great merriment at the Treasury.

Vote *agreed to.*

(17.) That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £148,265, be granted to Her Majesty, for the following Revenue and Post Office Packet Services, which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1871, viz. :—

	£
Inland Revenue	30,000
Post Office Packet Service ...	118,265
	£148,265

(18.) That a sum, not exceeding £63,973 9*s.* 11*d.*, be granted to Her Majesty, to make good Excesses of Expenditure beyond the Grants for the following Civil Services for the year ended on the 31st day of March 1870, viz. :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Class I.			
Portland Harbour	4,411	18	11
Embassy Houses, Paris and Madrid	51	3	3
Embassy Houses and Consular Buildings, Constantinople, China, Japan, and Tehran	5,768	7	8
Class II.			
Registrars of Friendly Societies ...	217	18	9
Lord Lieutenant's Household, Ireland	61	3	5
Chief Secretary's Office, Ireland ...	2,529	15	2
Class III.			
Criminal Prosecutions	3,101	15	6
Land Registry Office	17	15	5
Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Ireland	83	1	11
Convict Establishments in the Colonies	23,388	0	9
Court of Chancery, England ...	5,121	2	8
Court of Bankruptcy, England ...	9,843	15	8
Class IV.			
National Portrait Gallery, England	308	18	1
Public Education, Ireland ...	6,584	1	5
National Gallery, Ireland ...	456	2	1
Queen's University, Ireland ...	277	9	6
Belfast Theological Professors, &c.	50	5	5
Class V.			
Coolie Emigration	310	13	0
Treasury Chest	134	7	5
Class VI.			
Non-conforming Clergy, Ireland ...	31	10	11
Hospitals and Infirmaries, Ireland	114	10	1
Advances for New Courts of Justice	1,109	12	11
	£63,973	9	11

House *resumed.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

PAUPER INMATES' DISCHARGE AND REGULATION BILL.—[*Lords.*]—[BILL 70.]

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading, read.

MR. STANSFELD said, that this measure dealt with two of the classes giving the greatest trouble in workhouses. It proposed that paupers frequenting workhouses so constantly as to give rise to the belief that they belonged to the class of habitual paupers, merely using these institutions for their own convenience, should not in future be allowed to leave immediately, or at their own discretion, but should only be able to discharge themselves after the expiration of certain fixed period of notice. As to casuals, a very general opinion was entertained by those most competent to give an opinion upon the subject, that uniformity of diet and of work ought to be imposed, and Clause 6 accordingly took power to make regulations with a view to enforce this uniformity. The present state of the law as to the detention of casuals was that they could only be kept until they had performed the task which was supposed to pay for their board and lodging at night, if they performed it in less than four hours, or for a maximum period of four hours during which this task was supposed to be performed. It was now proposed to take power to detain them for four hours, and in any case until their task had been performed. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving that the Bill be now read a second time.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH was far from contending that additional power ought not to be placed in the hands of masters of workhouses; but the change now proposed was something entirely new in the history of the Poor Law. For the first time during the 40 years that the Poor Law had existed, a power of imprisonment within the workhouse was about to be conferred on the Guardians. The only power of that kind at present existing was one inserted in the Act of 1867, passed under his own charge, providing that in the case of contagious disease a power should exist of detaining the person so affected upon a proper medical certificate. The extension of the principle of detention contained in the present Bill ought not to be adopted without full recognition of its importance; and he hoped the Government would not bring on the Committee upon the Bill at an hour when it would be impossible to discuss the details of the measure properly. The first paragraph of the 4th clause would require revision, as it appeared to extend to all classes of pauper inmates without distinction.

MR. STANSFELD undertook that full notice should be given of the next stage of the Bill, and further, promised to give his attention to the clause referred to by his right hon. Friend.

MR. GATHORNE HARDY said, that in consequence of the postponement of the Army Estimates this matter had come suddenly and unexpectedly under the notice of the House. He did not wish to stop the second reading of the Bill, but felt bound to say that the Government proposed to act upon the old principle, which was, probably, the right one, of making vagrants not subject to the Poor Law, but criminals; but the jurisdiction was to be vested in the Guardians, and not in the magistrates, as was formerly the case. This was a very serious change indeed, and he feared the right hon. Gentleman had opened a question, the limits of which he, perhaps, did not perceive.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (HOUSE OF COMMONS).—RESOLUTION.

MR. EASTWICK, in rising to move—

> "That when Papers are presented by Command, or in pursuance of an Order of this House, or in answer to an Address, the same shall be laid upon the Table in such a form as to ensure a speedy delivery thereof to Members,"

said: Sir, I will not take up the time of the House for more than a few minutes. The matter which I wish to bring before it is a very simple one, and at first sight may appear very unimportant; but on consideration I think it will be found to deserve immediate attention. Sir, hon. Members, who sit on the Front Benches, and occupy official positions, are not much dependent on Parliamentary Papers for information as to subjects which interest them. They can obtain from their own Departments, or from the Departments of their Colleagues, all, or almost all, the information they require; but unofficial Members, like myself, are altogether dependent on those Returns, and cannot stir a step without them; and therefore it is of the last importance to us that the Papers moved for should be distributed with the utmost possible expedition and regularity. But, Sir, a practice has grown up which retards the distribution of Papers, and make it inconveniently irregular. This practice is, if I may call it by a single name, that of "dummies." What I mean is the practice of laying Papers on the Table of the House in blank, which is done that they may come out during the Recess; and unless they are so laid on the Table and are ordered to be printed, they cannot be circulated. Well, Sir, this practice, which began in an indulgence, has degenerated into an abuse. Those who lay the dummies on the Table, as happens in more serious matters, think they have cleared their consciences by the form, and seem not to care when the Returns themselves are delivered. I support this remark by a statement which I have in my hands, which shows that 15 Papers, moved for last Session, at dates between the 29th of April and the 10th of August, were not delivered till quite recently—that is, between the 10th of February and the 15th of March this Session. But, Sir, I can go a step beyond this, for the statement shows that seven Papers moved for last Session, between the 9th of June and the 10th of August, have not been delivered even yet. But even this is not all. I find there are two Papers which were moved for in the Session of 1868-9, which are still undelivered. It is obvious how much this must embarrass the arrangements even in the Library of the House, for the volumes cannot be bound up till these Papers are delivered. To private Members the inconvenience is very great, as they must either keep their Papers unbound, or leave them in the binders' hands till they are completed. With all deference to the better judgment of the Committee, of which you, Sir, are Chairman, I would suggest that, as a remedy for this abuse, it should be ordered that when Papers are laid on the Table in blank they should be accompanied with a statement of the exact period within which the real Papers will be distributed. I would further suggest that the period should be limited to four months from the end of the Session, so that all the Papers connected with that Session may be bound up at least a month before Parliament meets for the next Session. The hon. Member concluded by moving his Resolution.

Motion *agreed to*.

Ordered, That when Papers are presented by Command, or in pursuance of an Order of this House, or in answer to an Address, the same shall be laid upon the Table in such a form as to ensure a speedy delivery thereof to Members.—(*Mr. Eastwick.*)

OYSTER AND MUSSEL FISHERIES SUPPLEMENTAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE, Bill to confirm an Order made by the Board of Trade under "The Sea Fisheries Act, 1868," relating to the Frith of Forth, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE and Mr. ARTHUR PEEL.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 79.]

House adjourned at a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 21*st March,* 1871.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Sequestration * (54); Public Parks, &c. (Land) * (55).

Second Reading—Incorporation of Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland (41); Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society of Ireland Regulation (42).

Committee—Prison Ministers * (37-53).

Report—Benefices Resignation (43-52).

INCORPORATION OF TRUSTEES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF IRELAND BILL—(No 41.)—(*The Lord Cairns.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD CAIRNS, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, that this and the Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society of Ireland Regulation Bill had been introduced as Private Bills; but his noble Friend (the Duke of Richmond) having drawn the attention of their Lordships to the objects and scope of the measures, as coming more properly within the description of Public Bills, they had been withdrawn from the list of Private Bills and re-introduced as Public Bills. But although they were now public measures, they fell within the description of "hybrid Bills"—Bills which, though a portion of public and general legislation, yet largely affected private interests, and which were, therefore, always referred to the consideration of a Select Committee, where the details could be carefully examined in the same manner as strictly Private Bills were examined. The necessity of this Bill was this. By the Act for Disestablshing the Church of Ireland, provision was made that the clergy and laity of that Church might appoint a representative body, who, being formed, might apply for a charter of incorporation. This had been done; the representative body had been elected; a charter had been applied for and granted. The body thus incorporated was designated "the Church Body," and was empowered to hold the churches, parsonage houses, lands, and other real property reserved to the Disestablished Church, and to hold and administer the large funds which were expected to arise from the commutation of existing interests, or those which might be hereafter derived from voluntary gifts, bequests, and other sources. The Church Body might, in short, be said to be the trustees of the permanent temporal interests of the Church. But though the Act of 1869 made analogous arrangements with respect to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and with respect to other recognized religious communities, so far as authorizing the commutation of existing interests and other objects necessary to meet the intended change, it contained no provision for the incorporation of any body similar to the Church Body, as a continuous representative and trustee of the funds belonging to those other religious communities. The Bill of which he now proposed the second reading recited, that by the Act of 1869 the Parliamentary grant, commonly known as the *Regium Donum,* had been discontinued, and that any minister to whom any annuity was paid from that grant might apply to the Commissioners in the Act mentioned to commute his annuity for a capital sum, which was to be paid to trustees appointed by himself and the General Assembly for his benefit; and it provided that when it should appear that three-fourths of the ministers of any communion had consented to commute, the Commissioners should add 12 per cent to the capital sum for which each life interest had been commuted. The Bill further recited that three-fourths of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland had commuted their life interests, and had, with the General Assembly, appointed certain persons trustees to receive the capital sums; and, further, that in order to preserve undiminished the entire amount of the commutation money as a source of permanent endowment for their Church, the members of that Church had agreed to raise a "Sustentation Fund," so as to pay the annuities without touching the commutation money;

and that certain additional funds might accrue from time to time by bequest or otherwise—all of which funds had been placed by the commuting ministers, and the Assembly, in the hands of trustees; the recital further stated that the collegiate and educational funds, the churches, chapels, and manses, and other property of the Presbyterian Church, were now in the hands of trustees on behalf of that Church. The Bill proceeded to say that no provision had been made in the Act of 1869 for incorporating any body to act as trustees of the said commutation money, or of any present or future endowment fund for the said Church, or to hold property for any of the uses or purposes of the Church, and that it was desirable to make such a provision. It then proposed to enact that certain persons named (being in fact the persons who were at present trustees under deed or appointment) should be incorporated and constitute one body politic and corporate, by the name and style of "The Irish Presbyterian Church Trustees," upon the trusts and with the powers afterwards specified in a series of clauses. The Bill, in short, proposed to do for the Irish Presbyterian Church what the Act of 1869 did for the Disestablished Church of Ireland—namely, to authorize the formation of a representative body, who should be trustees for the property of the Church, and should make rules, with the consent of the General Assembly, for its management. There were probably some clauses which, when the Bill was considered in Committee, their Lordships might be disposed to dispense with; but all he asked at present was that their Lordships should assent to the general principle of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Cairns.*)

The LORD CHANCELLOR pointed out that the course adopted in the preparation of the Irish Church Bill had not been followed in the preparation of the Bill before the House. By the Act of 1869 power was given to the Disestablished Church to form themselves into a body who might obtain a charter from the Crown. A charter had accordingly been asked for and granted; but the present Bill actually incorporated the trustees of the Presbyterian body. There was no precedent for this in the case of any religious body in England or Ireland, and the Roman Catholics and the English Presbyterians had their property vested in trustees. He could only agree to the second reading on the understanding that the Committee would have full power to strike out the clauses as to incorporation.

Lord CAIRNS said, the Committee could deal with the clauses in the same way as if it were a Private Bill.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

PRIMITIVE WESLEYAN METHODIST SOCIETY OF IRELAND REGULATION BILL.—(No. 42.)—(*The Lord Cairns.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

Lord CAIRNS, in moving the second reading of this Bill, said it differed from the preceding Bill in this respect—that the Primitive Wesleyans, not being affected by the Irish Church Bill, had no need to reconstruct themselves as a Church. Their religious community had been established in 1818, under the name of "The Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society of Ireland," for the purpose of carrying out certain general principles, agreed upon at a meeting of the representatives of that Society in Ireland in that year. The Society had become possessed of certain funds and securities, and of preaching houses, schools, and other property. The Bill recited that the Society were desirous of obtaining power to alter and regulate their proceedings and powers, and to carry on their work in co-operation with the Church of Ireland and other religious bodies in that country. The Bill then recited that the Society had been since its formation governed by a "Conference," and that at a Conference held in November last, it was determined, amongst other things, to seek for powers to incorporate the Society, and to alter and amend the general principles and constitution of the Society. The Bill, therefore, proposes to enact that the Society should be constituted one body politic and corporate by the name of "The Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society of Ireland," who should be trustees, to hold and manage the property of the society upon trusts and with powers given in certain clauses. The Bill proceeded to give powers to the

Conference to administer the general government of the Society, and, declaring the "doctrine" of the Society to remain unaltered, empowered it to alter and amend its design, discipline, and laws. One clause empowered the Society, by a vote of the Conference, to unite with the Church of Ireland, or other religious body, upon such terms and conditions as might be agreed upon.

Moved "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Cairns.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR thought the clauses would require to be carefully scanned by the Committee, as they gave considerable powers, and, in a certain sense, changed the mode of discipline; provisions which ought not to be assented to unless they commanded the all but unanimous consent of the Society.

Bill read 2ª.

BENEFICES RESIGNATION BILL.

(Nos. 7, 43.)—(*The Lord Bishop of Winchester.*)

REPORT OF THE AMENDMENTS.

Amendments *reported* (according to Order).

Clause 7 (Commissioners may examine on oath. Limitation of Pension).

LORD CAIRNS *moved* to omit the word "gross" from the limitation "provided that in no case shall such pension exceed one third part of the gross annual value of the benefice resigned." The words, as they stood, might cast an unfair burden on the succeeding incumbent.

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER hoped their Lordships would maintain the clause as it stood. The provision did not make it compulsory upon the Commissioners to give a third of the gross value of the living, but left to their discretion what should be given according to circumstances. The proviso simply limited their discretion not to exceed this proportion. This discretion would be very useful and economical, since one living differed widely from another, and where uncertainty existed there was sure to be expense.

LORD CAIRNS said, he had been under the impression that when a full discussion took place the other evening upon this point, there was almost unanimity in favour of the omission of the word. He thought the argument of the right rev. Prelate rather indicated an increase of uncertainty than otherwise.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON also opposed the Amendment, pointing to the difficulty of arriving at the net value.

Then, on the Motion of the Bishop of WINCHESTER, new Clause *added*—

(Resignation by Lunatics.)

"The right of resignation and the duty of doing any act leading to it, connected with, or consequent on such resignation by this Act given to an incumbent, may if the incumbent be a lunatic found such by inquisition be exercised in his name and on his behalf by the Committee of his estate."

Clause 16 *struck out.*

Bill to be read 3ª on *Thursday* next; and to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 52.)

PRISON MINISTERS BILL.—(Nos. 37, 53.)

(*The Earl of Morley.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Amendments made.

Clause 4.

On the Motion of the Earl of MORLEY, proviso added at end of clause—

"Provided that it shall not be competent for the Secretary of State to require the erection of any new buildings for the purposes of this Act."

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 53.)

UNITED STATES — RECOGNITION OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

QUESTION.

LORD HOUGHTON said, that notwithstanding the great events which had occurred since the American War, there was hardly any decision of the British Government which had more historical importance than the determination, in the crisis of the American Rebellion, not to recognize the Southern Confederacy. He had no doubt that that decision was come to on grounds of large policy—a policy broad enough to overcome all personal opinions and prejudices; but it was probable—indeed, almost certain—that it was not arrived at without weighing the position of the question in the minds of other European Governments. He believed it was admitted that one great European Power was decidedly in favour of recognition, and that the British Cabinet came to a decision counter to the opinion and desire of that Power.

Now, a rumour had lately been spread in the great country on the other side of the Atlantic, with which we were at present engaged in such interesting negotiations, to the effect that the British Government was fully inclined to recognize the South, and was diverted from that purpose by the influence and expressly avowed opinion of another great Power, which assumed—perhaps somewhat ostentatiously — to be the chief friend of America in Europe. That rumour had been widely spread in the United States, and the name of a distinguished diplomatist — the Russian Minister at Washington — had been mixed up with the story, he having, it was alleged, stated that the rumour was correct. He had given his noble Friend (Earl Granville) sufficient notice of his Question to enable him to refer to contemporary documents at the Foreign Office, so as fully to inform himself whether there was any intervention by the Russian Government to influence the decision of the British Cabinet. He had brought the matter forward because if such an opinion extended itself it might seriously injure suspending negotiations with the United States. It was important that that country should understand the real motives of our conduct during its great struggle, and that it should do justice to the course taken by the British Cabinet of that time with regard to its interests. He would ask his noble Friend, Whether he is aware of the rumour that the present Russian Minister to the United States of America has stated that the British Government was only prevented from recognizing the independence of the Southern Confederacy by the influence and mediation of Russia ?

EARL GRANVILLE : The rumour to which my noble Friend (Lord Houghton) has alluded has certainly reached me ; but I trust, like many other rumours, it is unfounded — for any such statement would be founded on a complete misapprehension of the facts. As to the facts, I can speak with authority, for I had the honour of being a member of Lord Palmerston's Cabinet ; and I have communicated not only with Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cardwell, who were also members of it, but with Lord Russell, and I am speaking in the presence of the Lord Privy Seal (Viscount Halifax) and the noble Duke behind me (the Duke of Somerset) who are also cognizant of the facts. There is no record in the Foreign Office of any influence having been used in this matter by the Russian Government ; and, moreover, it was not required, as no proposal was ever entertained by Lord Palmerston's Cabinet for the recognition of the Confederate States.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET : As a member of Lord Palmerston's Cabinet, I can perfectly confirm the statement of my noble Friend. Being at the time at the Admiralty, and therefore at the head of the Navy, any such proposal as this would have attracted my serious attention, and I could not possibly have forgotten it. I am certain that no such proposal was ever made.

SEQUESTRATION BILL [H.L.]

A Bill for amending the Law relating to Sequestration of Ecclesiastical Benefices—Was *presented* by The Lord Bishop of WINCHESTER ; read 1ª. (No. 54.)

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, to Thursday next, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 21st March, 1871.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* —SUPPLEMENTARY CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATE. *Resolutions* [March 20] *reported.*

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*— Consolidated Fund (£462,580 9*s.* 11*d.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution in Committee—Ordered —First Reading*—Pilotage * [82].

Ordered—Weights and Measures (Metric System).*

Ordered—First Reading—Sequestration of Benefices * [80]; New Forest * [81]; Landrights and Deeds (Scotland) * [84] ; Sea Fisheries Act (1868) Supplemental * [83].

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee— Lodgers' Goods Protection * [54].

Considered as amended—West African Settlements [57].

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE.

QUESTION.

MR. BIRLEY asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether he can fix the day on which he will lay upon the Table of the House the alterations to be made in the New Code, 1871 ?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he had already laid the alterations on the Table, and that they would be printed as soon as possible ; he hoped within a few days.

If the hon. Member would look into the usual channels of information for that morning he would find what those alterations were.

EDUCATION—THE CENSUS—RETURNS OF CHILDREN.—QUESTION.

Mr. BOWRING, in the absence of the hon. Member for Stoke-upon-Trent (Mr. Melly), asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What decision has been arrived at in regard to supplying the School Boards who may desire to have the information, with the gross totals of the children between specified ages in their districts; how soon after the Census is taken will the information be given; and, whether he will cause the School Boards throughout the Country to be furnished with forms of application to the Registrar General?

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM replied that the Registrar General hoped to be able to present to school boards the gross totals referred to in the Question before the end of July, provided they were asked for before the 21st of April. But that was in the expectation that not many school boards would avail themselves of the privilege, because there would be a charge of 10*s.* per 1,000 children for the information, and even when the information was obtained it would give only gross totals, and therefore would not be immediately available for the purposes of school boards; it was to be hoped, therefore, that the greater number of them would follow the example of the London School Board, and collect the Returns they wanted for themselves.

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE—ARTICLE 32 (a) 2.—QUESTION.

Mr. DODDS asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether the average number in attendance under Article 32 (a) 2, of the new Education Code, means the day school average only, or the day school average plus the night school average; and, whether, where there is an infant school department, such average includes that department?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER replied that the average number of attendances under the article alluded to meant the day school average plus the night school average, and when there was an infant school department it included that department.

FRANCE—BRITISH SUBJECTS IN PARIS.—QUESTION.

Mr. CADOGAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have taken, or propose to take, any steps for the protection of British subjects and British property in Paris and at the French ports; and, whether it is proposed that Lord Lyons and the Staff of the British Embassy should follow the chief of the executive power to Versailles or remain in Paris?

Viscount ENFIELD: The French Government have requested Lord Lyons to join them at Versailles, and he has been authorized to do so, unless circumstances should appear to render it undesirable. In the event of his leaving Paris Lord Lyons has been directed to make all possible provision for the safety of British subjects, and to leave in charge of British interests Mr. Atlee and one or more Secretaries of the Embassy. Lord Lyons was further requested to furnish General Claremont with such instructions as, under existing circumstances, would render his services of the most value.

ARMY—ARTILLERY RETIREMENT. QUESTION.

Major ARBUTHNOT asked the Secretary of State for War, What number of annuities will be given out of the extra £5,000 taken in the Estimates for Artillery Retirement; what rank and length of service will entitle an officer to take advantage of them; whether promotion in both the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers has not been slower since the time when Mr. Childers' Committee sat; whether the remedial measures enumerated by the Secretary of State for War, on Thursday the 16th, are intended to meet the case prospectively, and to be a final solution, as far as the Government is concerned, of the difficulty, or whether they are meant merely as a temporary relief for the current year; and, whether Her Majesty's Government, either by a re-distribution of the money voted annually for retirement in these Corps, or any other means, intend to put an end to a system of retirement which was pronounced by the Committee of 1867 on the System of Retirement in the Army to be "unsatisfactory, complicated, uncertain in its operation, based upon no clear principle, and inadequate for its purpose?"

Captain VIVIAN: Sir, the annuities sanctioned by the Treasury are based upon £225 at 40 years of age, and vary with the age of the officer. It therefore depends upon the ages of the officers who accept how many can be retired. The power to retire upon these pensions will be limited to those officers who compose the block in the list of captains and subalterns. The measures proposed alleviate the difficulties under which the corps is stated to be suffering, and, if accepted, will do much to restore it to a normal condition. The promotion in the higher ranks of the Artillery has not varied during the last few years to any appreciable extent. The promotion to the rank of captain has been exceptionally slow; not, however, owing to the absence of vacancies, but to the absorption of supernumeraries, whose appointment had previously given abnormal promotion. Further consideration of the question will be given to it with the general question of retirement in the Army on the abolition of purchase.

IRELAND—GALLEY HEAD.—QUESTION.

Mr. M'CARTHY DOWNING asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether a Report has been made to his department of the wreck of the "Crescent City," a steamer of 2,400 tons burden, laden with specie and cotton, of the schooner "Cecil," and the "Joseph Sprott," all of Liverpool, in the month of February last, near the Galley Head, between the Lighthouses on the Old Head at Kinsale and the Fastnet Rock, by which many lives and property to a large extent were lost; whether representations were not previously from time to time made of the necessity for placing a light on the Galley Head, and a Report made by Captain Waulfe, R.N., to the same effect; whether since said wrecks a memorial has not been presented from a large number living in the district, asking for the erection of such a light; whether a Report has not been made on the subject to the like effect by the Harbour Board at Dublin; and, whether it is intended, in compliance with these several representations, memorials, and Reports, to erect a light thereon?

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE said, in reply, that the *Cecil* stranded a mile to the west of Galley Head, and the master having been reported to have steered a wrong course, an inquiry into the case had been ordered. In the case of the *Joseph Sprott*, the ship went on to the rocks in the midst of a thick fog and rain, she having been previously damaged at sea. The *Crescent City* was wrecked in the same locality, and an inquiry took place on the subject, when it was found that the wreck occurred through the master steering a wrong course. The master steered in a fog near the land, without using the lead, and his certificate has been suspended for two years, which was a very severe punishment. Representations had been made for placing a light on the Galley Head, and that matter came before Parliament in 1861. A memorial had also come from the district, together with other representations, again urging the placing of a light on the Galley Head, but those papers had only arrived at the Board of Trade from the Commissioners of Irish Lights that morning. The proper course would be for the Commissioners of Irish Lights to forward those papers, with the application for a new light, to Trinity House, when their recommendations would receive the consideration of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, and afterwards the full consideration of the Board of Trade.

ENGLISH SHIPS SUNK BY THE PRUSSIANS.—QUESTION.

Mr. GOLDSMID asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the owners of the six English vessels sunk by the Prussians in the Seine have received compensation; and, if not, what further steps the Government propose to take in the matter?

Viscount ENFIELD: The owners have not yet received compensation. The Board of Trade are actively engaged in investigating the claims. Some delay has arisen, owing to the absence on leave of the German Consul at Sunderland; but as soon as it can be decided what is the amount of indemnity that can fairly be claimed, a communication will be made to the German Ambassador, who has shown the greatest readiness to settle the claims with as little delay as possible.

NAVY—DEPTFORD DOCKYARD.

QUESTION.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If (as it appears that the sale of Deptford Dockyard to Mr. Austin has not been completed, and that the title will have to be made out to the Corporation of the city of London instead of Mr. Austin) he will delay the final conveyance of the same to the Corporation until an opportunity has been afforded this House of further information on the subject?

MR. GOSCHEN said, in reply, that the valuation obtained by the Admiralty on the property was £80,000, but those who made the valuation intimated that the Admiralty should not refuse a less sum. The Office of Woods then valued it, and their valuation came to £70,000, but ultimately the Government sold the property to Mr. Austin for £71,500, which sale was approved by the Treasury. Since then the Admiralty had had nothing more to do with the property. It was offered to the City of London in 1869 and refused by them, and the present transactions lay simply between the City of London and Mr. Austin.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON asked if the conveyance was made out to Mr. Austin or to the Corporation?

MR. GOSCHEN: To the Corporation under the legal obligations incurred.

SIR JAMES ELPHINSTONE asked if Mr. Austin had paid the money?

MR. GOSCHEN said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman was pressing a question without notice. The Admiralty were acting in the matter according to the legal obligations they had incurred.

NAVY—H.M.S. "MEGÆRA."—QUESTION.

MR. F. WALPOLE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he will lay upon the Table of the House the Report of Mr. Reed (late Chief Constructor of the Navy) on his survey of the "Megæra?"

MR. GOSCHEN: Sir, it frequently seems that other people know more of what is passing in the Admiralty than the Admiralty itself, judging from the way in which they are primed with certain matters that have not always occurred. I believe there has been no survey, and that the Admiralty has no such Report. Even if there had been, I think I should refuse to produce it; and I think the practice of finding out through the *employés* what is passing in the offices and asking for Papers ought to be checked by the House.

HARBOURS OF REFUGE—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

LORD CLAUD JOHN HAMILTON rose to move an humble Address to Her Majesty, praying that She would direct that the recommendations of the Harbours of Refuge Commissioners of 1858 be carried into effect as far as relates to the construction of a harbour of refuge at Filey, in Yorkshire. The question, he said, was one of the utmost importance, for it affected the lives and the property of a large portion of Her Majesty's subjects. In bringing the subject before the House he was supported by the Reports of two Committees of the House, by the Report of a Royal Commission, and by the votes of the House itself. The question was first seriously taken up in 1836, when a Committee was appointed to consider it; but no action resulted from its inquiries. In 1851 an application was made from Redcar, on the north-east coast, south of the mouth of the Tees, to construct a harbour of refuge at that place; but nothing came of it. But in 1856, and in January, 1857, this country was visited by a series of terrific storms, and the mind of the people was fairly stirred with regard to the great loss of life and property which occurred annually on our coasts; and early in 1857 Mr. Wilson, who was then Secretary to the Treasury, moved for the appointment of a Select Committee of that House to inquire into the policy of making further grants of public money for the improvement of harbours and for the construction of harbours of refuge on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. The Committee sat for two years, and reported, in the summer of 1858, unanimously in favour of the principle of grants of money for the improvement and extension of existing harbours, and also of grants of national money for the construction of harbours of refuge. That Committee included some men of great distinction—among others the present Chairman of Committees (Mr. Dodson), the senior Member for Hull (Mr. Clay), Mr. Ewart, and last, but not least, the Member for Kidderminster (Mr. Lowe), now occupying the distinguished position of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Committee reported in favour of grants of public money for the construction of harbours of refuge, but proposed that the sites on which such harbours should be made should be referred to a Royal Commission which should visit the coast; and accordingly, Mr. Wilson, in 1858, moved the appointment of such a Royal Commission. Between 1857 and 1858 Lord Palmerston's Government had gone out of office, and Lord Derby came in. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington) spoke in high terms of the manner in which Lord Palmerston's Committee had done justice to the subject, and said he felt bound, as First Lord of the Admiralty, to recommend the appointment of the Royal Commission. The Royal Commission reported in 1869, and recommended that there should be a grant of £2,365,000, with loans at a low rate of interest, for the improvement of certain harbours, on condition that certain stated local sums were raised to meet the national grants. In June, 1860—Mr. Wilson having gone to India, as Finance Minister, and Lord Palmerston having returned to office—Mr. Lindsay, the Member for Sunderland, moved a Resolution asking the House to carry into effect the Report of the Royal Commission. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich, in the course of the debate, accused the Government of trifling with the question. Mr. Milner Gibson, then President of the Board of Trade, defending the action of the Government, stated that the Report of the Commission was far too sweeping, and they could not sanction so large and irresponsible an expenditure of public money, but that the Government felt alive to the magnitude of the question, and at a very early period would introduce a Bill dealing with it. Lord Palmerston also admitted the necessity of harbours of refuge; but could not agree to such a large expenditure. The right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister also strongly opposed that large expenditure of public money. Mr. Milner Gibson was rather unfairly dealt with in being blamed for apathy on this matter, and the widows of seamen who had been wrecked were often styled "Milner Gibson's widows;" but Mr. Milner Gibson ought fairly to be exonerated. In fact, a change in reference to this subject had arisen since the time when the present Prime Minister was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the charge brought against Mr. Milner Gibson lay at the door of that right hon. Gentleman. In the following year the hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell) called attention to the question. Lord Palmerston again acknowledged the magnitude of the evil; but resisted the Motion. In May, 1862, Mr. Lindsay again moved in the matter; when Mr. Gibson deplored the annual loss of shipping and sailors, but still opposed the Motion. On a Division, Mr. Lindsay was beaten. In April, 1863, the question was again brought forward, and the Motion was again negatived. In 1864 Mr. Lindsay again brought it forward, and was again defeated. In 1865 Sir Frederick Smith introduced the subject, and was defeated by a majority of 12. Since then the question had remained in abeyance. Questions, indeed, were asked on the subject by the Member for South Durham (Mr. Pease) in 1866, and by his own Colleague (Mr. Bourke) in 1869; but the replies to their Questions were, as usual, unsatisfactory. He did not stand up to recommend the adoption as a whole of the Report of the Royal Commission of 1858. Since that time there had been many changes tending to the improvement of shipping and the manner in which ships were sent to sea. Many harbours had also received grants from the Public Loan Commissioners, and by those means had been greatly improved, and afforded great protection to shipping. He did not advocate a great national expenditure on what might be called local objects, and for which money should be raised from local and voluntary sources. But Filey could not be included in that category. The Royal Commission were unanimously of opinion that a harbour of refuge should be constructed at Filey entirely from national funds. He (Lord Claud John Hamilton) advocated the construction of a harbour at Filey—first, for the saving of human life; secondly, for the protection of property; thirdly, for the protection of the north-eastern sea fisheries; and fourthly, from a strategical point of view, as a naval station. From the mouth of the Humber to the Firth of Forth there was a long strip of coast about 200 miles in extent, containing all the coal ports of the eastern coast, and possessing the most extensive and varied coast trade—it might be said to be the most important of the whole seaboard of the United Kingdom. But the whole of the harbours on that coast were bar-harbours, and therefore not approachable at all tides by vessels of any considerable size. The only exception was Hartlepool, where there were 14 or 15 feet of water—[An hon. MEMBER: 21 feet]—but it was always referred to as a bar-harbour. It was given in evidence that in 1857 the entire tonnage of British sailing vessels clearing coastways from ports in England was 8,162,000 tons; coastways and foreign together 15,796,000 tons. The tonnage from the five ports of Newcastle, Hartlepool, Sunderland, with Seaham, Shields, and Stockton, clearing coastways, was 3,733,000 tons; coastways and foreign together 5,160,000 tons, representing 45 per cent of the whole coasting trade, and 32 per cent of the entire trade, coasting and foreign together. At the same time, Captain Washington computed that 25 per cent of the entire wrecks of the United Kingdom occurred here, or on one thirty-sixth of the whole seaboard of the country. The annual loss to the nation was computed at £1,500,000 and 830 lives. When these facts were put before the Committee, they had no hesitation in reporting that remedial measures should be taken to avert such evils. Besides, the trade and shipping of the United Kingdom were greatly on the increase, and casualties must also increase. There were several reasons which influenced the Royal Commission in selecting Filey as the best site for a harbour of refuge on the north-east coast. First of all, two-thirds of the Baltic trade between London and the Firth of Forth invariably made for Flamborough Head in returning homewards, and coasted towards their respective ports. It was also brought to the notice of the Commission that the annual imports of coal to London from north-eastern ports were 3,500,000, tons, and to other ports 5,000,000 tons, passing Filey in 20,000 vessels. Besides this, 300,000 tons were annually exported, two-thirds of which passed Filey. It was also stated that the colliers from the northern ports generally started together in large fleets, coasting along till they came to Flamborough Head, where, in case of a change of wind from the south, they sought shelter and waited a fair wind; but when, as often occurred on that coast, the wind shifted to south-east or south-east by east, the position of those vessels became critical in the extreme. They would either have to make for the shore—in which case the loss of vessels would be certain and of lives possible—or they would turn round to the north, and run back to whatever port they could enter; and it was under these wild flights for safety that terrible disasters annually occurred. The only harbour on the north-east coast which could be called a harbour was that of the Tyne: it was not strictly a bar-harbour, but in rough weather the entrance to it was dangerous from the strong undercurrents produced by the great freshes in the river meeting the heavy sea, which lifted the steerage of vessels out of the water and rendered them unmanageable. Last November three vessels, including a screw-steamer, went ashore from this cause. Therefore, vessels driven by south-east and easterly winds from Flamborough Head, having practically no place whatever to run to, were often driven to the Firth of Forth, and sometimes as far as Aberdeen. In a pamphlet which had recently been published by a gentleman thoroughly conversant with the subject, it was stated that fleets of loaded vessels leaving the coal ports bound south got up as far as Flamborough Head, where, becoming baffled by the wind, they were unable to "weather" the Head, and, consequently, congregated there in large numbers—often to the extent of many hundreds—not unfrequently of a thousand sail. If in this position they were caught by a south-east gale, there being no port capable of entry during a storm, they were scattered along the coast as far as the Firth of Forth, strewing the shores with wreck, or foundering by the way, and in the latter case usually carrying all hands to the bottom. Those ships which did succeed in reaching the shelter of the Forth—battered, damaged, and leaky, from their struggle with the storm, often with spars carried away, and scarcely a rag of canvas left—still had their whole voyage before them, and, after re-fitting, started again—too probably only to repeat the same process; so that it was by no means uncommon for a whole fleet to reach Flamborough Head and be driven back again as often as three times in one voyage, losing many of their number, both ships and crews, each time. In December, 1852, there were brought up for shelter in Filey Bay about 100 vessels, with a still larger number dodging on the north side of Flamborough Head; a south-east gale coming on, they were obliged to slip their anchors and run north, and several foundered with all hands. One master, Captain Sayers, described how his sails were blown away; the bulwarks and everything on deck were swept overboard; there was five feet of water in the hold, and the crew were exhausted with incessant labour at the pumps for nine days, during which time they could have no fire. They saw two of their companion vessels founder; but could render them no assistance. Ultimately, they got into Aberdeen; whither also were driven about 60 others of the fleet. Of the hundreds of captains examined on this point there was hardly one who could not speak to similar experiences—so that the loss of from 50 to 100 vessels, and from 20 to 50 or 60 lives in a single day on this line of coast, was shown to be a far too frequent occurrence. It might be pointed out that, according to the Wreck Chart, the wrecks did not occur in the neighbourhood of Filey; but the reason was that the vessels driven back made for their respective ports; and this was shown by the Returns of the Board of Trade, which proved that four-fifths of the vessels lost were laden. There had been gales in which laden vessels from the coal ports, compelled to dodge about the Head, became entangled with a fleet of vessels in ballast bound for the North, and the two had been blown out to sea together, or frequent collisions occurred causing serious loss. An instance of this occurred on the 2nd of January, 1857, when 76 vessels and 119 lives, at least, were lost. A similar disaster occurred on the 10th of February last, when, in one night, 53 vessels were lost—19 off Burlington, 2 off Filey, 7 off Shields, 1 off Scarborough, 7 off Grimsby, 2 off Hartlepool, and 2 off Withernsea, and the remainder off Yarmouth. He was informed on the best authority that 80 lives were lost, and that being added to the loss in other shipwrecks, the number of lives lost on the east coast in two months of this year would reach 100. If there were a harbour at Filey vessels would not hug the shore, as they did now, until it was too late. Such facts as he had quoted proved that the necessity for a harbour of refuge on our north-eastern coast was as great now as in 1857, when the Committee inquired. When Mr. Milner Gibson was pressed by the Board of Trade, he asked for "more time;" the matter had been in abeyance since 1857, and the state of the coast was as bad as ever, and the plea for "more time" would not do any longer. Enormous sums of money had been expended upon the improvement of the harbours of the Tyne and the Tees, the Public Loan Commissioners having advanced £175,000, £250,000, and £65,000 for this purpose; yet the colliers still needed a port of safety between the northern harbours from which they started and their destination. It might be that many vessels were sent to sea in an unseaworthy state, and that they were overladen and undermanned; but there was great difficulty in dealing with these matters, and meanwhile life was being sacrificed. Again, it might be said that the National Life Boat Institution afforded immense assistance in saving life. No one appreciated more than he did the efforts of the National Life Boat Institution; but it must be remembered that the purpose of that Institution was to save life, and that it did not attempt to save property; and in many cases its crews sacrificed their own lives in the attempt to save those of others. But what could even they do in the face of such a storm as that which occurred last month off Bridlington, when there were 20 or 30 wrecks near the pier, when 100 lives were lost, when the crew of the life-boat were drowned, and there was witnessed a scene of agony and despair which beggared all description? He might be told that steam colliers were, to a large extent, superseding sailing coasting vessels. It was true that there had been a large increase in steam colliers; but he had yet to learn that there had not also been a large increase in the sailing coasting vessels. Now, he was of opinion that it would be most impolitic on public grounds to attempt, by encouraging steamers, to stamp out the smaller class of coasting vessels. The north-east coast furnished the very best nurseries for seamen of the Royal Navy, and if the coasting trade were superseded by steamers only about a third of the men now employed in the coasting trade would be required to navigate those steamers. Since 1857 the coasting and foreign trade had increased enormously. The total foreign and coasting trade in 1857 was 23,178,792 tons, giving an average per month in that year of 1,931,565 tons. In February, 1871, the total foreign and coasting trade was 5,456,000 tons, being an increase over one month in 1857 of 3,524,467 tons. The coasting trade of the kingdom increased steadily year by year. The coasting trade in February, 1869, represented 2,587,085 tons; and in February, 1871, 2,684,993 tons. But while the coasting trade continued to increase, so did the casualties. In 1860 the total number of casualties at sea was 1,379, and the number of lives lost 536. In 1863 the total number of casualties was 2,001, and the number of lives lost 620. In 1866 the total number of casualties was 2,289, and the number of lives lost 896. In 1869 the total number of casualties was 2,594, and the number of lives lost 933. The casualties on the east coast were about one-third of the casualties on all parts of our coast; and on this calculation it would be seen that, in 1860, the casualties on the east coast were 459, and the lives lost 178; in 1863, 667 casualties and 206 lives; in 1866, 763 casualties and 298 lives; and, in 1869, 864 casualties and 311 lives lost. He believed that the storm of the last month had again roused up a strong feeling on this subject among the people along the east coast of England. They were determined that at last something should be done to prevent this terrible loss of life and property. In 1857, no doubt, many hon. Gentlemen advocated particular ports on interested and selfish grounds; but he believed that, with about one exception, the north-eastern ports had sunk their differences and consented to the building of a harbour of refuge at Filey. As he had already stated, he advocated the construction of a harbour of refuge as a means of extending the north-east fisheries. No social question had so much engrossed the attention of Parliament and the country as the improvement of our fisheries, both deep and inland. The Report of the Commissioners of Fisheries in 1866 stated that the annual value of the fisheries on the east coast was £2,000,000, and that the north-east coast fisheries were of the same extent as the superficial area of Ireland, and were annually increasing in value to the extent of £10,000 per annum. He found by the Board of Trade Returns that the number of registered fishing boats in England was 16,195, representing 127,013 tons, and employing 47,290 men and 7,467 boys. Between Lynn and Shields, inclusive, there were 2,815 boats, representing 35,249 tons, and employing 7,980 men and 1,763 boys — thus bearing a proportion of 17·27 and 16·23 respectively. The whole of these boats were engaged in fishing on the Dogger Bank, and in addition there were the boats from Yarmouth, from the South of England, and from Scotland. These vessels in a storm had absolutely no place of refuge, and it was necessary for the extension of these fisheries, which the Commissioners said were to a great extent unworked, that some harbour of refuge should be provided. An increased working of these fisheries would cause a large reduction in the market price of fish, and a wholesome article of food would be more generally placed within the reach of the poorer classes of this country. He now came to the question of the construction of a harbour of refuge as a naval station on the east coast of England. That at the present moment was a question of the most serious importance. It had been the custom of this country for many years past to regard the French people as our great rivals and as enemies, and it had consequently been the policy of Parliament and of statesmen—among the latter he referred especially to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Palmerston—to provide for the adequate defence of this country, and to have regard more especially to the defence of the southern rather than any other portion of our coasts. We had large establishments at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and extensive works at Jersey, Alderney, Dover, and Portland, as a sort of set-off for Cherbourg on the other side of the Channel. But the happy relations which after the

Crimean War existed between England and France, and the momentous events of the last few months on the Continent, had altogether altered the military position of this country. In the late war France had been so utterly crushed that any apprehension from that quarter for many years to come was almost beyond the bounds of probability. The Government, with the sanction of the country, had asked the aid of Parliament in placing this country in a state of adequate defence; but if our rival on the South was for the present extinguished, and if it was wrong and ungenerous to cast looks of apprehension across the Atlantic, where did the danger lie? He thought we had now to look for it from the East, and that not at a very great distance. From the time of that unfortunate—he might say degrading—decision of Lord Palmerston with reference to the Danish War, the whole position of this country had been altered. That war, which resulted in the cession of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, the Austrian War, and, finally, the utter defeat of the French, had raised up on our east a stupendous and aggressive military Power, supported by people bound together by ties of the most extraordinary nature, and ready at any moment to follow the bidding of their rulers. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government had stated that our first line of defence—and he thought that proposition had met with the general acceptance of the country—must be in a fleet of iron-clads; but a fleet of iron-clads, to form an efficient first line of defence, must have harbours at which they could rendezvous, from which they could keep watch, and, above all, at which they could easily coal. Yet from Sheerness to the Firth of Forth where would they find a harbour with such capabilities? If hon. Members would cast their eyes across the sea to Prussia they would find at Jahde, in Oldenburgh, dockyards and fortifications equal to a second Cherbourg springing up opposite our own shores. That arsenal, which was already in a thriving state, was opened with some pomp in 1869 by the King of Prussia, and the Report of the Admiralty Officer who then attended was of an interesting and instructive character. At the mouth of the Elbe the Prussians might construct another great arsenal, and if the channel, capable of allowing men-of-war to pass, which was projected from Kiel to the German Ocean, through Holstein, was carried to a successful completion, there was nothing to prevent the whole Russian and Prussian fleets coming through almost in a single day. Under such circumstances, our eastern coast would be almost at the mercy of an invader. What was there on the east coast of England to pit against them? There was not one harbour that was capable of coaling a man-of-war along the coast of a thickly-populated, wealthy, and important district. The evidence which was given before the Committee of 1857 was in favour of Filey from a strategical point of view. All the witnesses agreed that it was the most salient point on that coast; for there a fleet could keep a lookout to the east, the north, and the south; while they also approved of it as a safe place for shipping in case any war should occur. A gallant officer (Captain Sherard Osborn), who was a man of great ability, and whose opinion would be favourably received by both sides of the House, thus wrote to *The Times* last August—

> "There is no part of Great Britain so open to attack or insult, yet so little prepared for it, as the seaboard which faces the North Sea and European Continent. To defend this coast I hold that we should have a good home squadron of iron-clad monitors, fit to handle in shoal water with speed, to move suddenly to any point threatened; and the next most essential point is the construction of good harbours of refuge, one on the east coast of England and another in Scotland, where our squadron could always concentrate, seek shelter, or repair, and within which, as at Portland, the fleet of our merchantmen may run for succour or safety."

There were many other authorities on the subject; in particular Admiral Washington, the late Hydrographer of the Navy, had reported as to the absolute necessity of establishing some naval station on our east coast, and it was in order to ascertain the opinion of the present Hydrographer to the Admiralty that he recently moved for any Correspondence on the subject. Passing on to the local reasons for selecting Filey as a proper spot for a harbour of refuge, it might be mentioned that the north of Flamborough Head was the place where the great bulk of the coasting vessels and also those engaged in the Baltic trade congregated. Filey was protected on three sides, and near it was a natural breakwater half-a-mile in length, which would afford an excellent foundation for any works that might be projected, and there was at Filey as good anchorage as there was in the kingdom, the ground being hard firm clay, covered with a thin coating of sand, which had not shown the slightest tendency to silt or shoal. As to the question of expense, there was within a short distance of Filey an abundant supply of excellent stone that was suitable for the construction of a breakwater, and an estimate had been made that a harbour capable of affording refuge to all our largest men-of-war as well as to a large number of merchant ships, covering an area of 665 acres, could be constructed there for £860,000. Bearing upon this point was the question of the utilization of convict labour, which had much occupied the attention of Parliament during the last few years. It was at one time thought that the labour of convicts could not be economically utilized; but that problem had now been solved, and it was shown that the average labour of convicts was worth 2*s.* a day. The Director General of Convict Prisons had visited Filey, and it was to be regretted that the Home Secretary had declined to present that officer's opinion to the House, though he hoped that when the Correspondence was complete the Papers would be laid on the Table. By these facts and statements he had tried to show the House that the state of affairs with respect to casualties and losses of life on our north-east coast was just as bad now, in spite of all that had been done, as it was in 1857-8; and he had endeavoured to show that should a harbour be built at Filey, it would not only afford ample protection to our shipping on that coast, but that it would also result in the saving of much property and the lives of many hardy sailors; while, above all, it would give a central and admirable station for the British Fleet in the North Sea. On these grounds he asked the House to give this proposition their favourable consideration. There need be no delay in this matter, because no improvements that scientific research could suggest, no new discoveries that might be made, no laws that the House might pass could regulate or prevent the destructive nature of the storms on the north-east coast. If hon. Members did not make use of the resources which were at their disposal, there would be oft-repeated accounts of shipwreck, disaster, and lamentation. There was not another country in Europe that would stay its hand for a moment in trying to avert such calamities—and yet England, the richest of them all, stood hesitating between the lives of some of her bravest men and the expenditure of a paltry sum from her National Exchequer. The noble Lord concluded by moving the Address.

MR. WHEELHOUSE seconded the Motion. Reference had been made by the noble Lord (Lord Claud John Hamilton) to the Report of the Committee of 1857 and a Resolution of the House which afterwards affirmed their decision. The Resolution stated that in the opinion of the House it was the duty of the Government to adopt, at the earliest period, the necessary measures to carry into effect the recommendations of the Commissioners appointed in 1858 to inquire into the formation of harbours of refuge on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. The Royal Commission had done their work thoroughly; but the strong objection to carry out their recommendations was the expense which would necessarily be incurred. ["No!"] If not, why had they not been acted on? The cost of constructing Filey Harbour had never been placed higher than £860,000—should such an amount stand in the way of our having a harbour there? Shipwrecks with all their horrors did not come home to the minds of hon. Members; the ships sunk, and the men were swallowed up and passed out of memory—the poor fellows, moreover, belonged to a lowly class; but that was no reason why the House should not do its duty by them. The gentlemen who had taken part in these inquiries were practically acquainted with the subject, and their recommendations ought not to have been overruled by persons sitting in the office of the Board of Trade, who must necessarily be ignorant of the peculiar requirements of that coast. No doubt the great obstacle to the recommendations to which he had referred being carried out was the great expense they would involve, but it was our national duty to do all in our power to preserve the lives of our sailors. Were the same annual loss of life to occur in railway accidents that was occasioned by wrecks, and were the matter thus brought more immediately before our eyes, there would be no further delay in legislating upon the subject. It had been said that Filey could bear no part of the necessary cost; but surely that was a matter which was hardly worthy of consideration. Soon after the Commission had reported some gentleman in London—whom he was happy not to know—chose to make a Memorandum in reference to the Report of the Royal Commission, in which he eliminated nearly all the power and force from their finding. He eliminated just what he pleased, and left only just so much as was necessary to break down the case of the Committee and of the Royal Commission, and there he left it. Whoever the writer may have been, it was clear that he knew nothing about the matter, and his Memorandum was as worthless as the paper upon which it was written. He did not even know whether the writer was an officer of the Board of Trade or a sailor; but any sailor who knew the coast would agree with him (Mr. Wheelhouse) in reference to it. It was only when there was a storm upon the coast, and when the agonized cry of the seaman was scarcely audible, and when the roaring element around him was preparing to engulph him—then, and only then, it was that men could form an opinion of the dangers of the northern coast. He entreated the House, by the humanity which was common to them all, to do that which ought to have been done years and years ago.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to direct that the recommendations of the Harbours of Refuge Commissioners of 1858 be carried into effect so far as relates to the construction of a Harbour of Refuge at Filey in Yorkshire."—(*Lord Claud John Hamilton.*)

SIR HARCOURT JOHNSTONE said, he cordially supported the Motion of the noble Lord. The interest taken in this question was not purely local, as would be seen in the fact that the noble Lord who had introduced the Motion for the construction of a harbour at Filey, sat for a borough in Norfolk (King's Lynn). So long ago as 1835 a Committee strongly urged that the borough of Scarborough, which he himself represented, was the most proper place for a harbour of refuge. But since then times had changed, and he could not venture to make such a statement now in the face of the evidence which he had read on the subject. Though he had not a strong local interest, he might say he had more local knowledge than any other Member of the House. No man lived nearer to it; no man knew better how perilous it was to seamen, and to what storms it was subject to at all times of the year. In January, February, and at the time of the equinox, it was a most perilous and dangerous coast. During the first survey which Captain Washington made on that coast, he (Sir Harcourt Johnstone) had the pleasure of being present with him on many occasions, and had heard his opinion, and he remembered quite well that he was in favour of a harbour of refuge at Filey. He would direct the attention of the House to one point in the Report of the Commissioners, issued in 1859, which to his mind turned very strongly on this question. The Commissioners, in pointing out the conveniences of Filey as a place for a harbour of refuge, said—

"We submit that a sum not exceeding £800,000 be granted for its construction. The site is one which, independently of the facilities of construction, is unquestionably superior to any other on the coast, and it may be enlarged to any extent desirable."

He had also a Blue Book of the Report of the Committee of 1836, and he believed there were members of that Committee still living. He found that the Committee of that day were not prepared to offer any opinion whether such a harbour should be kept up at the public expense from the interests of humanity, or for national objects. Since those days the interests of humanity had advanced a little. The evidence of Captain Hewett was in favour of harbours of refuge on the coast. The evidence supplied by the noble Lord the Member for King's Lynn was so overwhelming in favour of Filey that he need not go into particulars, and he would content himself with pointing out a few of the arguments in its favour. In the first place, it was the most salient point of the coast—a consideration which naval men would regard as of great importance in the case of a naval war. It certainly had the best anchorage on the coast, and a good clay bottom. It was also nearest to the great port of Hull, the trade of which was increasing at the rate of at least 30 per cent per annum; and, in the event of a naval war on our hands, Hull would be one of the first places that would be attacked. Further, there was a natural breakwater extending for a considerable distance into the sea, so that the foundation of the northern part of the harbour might be said to be already formed; there was, moreover, abundant stone at hand of good quality, and if it was considered not sufficiently good, stone could be got from the other side of Yorkshire. There was another argument in its favour—namely, economy of time. It would be a great matter to owners of ships not to be driven about by stress of weather for three or four days on the voyage, as they now were. But there was a much stronger consideration—the economy of lives it would produce. It might, perhaps, be said that shipwrecks were dispensations of Providence; but he maintained that many of them could he prevented, and that it was the duty of the Government to endeavour to do so. If it were said that was a question of money, he answered that money would be well spent for such an object, and the Government ought to spend it. If they looked to the large sum of money they had not spent by not going to war, surely that was as good as money in the pocket of the nation, and surely a small part of our savings might be advantageously applied to a purpose like this. If commercial companies were capable of spending large sums on one harbour in a very few years—if there had been spent on the Tyne Docks £760,000 for the accommodation of their traffic—surely it was not too much to ask that the Government, which was a body corporate, elected by the voice of the nation, and charged with the responsibilities of the nation, should spend £800,000 on a harbour for saving both life and property belonging to the nation. Looking to the evidence of Captain Washington, he believed that 45 per cent of the lives that were lost by wrecks on the coasts of England were lost on the north-east coast, and that property to the value of £1,000,000 sterling was lost to the nation every year. The question also affected every ratepayer on the north-eastern coast. Those who were connected with Boards of Guardians would know very well the number of widows and orphans of sailors that were thrown on the parishes every year. The list, which came before him very often, was enough to appal anyone. And what were those lives which were sacrificed every year merely by the procrastination or miserable policy of Government? They were the very backbone of the Naval Reserve; and the Commissioners, in their Report, stated that the north-east coast was a nursery for seamen, excelled by none and equalled by few. The policy of sacrificing the lives of those men he could not understand. He admitted that he, and those who agreed with him, were asking for money, and wanted to get it, it was because they wanted to get in the thin end of the wedge, so as to get harbours of refuge elsewhere. If there had been any desire on the part of the shipowners of the uorth-eastern coast to combine so as to present their case to Parliament, a much better case would have been presented to the House. Those who had most reason to complain did not make themselves heard, and therefore their case did not come urgently before Parliament. They were not asking Government to legislate for imaginary dangers, but to prevent that distress which was constantly occurring, and which they believed would be remedied by harbours of refuge.

Mr. PEASE said, the House must have listened with great interest to the excellent speech of the noble Lord the Member for King's Lynn (Lord C. J. Hamilton), who had stated his case with that remarkable ability which always characterized his addresses to that House. He thought it must have been tedious to right hon. Gentlemen both on the Liberal and the Conservative Benches—most of whom had sat longer in the House than he had—to have this old question of harbours of refuge once again before it. He took a great interest in the subject, and had taken a humble part in the agitation which had induced the House of Commons to appoint the Commission of 1858, whose Report was the foundation of the Motion of the noble Lord. But he must remind the House that since that Report was issued a different view as to harbours of refuge had prevailed from that advocated by the noble Lord, and it had been thought that more good would be effected by the expenditure of small sums of money on numerous local harbours, than by the expenditure of large sums in the construction of one or two of vast dimensions, as would be the consequence of the noble Lord's Motion. The noble Lord had singled out one harbour of refuge to which he was particularly partial, and had left Hartlepool, Newcastle, and other places in the same neighbourhood to take care of themselves, as well as all other harbours on various other portions of the coast, as recommended for construction by the Commission. Hartlepool, however, was a most important place; it had a depth of something like 20 feet of water at spring tides; it shipped annually 1,500,000 tons of coal; it imported 300,000 quarters of corn, 30,000 sheep, and 3,000 head of cattle, besides other merchandize. Such a place could not be neglected in considering the subject under discussion, and besides that, it was the most westerly point of the north-east coast. The question really was, should the House follow the plan it had hitherto uniformly adopted of granting loans for the improvement of existing harbours on the security of the local authority, or grant large sums absolutely for the construction of harbours of doubtful value, at least so far as the saving of life was concerned? The noble Lord had entirely overlooked the difference made by the substitution of steam vessels for the old sailing ships. The steamers of the North made somewhere about 56 voyages a-year to London and back, and they would not leave the Tyne, the Tees, and the Wear until they saw their way clear long past Filey; so that Filey for the coasting trade between London and the North would be of comparatively little or no use. Moreover, since the issue of the Report of 1858, very large sums had been advanced to the Commissioners of the Tyne and the Wear and the Tees for the improvement and deepening of those rivers. The river Wear had, at a local expenditure of £500,000, been made almost a harbour of refuge; on the Tees remarkable facilities existed for making a harbour in the refuse slag, from the furnaces of which the ironmasters were very anxious to get rid; and a wall had been made the whole length of the Tees between Stockton and the bar for some 12 miles. The Tees bar, which formerly had only some 2 or 3 feet of water, had now some 13 or 14 feet. The money for these improvements had been advanced by the Exchequer Loan Commissioners, and would all be repaid in due course. The Tyne Commissioners had been assisted in a similar manner with similar results; and he trusted this sound policy would be continued, because it was unquestionably the most economical, the most efficient as a means of saving life, and tended most efficiently to increase the general commerce and wealth of the district. The local authorities at Hartlepool were now applying to the Exchequer Loan Commissioners for assistance to make a harbour which, if smaller than that contemplated by the Commission, would be substantially a harbour of refuge, and thus be instrumental in saving life, while they at the same time benefited the whole country by increasing the sum of our exports and imports. With these facts before him he very much demurred to the Government granting money where it could produce very little benefit, either for the saving life or promoting commerce. If they wanted a harbour of refuge on that coast, one at Hartlepool would be better than anywhere else.

MR. C. SYKES said, he had two reasons for trespassing on the indulgence of the House while he supported the Motion of the noble Lord. In the first place, he had the honour of representing a large and important constituency, the sea-coast of which by the construction of a harbour of refuge would be made of immense national importance to the commerce and trade of the country, instead of being, as it now was, a barrier and a snare. In the second place, he had lived nearly all his life within a very few miles of Flamborough Head, and he had seen the whole coast black with wreck; he had been on board a small vessel in a very heavy sea, when it was a matter of great doubt whether it would be able to weather that cape, and he, therefore, could realize more, perhaps, than any hon. Member of the House the danger that environed that coast. He would venture to remind the House that there were sufficient traces to show that the Romans, 18 centuries ago, had made use of these facilities, and he had himself seen in Filey Bay traces of a great Roman work for forming a harbour of refuge. He had no intention to pronounce a decision upon the relative advantages of Bridlington Bay and of Filey Bay—that was a subject which was peculiarly the province of engineers and scientific men, of seamen and geographers. What he asked the House was that they should not be alarmed at this proposed expenditure, which might at first seem large, but which, compared with the sums asked for night after night, appeared to him very small. He entreated the House to believe that he did not ask for this merely as a local man, but because he wished to see carried out a great national, commercial, and humanitarian object.

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE thought his noble Friend the Member for King's Lynn had made a very good speech on a very strange proposal. Indeed, he had seldom heard a more remarkable suggestion than that which his noble Friend had made to the House that evening. His noble Friend asked the House to single out one particular spot upon the coast of the country for the expenditure of public money in the construction of a harbour of refuge. Now, he did not think it necessary to go into the question as to the general merits of harbours of refuge, which he thought had been greatly narrowed by previous inquiries. His own impression was that the thorough discussion which this question received some years ago conclusively proved that the advantages of harbours of refuge, as far as concerned the safety of life and property, had been greatly exaggerated, and that, at all events, unless these harbours of refuge were numerous, they would be of very little use. When this question was formerly under consideration it was pointed out that there were many other means of saving life and property far more effectual than the construction of harbours of refuge; and, among them, to secure that goods and human beings should be sent to sea in ships and vessels capable of enduring the perils of the sea. Though he was unable to say that no unseaworthy ships were now sent to sea, he believed that the number in former years was far larger than it was now, and especially with respect to the coal trade on the east coast of England, that the new class of vessels now employed, and which were increasingly employed in that trade, contained within themselves greater means of safety than could be secured by the mere multiplication of harbours of refuge. But he would just remind the House of the main points in the history of this question for the last few years. The question having been warmly taken up by a number of gentlemen, they procured first of all the appointment of a Select Committee, and afterwards of a Commission of Inquiry to go round the coasts. The Commission was to a great extent identical with the previous Committee, though numbering also among its members more men of professional eminence. Yet there was a very great distinction between the recommendations of those two inquiries. The Committee recommended the construction of a certain number of harbours of refuge, at a cost of something less that £2,000,000, two-thirds of which sum was to be raised by a charge imposed upon the shipping interest of this country. On the other hand, the Commission, which was certainly the more important body, were decidedly of opinion that the small number of harbours recommended by the Committee would be insufficient; and, while recommending that an additional number of harbours should be constructed at an expense exceeding £4,000,000, they were entirely opposed to the imposition of any charges upon the shipping interest, and recommended that the cost should be defrayed mainly out of the Consolidated Fund, with some minor assistance from the localities concerned. But he would remind his hon. Friend the Member for Leeds (Mr. Baines) that the Commission were opposed to the construction of a single harbour of refuge, and that although they recommended that a harbour should be constructed at the Tyne at the cost of £1,000,000, another at Hartlepool at the cost of a further £1,000,000, and a third at Filey at a cost of £800,000, they were also of opinion that the thing, if done at all, ought not to resolve itself into the construction of a single harbour of refuge. Now, in the year 1860 that House adopted a Resolution in favour of those recommendations. But what had happened since then? So decided was the opinion of Lord Palmerston's Government that it was not the proper course to enter upon this great expenditure of public money, that they declined to act upon that Resolution of the House of Commons; and that Resolution was accordingly, and had been on several occasions since that time, reversed. In 1864, when this question was last brought before the House, the course was somewhat remarkable. It was then discussed from a national and general point of view by Mr. Lindsay, the then Member for Sunderland. On that occasion Mr. Lindsay moved the adoption of the Report of the Royal Commission. To that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) moved as an Amendment that either the whole, or, at all events, a portion of the expense, should be defrayed by tolls on shipping, in accordance with the plan recommended by the Committee by whom the subject had been considered. The whole question was then discussed on the double issue thus raised. It was opposed by Mr. Milner Gibson on the part of the then Government, and both the original Resolution and the Amendment were rejected by large majorities. The question now is, does the House mean to reverse the decision so arrived at? If they did, the question should be treated as a whole, as it was treated when under consideration in 1864, and the House should be asked to review the whole subject. They should not permit the system of urging the claims of a single harbour against all rivals. It was vain for his noble Friend, or those who followed, to represent this as a national question; it was simply a local question. ["No, no!"] What he meant was that a dozen other Gentlemen might get up and make out as good a case for other parts of the coast. Not that Filey had not a good deal to say for itself; but his noble Friend himself admitted that people preferred their own ports, and that other places had a great deal to say for themselves. The House would, perhaps, like to be reminded of the extent to which that was the case, and of the manner in which those ports had been run one against another. In a Memorandum with respect to the north-east coast of England he found that the evidence from North Shields went to prove that the Tyne, the Weir, and the Tees should be the places selected for harbours, as one would not be sufficient; and that Filey was not necessary at all. At Sunderland, also, the evidence was in favour of the Tyne, the Weir, and the Tees, and against Filey. At Hartlepool the evidence went to show that Hartlepool was plainly the proper place, and not Filey. At Redcar the evidence was that Redcar was better than Hartlepool and than Filey. At Whitby it was maintained that Whitby was better than Filey, than Redcar, and than Hartlepool, and that Filey Bay was not convenient at all; and it was added that the improvement of existing harbours would do more good than the construction of new ones. It was not until the Commissioners came to Filey that they got evidence that Filey was the proper place in preference to Redcar, Hartlepool, and other places; but then this remarkable admission followed—that in that case it would be necessary that there should be another to the North as well. Such was the state of things brought out during these investigations—the result being that if the policy recommended by the noble Lord the Member for King's Lynn was adopted, it would be preposterous to confine it to one single harbour; it must be carried very much further, and the £800,000 asked for would be a mere bagatelle in comparison with the vast sums which would be required in the end. But, further, it appeared that a greater number of lives had been lost on other parts of the coast than that to which the noble Lord had directed their particular attention. Why was it, then, that his noble Friend should take such special care of human life and property on one particular stretch of coast without paying any regard to the rest? His noble Friend had entirely forgotten the country with which he was so honourably connected—he meant Ireland. Then, his noble Friend had attempted to strengthen his case by considerations of a totally different character, which showed that he felt the weakness of his case upon commercial grounds, for he went into the Admiralty question and the Home Office question. His noble Friend told the House that it would be an excellent thing to have a great naval harbour on the east coast, and that our convicts might be advantageously employed in constructing it. But, as far as he could learn, the Department responsible for the Navy of this country had no idea that it was necessary, and his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary had informed him that he had no necessity for finding new work for his convicts at Filey, for he had other plans by which they could be profitably employed. He would, therefore, put these two pleas entirely aside. His noble Friend had not told the House how the

£800,000, and the millions for other harbours which would follow, were to be provided. In the days when the inquiry into the subject was carried on there were two plans by which it was proposed to be done—the one mainly by a special charge on the shipping interest, the other by money out of the Consolidated Fund, with some contributions from local sources. But the Government of the day, supported by Parliament, adopted neither; their policy was much sounder. It was to assist localities by a system of Government loans on easy terms for the improvement of their harbours. That was the policy deliberately adopted in 1860; it had been going on since, and with very great success. There was evidently a very considerable advantage in combining harbours of refuge with trading and commercial harbours, because a large portion of the danger was incurred by vessels in attempting to make their own ports. The natural effect of offering those loans was to make the port of destination a harbour of safety as well as a trading and commercial harbour; but as at Filey there was no trade it was not likely the inhabitants would avail themselves of the Government loan. But this had not been the case with other places. Up to the end of 1869—the latest date for which he had returns—loans to the amount of £3,000,000 had been applied for, while £1,734,000 had been granted, and he was informed that the money had been laid out most advantageously. Therefore he demurred to the policy, so frankly stated by his hon. Friend the Member for Scarborough (Sir Harcourt Johnstone), of inserting the thin end of the wedge. If the policy of successive Governments and Parliaments was to be reversed, let it be done on full consideration, but not in the way the noble Lord proposed. The late Government, as far as he knew, showed no intention, during their period of office, of altering that policy, and he would be very much surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman whom he saw opposite (Mr. S. Cave) declare it unsound. He was convinced that the House would not consent to deal with the question in this piecemeal fashion, and he could not advise them to entertain the proposition that had been submitted to them by the noble Lord.

Mr. STEPHEN CAVE rose to answer the challenge of the right hon. Gentleman. He was not prepared, he confessed, to reverse the decision at which the House arrived in 1864. The right hon. Gentleman, however, had not quite fairly stated the decision which was then arrived at. Mr. Lindsay, whose Motion he himself had seconded, proposed in that year that the House should carry out the recommendations of the Committee and of the Commission, but did not in his Resolution propose any plan for defraying the expense of the harbours proposed. An Amendment to the Motion did propose a certain method of defraying the expenditure, but the House refused to adopt either the Resolution or the Amendment. The chief objection then raised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Devon, as to the making of harbours of refuge round the coasts, not only of England but of Ireland and Scotland, was that it was too vague. The same objection, however, could not be urged to the Motion by the noble Lord that evening, for nothing could be more simple than his proposal to construct a particular harbour upon a particular part of the coast. The right hon. Gentleman had expressed great astonishment that in these days a Motion for the construction of harbours of refuge should be brought forward at all. But he was not aware that the construction of harbours at Dover and at Portland, for instance, in any way militated against the lending of money by the Public Works Loan Commissioners to any of the mercantile harbours in the neighbourhood. What necessary hostility existed between the construction of harbours of refuge in places where no mercantile harbour would pay and the lending of money to mercantile harbours with a view to their improvement? He did not believe that the construction upon an exposed point of the east coast of a harbour in which our ships of war might find refuge ought to be construed into a menace to Prussia or any other country. As to the position which such a harbour should occupy the shipowners themselves ought to be the best judges. This was no local question. Petition after Petition had been presented to the House by shipowners in favour of a harbour at Filey, and he himself had presented a Petition to the same effect from his own constituents in the South of England, whose only interest in the subject was the desire of saving life and property. Filey had been strongly recommended by Mr. Coode. It would contain 427 acres fit for ordinary vessels, and 300 capable of sheltering vessels of the largest size. Of the total number of wrecks upon the shores of the United Kingdom, 56½ per cent, or upwards of one-half, occurred upon the eastern coast, and half that number again—that was to say, one-fourth of the whole number of wrecks—occurred upon the point of land between the Humber and the Forth. The noble Lord was not quite accurate in stating that the loss of life had increased in the same proportion as the loss of vessels, probably owing to the exertions of the Life Boat Institution. In 1858, property to the amount of upwards of £1,500,000 was sacrificed in this manner, and as the number of wrecks had since increased from 900 to 1,200, it was not difficult to estimate the amount of property which was annually strewn upon those coasts. It must be borne in mind that because a vessel happened to strike upon a particular part of the coast it did not follow that the loss of the vessel was attributable, in all cases, to some particular local danger. He remembered a statement which was made by Mr. Stevenson as to the reason for putting a lighthouse upon the Bell Rock, which it must be remembered was situated to the north of the Firth of Forth. He stated that vessels running from Flamborough Head, and trying to make the Forth, were in the habit of running too far out to avoid the Bell Rock, and thus missed the Forth altogether, and were lost sometimes even on the Shetlands and the Orkneys. He quite admitted the importance of the question—how was the harbour of Filey to be made? [Mr. Gladstone: And maintained?] Certainly; and maintained. He felt little doubt that the estimate of £800,000 would be exceeded, and that the total cost would be nearly £1,000,000. He agreed with the recommendation of the Commission for the construction of the harbour, but he differed with them as to the way in which the money should be raised. It was necessary to bear in mind the different interests that would benefit by the construction of the harbour. There would be, first, the local interests, for the value of land and houses in the vicinity of Filey, already a watering-place, would rise; secondly, the accommodation of ships of war in the harbour would be an advantage to the nation; thirdly, if merchant ships were able to run into the harbour in time of danger, shipowners, underwriters, freighters, and sailors and passengers especially, would benefit. There ought, therefore, to be, in the first place, local contributions towards the cost of construction; and, secondly, a contribution out of the national Exchequer adequate to the importance of the harbour as a naval station; and, thirdly, the mercantile marine ought to pay its proportion. This might be done in the ordinary way, by ships, British and foreign, sailing along that portion of the coast and likely to use the harbour being called upon, as far as possible, to pay rates towards the harbour. He objected to the charge being confined to ships using the harbour, because the House knew how liable sailors were to run a great risk to effect a small saving; just as some people rode a long way round to avoid a turnpike. Though it was fair to add that latterly efforts were being made, and with considerable support on the part of that House, to take away the maintenance of lighthouses from the passing tolls, and to charge this upon the general funds of the country. And, of course, whatever reasoning applied to lighthouses in this matter would apply still more strongly to harbours of refuge, which might well be taken to be of national advantage, as they benefited not only shipowners, but the public generally by saving life, and thus diminishing pauperism. The coasting trade was not the only trade which might be expected to use the harbour at Filey, for vessels engaged in the Baltic trade, as well as from Archangel and the harbours of the White Sea, would also pass along this portion of the coast. For these reasons, therefore, and not because he wished to upset the decision which had been arrived at in 1864, he was not unfavourable to the present proposition. At Portland, and at various places in Ireland, it had been proved that considerable results were capable of being attained at small cost by convict labour, and when this question was brought forward on a former occasion, the utilization of convict labour for harbours of refuge was strongly pressed upon the Government. If, therefore, the noble Lord, who had stated his case in the most admirable manner, felt it right to go to a Division, he should feel no difficulty whatever in supporting the Motion.

Mr. HEADLAM said, that after the strong statement of the noble Lord the Member for King's Lynn as to the perils attending those who "went down to the sea in ships," and of the number of casualties to life and property annually occurring upon the coast, there might appear to be something harsh and ungenerous in opposing a Motion which was aimed at diminishing the dangers of navigation. But having given full attention to everything which the noble Lord had said, he had come to the conclusion that the House would not be acting wisely in assenting to the present proposal, and that the large sum of money necessary for constructing this harbour could be spent in an infinitely better way. £800,000 was the very lowest estimate that had been put before the House, and after all this money had been expended there was no guarantee whatever that contributions would be obtained from any quarter for the maintenance of the harbour. His right hon. Friend who last addressed the House (Mr. S. Cave) evidently thought the burden would be placed on the shoulders of the mercantile marine, because if, as he suggested, the dues were not to be levied on vessels entering the harbour, a toll must be imposed on all ships which passed by it. He (Mr. Headlam) did not hesitate to say that such a toll would be resented by the whole mercantile marine. If the proposed harbour were constructed he did not believe it would be of much value to the shipping interest; indeed, his opinion was that that interest would be far better served by the improvement of our existing harbours than by the expenditure of large sums of money upon new ones. But, however this might be, the Harbour Commissioners recommended in their Report that £250,000 should be granted for carrying out works on the Tyne, with the interests of which he was specially connected. The Government advanced money on easy terms to the local authorities, who had actually expended £1,500,000 as a return for the very moderate sacrifice on the part of the Government. The result was that a harbour of refuge had been created. The number of vessels which entered the port for purposes of refuge was 132 in 1865, 194 in 1866, 255 in 1867, 322 in 1868, 402 in 1869, and 558 in 1870. To that extent the local authorities had already created a harbour of refuge, and this was what the nation had got by making a small sacrifice and advancing money on tolerably easy terms. According to the recommendation of the Commissioners, the Tyne was entitled to £250,000. There was a very strong adverse current at the mouth of the Tyne, which he believed could be remedied by carrying out the piers a little further; and if the money recommended by the Commissioners were expended on those works a far better harbour of refuge would be formed than could be effected by laying out £800,000 at Filey. Moreover, the improvement would be one which would be felt by the whole mercantile interest of the Kingdom instead of the special one of the locality. The local authorities, he might remark, had already done as much as they could be expected to do for national purposes. As to the creation of a great harbour of refuge at Filey, that was a matter for the Government to consider; but before they commenced such a work they ought to make the great rivers of the country safe, and spend a great deal of money on fortifications. The present danger was great, but might be removed by a very moderate expenditure. On the whole, whether looked at from a mercantile or a naval point of view, he did not think the House would act wisely by assenting to the Motion now before it.

Mr. G. BENTINCK said, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. Headlam) show how inevitably local interests would crop up in discussions of this kind. In his opinion, however, this question ought to be considered on general grounds. He joined in the tribute which had been paid to his noble Friend for the able and lucid way in which he had brought forward this subject; but he was afraid his noble Friend hardly estimated correctly the difficulties he must encounter. He was afraid the two rocks on which the noble Lord's Motion would be wrecked were the two Front Benches. The Ministerial Bench was only interested in the prevention of one kind of wreck—namely, the wreck of the Government; while the only harbour of refuge to which the Front Opposition Bench turned their attention was the Treasury Bench. Both were utterly indifferent to a question of this kind. He wished his right hon. Friend (Mr. S. Cave) had been better supported on this occasion; but the absence of all his late Colleagues was sufficient proof of their indifference to the subject. The President of the Board of Trade had said his noble Friend (Lord Claud John Hamilton) had singled out a particular harbour upon no better ground than his own opinion, and he characterized his noble Friend's Motion as "a strange proposal;" but he must say that the arguments urged by the right hon. Gentleman were stranger still. Now, he was one of the very few Members of this House who had frequently been in charge of ships on the east coast of England. He had no local interest in the matter, however, but his constituents had, and he had heard them discussing it for nearly half a century; and so far from this being a question supported merely by local claims and local interests, he felt convinced that if 500 of the best authorities, unconnected with the locality, were examined on the subject, they would all state their opinion that Filey was the place best adapted for a harbour of refuge on our eastern coast. The question was not local but general, for it was connected with the great question of the saving of human life and national wealth. When the right hon. Gentleman expressed a doubt as to the proposed harbour turning out effectual for the saving of life, did he mean to say that the creation of a harbour into which a large number of vessels might enter in bad weather was not calculated to save both life and property? It was no argument, he contended, against a measure good in itself that the House should not be called upon to reverse its decision. Millions were about to be thrown away in a direction which he believed the expenditure would be found to be totally useless; yet a cost of under £1,000,000 was grudged for so excellent an object as the saving of human life and property. He wished also to observe that we stood in need, on the eastern coast, of a naval station, where a large fleet of men-of-war might lie summer and winter without risk, and have means of coaling. As matters at present stood, the whole of that part of our coast was completely defenceless. Also, he was opposed to the humanitarian system of making pets of convicts, and it was the duty of the Government, he thought, to take in hand such a work as that proposed, because they could execute it comparatively cheaply by means of convict labour. Governments at the present day were, however, he regretted to say, more disposed to look at their own interests than the interests of the nation, and, under these circumstances, he could hardly feel sanguine with respect to the success of his noble Friend's Motion, though he thought that on the score of humanity it ought to succeed. It certainly had his best wishes; and he trusted we should have soon on the Treasury Bench a Government, whose Members would think a little more of their country and less of themselves.

MR. CANDLISH said, he congratulated the noble Lord on the ability with which he had brought forward the subject; but he must say he thought he was in error in supposing that there was now a greater demand for harbours of refuge than existed in 1859. He was sure, he might add, the noble Lord would concur in the proposition that if we could utilize our present harbours so as to make them better adapted to the purposes of commerce while using them as places of refuge, we should be adopting a much wiser policy than by constructing harbours which could be only used for purpose of refuge. It was against Filey, therefore, he must admit, that it was simply a harbour of the latter class. The noble Lord had adverted to the great loss of life and property on our north-east coast, but the question was how far his proposal was calculated to diminish that loss. Now, a harbour at Filey would be mainly valuable in an east and south-east wind; so that it would follow a harbour there would be of comparatively little use as a refuge except so far as the 30 or 40 miles of coast to Spurn Head was concerned. It must also have occurred to the noble Lord that the best refuge on a lee shore was the depth of the bay, which in this case was at Hartlepool, and not at Filey. Considering that the harbours in the North had been much improved, not by the expenditure of public money, but by local resources, it was unreasonable and unfair to call upon those who had so improved their own harbours, to pay taxes for the purpose of constructing some competing harbour elsewhere. The success, too, of the present proposition would only have the effect of giving rise to other demands in favour of other localities. Moreover, he objected to the inadequacy of the scheme as well as to its limited availability. The Chancellor of the Exchequer refused money for better purposes than the one advocated by the noble Lord, and he (Mr. Candlish) hoped that the Government would not undertake local engagements to the neglect and injury of other parts of the country. If once the principle were admitted, the claims of many places would be multiplied and enforced on the Government in a most embarrassing manner.

SIR JOHN HAY had frequently addressed the House upon this question, but never with greater satisfaction than to-night, when he had to bear witness to the admirable statement of his noble Friend, and, as far as his experience went, to corroborate the facts so well put forward on the Motion he had brought before the House. The subject had been rather complicated by the mode in which it was treated by the President of the Board of Trade. The question they had to consider was not whether it would or would not be wise to lend public money to the harbours of Hartlepool or Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the Wear, or the Tees. The trade of those harbours deserved the attention of the country, and enabled them to receive and afford proper security for that assistance which was given by the Public Loans Commissioners for the improvement of local harbours. But the harbour of Filey was entirely different. There was no local interest or trade at Filey which could be taxed, or represent any security for advances made if Parliament should be disposed to grant a loan with a view to its improvement. The harbours on the eastern coast had been much improved by loans of public money, and had become great commercial depôts. With their local interests they deserved and had received the just attention of the State. But the harbour of Filey had advantages with regard to its position for the general trade of the country far superior to any which those harbours held out. They must not attempt to discuss this question as if they were engineers and seamen, and persons locally connected with the harbours. The evidence of such persons had been brought before them in the most clear and conclusive manner by various Committees and Commissions, and that evidence should have due weight and influence with the House. It was quite true that, in one sense, vessels going to the ports named might proceed thither with much greater safety than they could before; but they had one practical difficulty, when in those harbours they could not get out so easily. The advantage of Filey was this, that if completed as a great harbour it would stand out in bold relief in the German Ocean, and vessels seeking shelter from one wind, with a very slight change of wind, could easily get out again to sea. He quoted the evidence before the Committee of Mr. Coode, C.E., in favour of Filey. All the independent evidence pointed to Filey as the place which on the east coast of England might become what the harbour of Portland was on the south—a great national harbour of refuge and a naval station in the event of war. We had no such station from the Thames to the Firth of Forth. To show how much Filey was sought for, although there was no immediate local trade, 600 to 700 vessels were frequently found sheltering there; on one occasion it was stated there were no fewer than 1,300. The local facilities for the construction of a breakwater had been reported on at various times. There was a reef of rock, called the "Brig of Filey," running out to the sea; at certain times of tide it served as a breakwater now; and both before the Commission and the Committee it was shown that the cliff could be easily excavated, and conveyed to the Brig, so as to form a complete breakwater out of the partial one which nature had made, to afford 700 acres of excellent anchorage—indeed, they had the best holding ground in the world. If such a breakwater were constructed there would be complete shelter for ships, which would seek it here in greater numbers than they did now, because they would not be liable to accidents with the change of the wind. He did not see why the proposed harbour should be regarded as a menace. There was now in course of formation one of the most formidable military ports in the world—Wilhelmshavn—more formidable, in fact, than Flushing or Cherbourg—intended as a place of resort for the great German Navy—and it must not be forgotten that from the mouth of the Weser to the Humber was not many hours' steaming. In case of an attack our ships must assemble either in the Firth of Forth, in the Thames, or, under certain conditions, in Yarmouth roads; whilst there was no place which could be called a military port on the whole line of the east coast. Filey would give us that which we wanted, and he therefore thought it was desirable to agree to the proposition before the House. If there were any competition with Filey which had commercial claims he would say let us avail ourselves of it, but there was no place which could be named against Filey, as a port of shelter. He concurred entirely with the Motion of the noble Lord the Member for King's Lynn.

Viscount BURY said, the speech of the noble Lord the Member for King's Lynn, in bringing the question forward, was the best that could be made under the circumstances. He agreed with those who thought Filey was the best point that could be selected; but, by naming it, the noble Lord, perhaps, excited certain local feelings which would have slept if the noble Lord had placed the matter before the House rather more vaguely. It was undeniable that a harbour of refuge was wanted on the east coast, and he thought the matter had been met rather unfairly. He was one of those who spent a part of the autumn in the middle of the coasting trade; and last September he was on the east coast when a very great storm arose, and he was unable to get southwards because there was no such shelter as would have been afforded by a harbour at Filey. He could bear testimony to the very great number of fishing vessels engaged in the fishing trade of the coast, and their number was considerably augmented by fishing vessels from Ireland and Scotland, which were not included in the statistics quoted by the noble Lord; and on his cruise he passed through an enormous fishing fleet which, by the storm, was scattered to the winds, because there was no harbour in which the vessels could take refuge. Some of them were driven as far north as the Firth of Forth, and some got shelter in Sunderland, or in harbours on the Tyne. There was an erroneous impression that autumn winds were steady; but they usually shifted in the course of the day; and if a fleet of merchantmen took anchorage under Flamborough Head in the morning, they were sure to be exposed to the full force of the wind before the close of the day. All the harbours of which he had spoken were tidal ones, and as the hour of high water varied every day a mariner who sailed along that coast must make exact calculations as to the port which he wished to enter in order to ascertain whether there would be water enough for him to cross the bar; and if there was only a slight difference between his watch and the table of tides, he might find himself in a worse position than if he had kept at sea. Local harbours, therefore, did not satisfy the requirements—although he admitted that both Sunderland and Hartlepool had been greatly improved. At the latter port he took refuge during the prevalence of that gale in which the *Captain* was lost; but if a steamer had not been sent to take him into the inner basin his vessel would, as the water receded, have been left high and dry. A breakwater might be constructed near Hartlepool, which would enclose a large area of water; but at present that port could not be called a harbour of refuge. What was wanted was a harbour of refuge for vessels that had got as far south as Flamborough Head. These were practical details, and the result showed that if there were a harbour at Filey many vessels would rest there during a time of bad weather, while now they were kept in Tynemouth, Sunderland, and other ports at an enormous cost to the owners. He had been at those ports during bad weather, and had seen them so crowded with vessels as to render almost impossible the admission of other ships which came in by every tide. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chichester Fortescue) had said that the condition of vessels had been improved during recent years; but he replied that he had seen ships dismasted, with bulwarks torn away and decks swept, they having been exposed to the greatest possible disasters. In the face of the Returns, which showed the increasing number of wrecks, it was useless to say that only seaworthy vessels were now afloat—for the steam vessels that engaged in the coal trade greatly added to the danger of sailing ships, because on board the former there was very rarely any watch kept. For these reasons, he thought it desirable that there should be a harbour of refuge on the east coast somewhere between Berwick and Yarmouth. In doing so, he advocated not any local interest, but what would be best for the shipping interest of the country. The cost of constructing a harbour seemed to be large, and, as the money would be spent for a national object, he urged that it should come out of the national funds; for in a maritime country like England no expenditure could be more justifiable than one which had for its purpose the giving to the seamen who were engaged in the coasting trade a chance for their lives. At present they had not that chance by reason of any national expenditure; for although on the south coast the exigencies of war had rendered necessary the construction of magnificent harbours that were open to the mercantile marine, yet on the east coast, which was far more exposed, and on which a great number of vessels were lost every year, there was no such refuge. The money, therefore, which might be spent on Filey would not be ill-employed. He did not attach importance to the argument that a great naval arsenal ought to be provided on the eastern coast; for although, in future years, the great preparations which had been made at Jahde might be regarded as menacing to England, at present it did not seem necessary to think them so threatening that we ought to create a great naval port on the eastern coast. Without going into the question whether convict labour should be employed in the construction of such a harbour, he thought that the Government ought to give the House an undertaking that the eastern coast should no longer be left in its present condition.

Mr. STEVENSON said, that, with respect to the Tyne, the sum of £1,600,000 had been spent during the last few years in improving the approach to that river, with results so satisfactory that, while there was formerly a depth of only 21 feet at high water, there was now a depth of 20 feet at low water; and the facilities were such that all except the very largest ships could enter the Tyne at any state of the tide; and this rendered that place practically a harbour of refuge. During the past year no less than 558 vessels which had sailed from other ports had sought refuge in the Tyne, irrespective of far larger numbers which had sailed from that port and had been driven back by stress of weather. In the severe gales that prevailed on the 10th of February and the two following days, no less than 200 laden vessels had run into that port for shelter. In point of accommodation the proposed harbour at Filey could not compare with that at the Tyne, because while the limits of the former were only calculated to receive 200 vessels, the whole of the river Tyne, nine miles in length, was open to vessels seeking shelter in the latter port. Before the making of new harbours at great expense was undertaken, existing harbours, like that of the Tyne, ought to be improved. Attention ought to be directed to the totally altered state of circumstances that now existed, from that which existed when the Report of the Royal Commission was made. Then, all the harbours along that part of the coast in question were bar-harbours, in and out of which vessels could only get at certain times of the tide, and they incurred increased risk by being obliged to put to sea in all weathers, or else lose their chance of getting out of the harbour for some considerable time. Now, however, the entrance of these harbours had been greatly improved, and there was an ample depth of water over the bars. The Tyne Harbour Commissioners had undertaken an expenditure for the piers and harbour improvement of £1,500,000; but they had not benefited by the harbours loans to such an extent as they ought to have done; because, although they had obtained £100,000 at 3¼ per cent, and another £100,000 at 3½ per cent from the Public Loans Commissioners, the Government had refused to lend them any more money for the purpose of advancing their great undertaking except at 5 per cent interest. The sea works at Tyne Harbour would ultimately cost £750,000, and, considering the great scale of those works, it was to be hoped the Government would reconsider their decision on the subject, and would consent to advance the necessary funds at a moderate rate of interest—more especially as there was still some danger incurred by vessels entering the harbour. To the honour of the locality he might mention that, not only was Shields the birth-place of the lifeboat, but the first volunteer brigade to work rockets was established at Tynemouth. Attention had been drawn to the fact that during the past few years the coasting trade had been principally carried on by means of steamers. From figures he had before him he found that whereas the number of coasting vessels sailing from the Tyne had been reduced from 11,552 in 1859 to 9,305 in 1869, the tonnage had increased from 1,631,000 in 1859 to 1,842,000 in 1869. In the former year the percentage of coasting sailing vessels compared with that of coasting steam vessels was as 85 to 15, whereas in the latter year it was 49 to 51; showing a vast increase in the number of steam vessels employed in the coasting trade. And the tendency to substitute steam for sails was still increasing. There was, therefore, less necessity than ever for going to the enormous expense of making this very speculative harbour of refuge, which had been defended on the inconsistent grounds of being capable of containing a North Sea fleet swinging at their anchors, as well as accommodating large fleets of merchant ships, and serving as a station for fishing boats. In consequence of the improvements that had been effected in the Tyne Harbour a large herring fishery had been established there. Under these circumstances, he felt bound to support the Government in resisting this demand.

MR. WARD-JACKSON said, he deprecated making the question of harbours of refuge the subject of rivalry between different ports; and he did not think it right that Parliament should still be discussing a matter which, in 1860, was declared by a Royal Commission to be necessary. The Report of that Commission had clearly pointed out Filey as a proper place for a harbour of refuge. In his opinion, no question of economy ought to weigh against the imperative duty of providing all reasonable protection to the lives of our sailors; nor could he see that the increased use of steam justified the Government in disregarding the importance of harbours of refuge. It should be remembered that the steamers themselves required shelter against storms. At the same time, he confessed he thought it would have been better if his noble Friend (Lord Claud John Hamilton) had included other places besides Filey in his Motion. When he was examined before the Royal Commission, he had himself advocated that there should be a sheltered anchorage at Filey Bay; but he did not say a harbour of refuge, because a harbour was one thing and a sheltered anchorage another, and he believed that the latter was all that was required at Filey Bay. Without at all disparaging Filey, he agreed with the last speaker that the Tyne was fully entitled to expect that the small sum recommended by the Royal Commission should be expended for that river. The sum of £250,000 was small compared with the advantages which Newcastle could afford, and would probably be extended over five or six years; and the House must remember that, even in the case of Filey Bay, the proposed expenditure of £800,000—a very large sum in the lump—would, and indeed must, be spread over eight or nine years. Since so much had been said about Filey on the south and the Tyne on the north, he felt himself justified in speaking of a place between the two. Seeing that he had himself laid the foundation-stone of West Hartlepool, which was now the fourth port of the kingdom, and which he had the honour to represent, he was not likely to be insensible to the capacity of localities to help themselves; but as regarded the improvements at Hartlepool and Filey Bay, it was impossible to raise all the money from the localities; the reason was because the Bill of 1861, authorizing the Exchequer Loan Commissioners to lend money for the improvements of harbours, implied exclusively the improvement of local harbours, which clearly was the legitimate object of the Exchequer Loan Commissioners' advances; but this did not include works which were beyond the scope of private enterprise, whether managed by trustees, commissioners, or a public corporation. Now, the River Tyne was managed most efficiently and energetically by commissioners; but they had no private interests, and it so happened that by the Act of 1861, if money was granted, it must be on condition of re-payment of the principal, with interest, in 50 years. But supposing they could not do that? Before refuge could be provided for ships the money must be expended; and in the case of Hartlepool, when the Royal Commissioners recommended a grant from the Consolidated Fund of £500,000 to aid the £500,000 to be raised from the locality, he found that the thing was impracticable, because raising money from the locality practically meant by subscription, and on those terms no man in his senses would contribute £1,000 for a harbour of refuge in Hartlepool Bay. If, however, the Government would come forward and advance the £500,000, he would answer for it that they would get sufficient interest on their money as soon as the harbour was made. Every ship that came within the limits of the port and entered into the two private harbours which had been constructed within the last 30 years paid a public toll, the revenue of which was £6,000 a-year. Steamers even could not get off that coast easily in a north-east gale. Lord Palmerston, when Prime Minister, in a very few words, expressed strong sentiments on the occasion of Mr. Lindsay bringing forward his Motion to endeavour to prevail on the Government to carry into effect the recommendation of the Harbour Commissioners. The noble Lord said—

> "There was great difference of opinion among the witnesses who were examined by the Commission and the Committee as to the particular localities. Some were in favour of Hartlepool, some for Filey, and some for other points. My right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade has told the House that the Government have a measure prepared for the commencement, at all events, of these operations. That measure might be brought in during the present Session if the other business before the House did not seem to make it impossible to hope that it might be carried into law before the Prorogation; but we are prepared to assure the House that in the next Session this matter will assume a shape in which the House will be called upon to take it practically into consideration. . . . . I assure the House that it is most unjust to the Government to state that this matter has not occupied their serious attention, that they are not fully alive to the importance of the subject, and that it is not their intention to deal with it in an efficient and practical manner. It is sufficient to know that a great number of our most valuable seamen are annually sacrificed to storms and disasters, some of whom might have been preserved were there harbours of refuge on the coasts. . . . . It will be our duty in the next Session of Parliament to bring this matter before the House in some practical shape."—[3 *Hansard*, clix. 711-12.]

That practicable shape assumed this position, that a Bill was introduced in 1861; was passed into an Act, and was called "The Harbours and Passing Tolls Act." The title of this Act was "An Act to facilitate the construction of harbours of refuge by the Loan Commissioners advancing money to harbour authorities;" and the word "authority" was defined to include any person or persons concerned in maintaining a harbour. The Act gave power to those Commissioners to advance such money as might be required for the purpose of constructing, improving, or lighting any harbour, provided that no such money should be borrowed without the sanction of the Board of Trade; and, in all cases, the period for re-payment was not to exceed 50 years. They were now in this position; they were referred by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Board of Trade to the Act of 1861, as facilitating the construction of harbours. It did facilitate the construction of local and mercantile harbours; but where there was not a mercantile element to assist in the construction of the harbour of refuge, the Government ought to contribute annually a comparatively small sum for so great an object. With regard to Hartlepool, Admiral Washington said—"the bottom of the bay was the focus of shipwrecks." If there was a sheltered anchorage provided at Hartlepool, that would form a security for the interest of the £500,000. But they could not get the money, because they were hampered by the Act of 1861. He asked the Government to relax the restrictions of the Exchequer Loan Commissioners with regard to these advances of money. He could not say that Filey Bay could give a security for the re-payment of the advance; but ships which took advantage of the works which might be constructed by the Government might be made liable to pay toll. It was essential that there should be a sheltered anchorage on the east coast of England. The fact that 10 lifeboats were stationed within Tees and Hartlepool Bay alone on the north-east coast was sufficient evidence of its dangerous character, of which he had had personal experience, having risked his own life there to save others; and if the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the President of the Board of Trade were to find themselves off that coast in one of the smartest ships in Her Majesty's Navy, in a heavy north-east gale, and they were fortunate enough to survive it, we should not have occasion to make Motions for a harbour of refuge either at Filey Bay or Hartlepool Bay.

Mr. BAINES said, the question had been treated on the Government Bench as one chiefly involving a squabble among the ports on the north-east coast of England, which of them should obtain the largest share of the public money. This observation at least could not apply to the noble Lord the Member for King's Lynn (Lord Claud John Hamilton), the Mover of the Resolution, nor to his hon. Friend the Member for Scarborough (Sir Harcourt Johnstone), who had supported it, both of whom were perfectly disinterested in their advocacy of a harbour of refuge at Filey. But it was not merely the maritime towns which were sensible of the want of this harbour. The Chamber of Commerce of his own borough (Leeds) had presented a Petition to the House some time since, strongly advocating a compliance with the recommendation of the Royal Commissioners. With the permission of the House he would read two sentences from that Petition. The Petitioners said—

> "They are of opinion that the grievous loss of life and property which annually occurs on the coasts of England, more especially on the north-east coast, in the vicinity of Flamborough Head, in consequence of the want of harbours of refuge capable of affording an asylum to the numerous vessels driven coastwise by stress of weather, is a matter of grave national importance and responsibility, and one that claims the serious and early attention of your Honourable House. Your Petitioners would especially beg to draw your attention to the peculiar necessity existing for a grand national harbour of refuge at Filey Bay, on the north-east coast, the construction of which was strongly recommended by Her Majesty's Commissioners in their Report before mentioned."

Such were the opinions of the leading merchants in the principal town of Yorkshire; who knew that their goods, and possibly at some time, even their lives, might be in jeopardy from the want of a harbour of refuge on their coast. He was positively ashamed that the Government should refuse the paltry sum of £800,000 for the constructure of a harbour on the most exposed, the most frequented, and the most dangerous part of our own coasts, when the amount of our exports and imports was not £800,000, but £530,000,000 a-year. It was known that he was a devoted adherent of the present Government, and an admirer of the economy which they had practised; but when such an amount of property and so many valuable lives were constantly hazarded on our own shores, he thought the construction of a place of refuge was both justifiable and necessary. The Tyne Commissioners had acted with good common sense, and had protected their own interests by making the entrance of their river a safe and valuable harbour, though still it was a tidal harbour, and he doubted if it was quite safe in all weathers. But the distinct recommendation of the Royal Commissioners of 1860—who consisted of the most eminent naval officers and engineers—was conveyed in these words—

> "We, therefore, very earnestly recommend the construction of life harbours, partly national and partly local, at the entrance of the Tyne and at Hartlepool, and of a national refuge harbour at Filey."

It would be observed that they emphatically designated these harbours "life-harbours," because they were chiefly needed for the saving of human life. They further expressed an opinion that at the Tyne and Hartlepool the harbours should be "partly national and partly local;" but they distinctly recommended "a national refuge-harbour at Filey." The wealthy communities on the banks of the Tyne, the Wear, and the Tees, where there was the largest coal trade, the most flourishing shipbuilding establishments, and other great industries, were able to contribute, and ought to contribute, to the improvement of their own ports. They had properly obtained grants, or rather loans, of public money for these purposes under the Harbours Act of 1861. But because they had done this, it was no reason why a purely national harbour should not be made at Filey, the geographical situation of which was such as to require it more than any other place, and which had no population or trade able to contribute towards the expense. The hon. Member for South Shields (Mr. Stevenson) had stated that in the great storm of the 10th of February last, 200 vessels had taken refuge in the Tyne. Yes; but on that very same day the nautical reporter at Whitby says—

> "About 1,000 vessels passed here yesterday, bound south with a N.W. wind; and it is now blowing a gale at S.E., with sleet."

Now, these 1,000 vessels would be about off Filey Bay when the storm arose; they would not be able, with a south-east wind, to get round Flamborough Head; and the fact was that they were all scattered, and great numbers of them lost, with many lives, from the want of a place of refuge. He found it stated that at least 80 lives were lost on the north-east coast in that one storm.

The construction of a harbour of refuge at Filey was necessary for the safety of the numerous vessels trading between the Tyne and the Thames; it was a half-way station, and available for vessels bound both north and south. He wished hon. Gentlemen had seen the sight which he had seen standing on Filey Head, and they would better understand the arguments in favour of this Motion. Flamborough Head ran out far into the sea to the south-east, and a line of precipitous cliffs, about 12 miles in length, and rising from 150 to 400 feet in height, stretched along the coast to Filey Head. It was an occurrence perfectly familiar to those who knew the locality, that very often vessels coming from the North were unable to get round Flamborough Head; they gathered in hundreds under the shelter of the cliffs, and as long as the wind remained in the south-west or south, they were safe. But when it chopped round to the south-east or east, having an iron-bound coast on their lee, they were compelled instantly to slip their anchors and run out to sea, whatever the violence of the weather; and then they were exposed either to founder in the storm, or to be driven ashore whilst trying to get into the bar-harbours. If Filey was a suitable place—as he had shown—for the construction of a harbour of refuge, it was no argument against the Motion to say that there was no trade to that place. Surely we might take a lesson from other countries and earlier days. For many hundred years pious men had built and occupied hospices on the passes of the Alps, and in our own days refuges had been added by the Governments, to save the lives of travellers caught in the winter storms. And surely this rich maritime country ought, on principles of mere humanity, to construct harbours of refuge on its coasts, where hundreds and thousands of lives were constantly risked, and in the most exposed part of which a harbour might be made for £800,000. Whilst he should always be averse to an unnecessary outlay of public money, he thought it was the duty of the Government not to shrink from expending it to save life and property on so large a scale. It had been stated, in a conversation which he had overheard between the Gentlemen on the Front Bench and those on the Back Bench, that no instance was known of a steamer being lost on that coast; but he had authority before him for stating that a large steamer, the *Lifeguard,* was lost in 1862, with 52 souls on board, not one of whom was saved. [Mr. Candlish: She foundered at sea, and was not driven on shore.] Yes, she foundered at sea; but where did she founder? Just off Filey Bay, and, if there had been a harbour there, she might have been saved. He, therefore, gave his warm support to the Motion of the noble Lord, whose facts and arguments were as sound as they had been ably stated. On behalf of his own constituency, on behalf of the shipping trades of the country, and on behalf of humanity, he claimed from the Government a careful consideration of this question.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: I have heard with pleasure the powerful speech of the hon. Member for Leeds in support of the Motion so ably brought forward by my noble Friend the Member for King's Lynn. That Motion has evoked an important debate, which shows how strong an interest is felt in this question. I am unwilling to give a silent vote upon this question. After the great interest which, during a number of years, I have taken in this question, I cannot avoid expressing my regret that the late Member for Sunderland (Mr. Lindsay) has been prevented from following up the honourable part he took in this matter. I have always regarded him as one of those who do honour to our national institutions. He rose from small means to eminence; he was immediately connected with the shipping trade of the country, and while he occupied a seat in this House, he was never deterred from advocating the interests of that branch of trade by the power of a Minister or by political influence. It is my intention to support the Motion of my noble Friend, even at the risk of again incurring the imputations of the present Prime Minister, who attacked me during his celebrated Lancashire tour for the extravagance I had shown in supporting former Motions upon the subject of the shipping interest. If the right hon. Gentleman, instead of canvassing the county of Lancaster, had been canvassing the county of York, I think he would have cast no reproaches upon those who have advocated the establishment of harbours of refuge on the north-east coast. I have nothing to do with the county of York or the county of Lancaster; but I have my duty to perform as an independent Member of this House. I take part in this debate from the consideration—and from that consideration alone—that it is our duty to do what we can to save human life, and to protect the commercial interests of this country. Upon this broad and simple ground I am disposed to assent to the strong words of the hon. Member for Leeds, and say that I am ashamed of the manner in which year after year this subject has been evaded by Ministers of the Crown. [Mr. GLADSTONE: You have been a Minister of the Crown yourself.] Yes, I have been a Minister of the Crown; but this subject did not originate with a Conservative Minister, but with a Liberal Government. The first step was taken by the Government of Lord Palmerston, which appointed a Committee, ably presided over by an eminent Member of this House, and a Member of that Government—the late Mr. Wilson. That Committee made a Report which deeply affected the commercial interests of the country. But before the Report was presented a change of Government had taken place. I had become a Minister of the Crown, and was then First Lord of the Admiralty. I am not ashamed of the part that I took. I did not lose a day. It had become my duty to consider the Report of the Committee, and I appointed the Commission whose Report has been referred to in this debate. I appointed that Commission only in deference to the Report of the Committee originated by the Government of which the right hon. Gentleman was a Member. I placed at the head of the Commission the able and distinguished man who is now Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth—Sir James Hope—and he was supported by men as capable as himself of going round the coast to see where the harbours of refuge recommended by the Committee ought to be constructed. The recommendation of the Commission was that it was desirable there should be a harbour of refuge at Hartlepool, and especially "on national grounds" that there should be such a harbour at Filey. Mr. Lindsay again brought the matter forward after the Conservative Government had ceased to hold Office; and in the teeth of the opposition of the Government carried a Resolution to the effect that the Report of the Commission ought to be carried into effect; yet, from that day to this, nothing has been done—and now that the question is once more brought before the House, we are met in the manner we have witnessed this evening. After the debate which has taken place, it appears to me that the Motion of my noble Friend may be divided into two parts. One consists of those local interests which, I am sorry to say, interfere with a national question of this magnitude. First, one hon. Member gets up to speak for Hartlepool, then another hon. Member rises to defend some other port; and so we have almost everyone looking after the interest of his own locality and his own constituents. Beyond that, we have had what I cannot but consider as the very evasive speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. He began by saying that the noble Lord had made a strange proposal; but I must say that that proposal was met with a strange answer; for I heard nothing in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman which dealt in a straightforward way with the merits of this question. The right hon. Gentleman charged my noble Friend with having picked one particular spot, which he supported by his own speech. Why, it was not my noble Friend who picked out every spot. Whether he might not have been more prudent if he had made the terms of his Motion less definite I know not; but it was not he who picked out this one particular spot, but the Commission of Sir James Hope. [Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE: One out of 20.] It was Sir James Hope and his Commission who picked out this one place as distinguished above others in this respect—that it was the place to select "on national grounds." I will here advert to what fell from the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Candlish), who drew a distinction between harbours of refuge which are made for refuge purposes only and those harbours which are combined with the commercial interests of particular towns. This, I admit, is an important distinction; but in my judgment it is one which tells directly against the view for which the Government are contending. Where commercial interests of great towns are connected with and promoted by a particular harbour, I grant that you may fairly call upon the inhabitants to bear a large share of the expense of making the harbour; but I maintain that, where the shipping interest, the preservation of life, and the prevention of shipwreck require the establishment of a harbour of refuge at a particular point, and where commercial interests are not concerned, then we have in such cases a fair right to expect that the Government of the country should interfere and should come to the relief of the shipping interests of the country. Well, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade went on to state that he thought the advantages of harbours of refuge were very much exaggerated, and that a great many of the shipwrecks that occur would not be averted by the establishment of such harbours. No doubt this statement is true as far as it goes; but, on the other hand, it may be as truly said that a very great proportion of the shipwrecks which occur might be prevented by harbours of refuge; and it is a great mistake to assert, as the right hon. Gentleman did assert, that the advantages of harbours of refuge are exaggerated. Now, nothing is more difficult than to prove a negative; but I can quote a case—of which perhaps no man is a better judge than the right hon. Gentleman himself—showing the extreme value of a harbour of refuge for the prevention of shipwrecks, and it is on a somewhat large scale—I allude to that of Holyhead. The harbour at Holyhead is not connected with any great commercial interest. It is a harbour which but for the efforts of the Government and the Votes of the House, would never have existed; and I appeal to every candid mind in this House—and no man knows it better than the President of the Board of Trade—whether in winter time the harbour at Holyhead is not crowded with hundreds of vessels, which, if it were not for the existence of a harbour there, would be compelled to face the danger of St. George's Channel in the very worst gales of wind, when many of them would suffer shipwreck, and much loss of life be involved. I therefore think that Holyhead furnishes a complete answer to the unsatisfactory statement of the right hon. Gentleman, that we cannot rely upon harbours of refuge for the prevention of shipwrecks. The right hon. Gentleman then went on to make a statement, which, if I do not recollect the exact figures he gave, at any rate amounted to this—that there were a certain number of lives lost on the east coast, and a certain number lost on the south coast; that the lives lost on the east coast were about double the number of those lost on the south coast.

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE: That is not exactly my statement.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: It is not exactly the opposite, I imagine.

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE: I referred to the statement that there are tracts of coast the losses on which during last year were greater than those that occurred between the Fern Islands and Flamborough Head.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: I do not speak of the Fern Islands and Flamborough Head.

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE: But that is the question.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: I take the broader ground, which the right hon. Gentleman does not contradict, and which I hold to be fatal to his argument. It amounted, at any rate, to this—that on the eastern coast of England, where there are no harbours of refuge, the loss of life is double, or nearly so, the loss which occurred on the south coast, where there are harbours of refuge.

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE: That is not my statement at all.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: What I have stated is certainly the impression I had of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, whose argument is fatal to the view he takes upon this question.

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE: No, no.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: I have no desire to misquote the right hon. Gentleman. Whichever way the figures as given by the right hon. Gentleman may tell, I certainly did not notice, throughout his speech, any attempt to grapple with the startling and painful statement of my noble Friend behind me (Lord Claud John Hamilton). Only a month ago, out of 1,000 vessels on the very part of the coast under consideration, 53 were lost, with 80 lives; and from that time, the 10th of February, to the present, no fewer than 100 human lives have been lost on the same part of the coast. The right hon. Gentleman did not attempt to deny that statement. We all know how vessels will resort to protection where protection can be had; and I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to deny that if there had been harbours of refuge on this east coast of England, the strong probability is that an immense proportion of the vessels lost might have been saved. Entertaining these views, I feel great regret at the line Her Majesty's Government are taking on this question; and I regret it at this moment more than at any other, because the time is gone when the Government may use the argument that they are unwilling to incur expense. A short time ago the motto of the present Government was "Economy," now it appeared to be "Money no object." We find them willing to squander millions in perilous expenditure, to incur an enormous addition to the already great cost of the Army for doubtful results; but where human life is to be saved—where the shipping interest is to be protected—we are met with the economical argument again. I say I deeply regret the course the Government have taken, for I think this is a question that claims the attention of the Government, and I am confident the time must come—it may not be this year, it may not be next—but a foundation was laid by the Committee and Commission of 1858 and 1859 which cannot be permanently disregarded—the time will come when the object my noble Friend has in view will be conceded. I, for one, shall give a hearty vote in favour of the Motion of my noble Friend, thanking him for having brought it forward in so able a manner, and, in conclusion, I wish to express my conviction that the day is not distant when the shipping of England will have some protection afforded to it on our dangerous eastern coast.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am not at all surprised at the course taken by the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Sir John Pakington). His views on the question of public expenditure have long been fundamentally different from my own. I am aware that public expenditure is not the only matter involved on this occasion: I also know he is but acting consistently with expressions he has formerly used, and with votes he has given in this House; but when he rises to flights of rhetoric and says he is "ashamed" to think of the course the Government has taken on this question, as indicated by my right hon. Friend (Mr. C. Fortescue).

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON said, he had but repeated the expression used by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Baines).

Mr. GLADSTONE: No doubt that is so; I would have the House bear in mind that when the words of the hon. Member for Leeds are echoed by the right hon. Gentleman they acquire again tenfold force. The right hon. Gentleman was "ashamed" to think that a Government could exist in the country and allow years to pass by and yet do nothing. When the right hon. Gentleman was not content to treat this question upon its merits, but must make it a matter of blame to the Ministry. I reminded him that he, too, had been a Minister. Wholly misunderstanding my own reference, he went back to the period of 1858, when it was true this matter was under consideration; but it was not to that period I referred; and I will venture to remind the right hon. Gentleman, who is so "ashamed" that any Minister in this country can allow such a question as this to sleep, and be so unmindful of the sacred duty of rescuing human life from danger, that he sat in great contentment in the position of Minister during part of the Session of 1866, the whole of the Session of 1867, and the whole of the Session of 1868. Whether he was "ashamed" or not we cannot tell; whether he was struggling in the agonies his mind may have endured we are unable to tell; but external evidence of such agonies there was none. During that period the right hon. Gentleman appeared to me to enjoy as much comfor- and satisfaction as fate ordinarily allows to anyone in the position of a Minister. I want to point out the singular position in which the House is placed. Gentlemen rise in considerable numbers to support this Motion, but in point of fact they almost invariably support something else. A conspicuous example of this I perceive in another right hon. Gentleman who sits beside the right hon. Member for Droitwich. The right hon. Member for Shoreham (Mr. Stephen Cave) says, "I shall have no difficulty in voting for this Motion;" but in a previous speech he has unfortunately explained his view of the question, and that view was this—that it would be most unjust to provide the required sum of £800,000 from the Consolidated Fund. The Consolidated Fund, said the right hon. Gentleman, ought to be a contributor, but the locality ought also to contribute, and the shipping as well. Having expressed that view, the right hon. Gentleman says he will find no difficulty whatever in giving his vote for the Motion, which in explicit terms declares that the recommendations of the Commissioners of 1858 should be carried into effect so far as regards Filey—the recommendation being that fully £800,000 should be paid from the Consolidated Fund and not a shilling from any other source. [Sir JOHN PAKINGTON dissented.] Does the right hon. Gentleman raise a dispute on the meaning of one word—for the dispute turns entirely on the meaning of the word "nil"? Here is the recommendation of the Commission. There is a column headed "amount to be advanced out of the Consolidated Fund without repayment;" another column for the "amount to be raised from local sources;" and then a column for the "total amount," and when we come to Filey we find in the first column "£800,000," in the second column the word "nil," and in the third column "£800,000." The hon. Member for Hartlepool (Mr. Jackson) has given us the benefit of his experience, and I believe he is going to vote for the Motion, like the right hon. Member for Shoreham; and if the right hon. Member for Shoreham does not feel any difficulty about it, I do not see any reason why anybody should feel any difficulty. If he is able to get over those glaring contradictions between his speech and his conclusions I do not know why anyone who possesses the same faculty should not be able to do the same thing. But the Member for Hartlepool will vote for spending £800,000 upon a harbour of refuge at Filey. [Mr. JACKSON: No; for a sheltered anchorage.] I know he spoke of a sheltered anchorage, but he is going to vote for a harbour of refuge, and for nothing less, for that was what the Commission of 1858 recommended, and it is for that recommendation that he is going to vote. I believe we might go through pretty nearly the whole list of those who spoke in the same sense in favour of the Motion. My noble Friend the Member for Berwick (Viscount Bury) spoke for the Motion too, but his speech did not support his vote any more than the other cases, for he said, "I do not plead the case of Filey any more than any other place, but some place on the eastern coast I am determined to have." But as a matter of fact he votes for Filey, against every other place, in the most explicit terms. There is some difficulty in knowing how to contend with a hundred-headed being of this kind—for such is the character of the support of the Motion that hon. Gentlemen seem entirely to absolve themselves from the obligation to prove any consistency between what they say in their speeches and the vote they intend to give. Apparently they do not deem it necessary to enter upon the question of cost at all. Now, I do not believe that such will be the general sense of the House. But I wish to look at this Motion in the two points of view in which it is capable of being regarded—first of all as an isolated vote, and secondly as the reversal of a policy. As an isolated vote, the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Baines) has told us that the amount is a paltry sum, and that he is very favourable to economy; while the right hon. Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington), who has enlisted himself in so conspicuous a manner under the banner of the hon. Member for Leeds, does not say it is a paltry sum, but that the Government have done with economy for ever, and that it has become entirely indifferent whether we vote more or less upon such a Motion. But I do not agree that this is a paltry sum—particularly when I bear in mind that, according to any rational view that can be formed, this is not the whole sum that we shall have to spend. This sum is the first item of the amount that would have to be expended. It is not founded upon estimates of any kind, and in putting the amount for this particular harbour at double that for which it is written, I should be completely justified by experience. I could quote one case out of many—that of Alderney—to prove that I should be justified in taking the total at a much higher figure. But my hon. Friend must recollect that when we have made our harbour of refuge, we have not done with the matter. Who is to maintain it? Are you to levy a toll upon the ships that enter it? And, if so, how many ships will enter it at all? Then, what machinery are you to have for making the toll?—no very easy matter to settle. If you make the harbour you must maintain it. The prospect of new public establishments is not supposed to be disagreeable to a Ministry that must of necessity obtain the patronage; but I believe we should have to expend £2,000,000, including the cost of maintenance; and the example of Holyhead will support that view. But I do not doubt that my hon. Friend's imagination and courage are equal to the emergency, and would say with reference to the saving of human life that even that sum would be paltry. But he must bear in mind that one harbour of refuge has a tendency to engender other harbours; that there is no sacredness in the claims of that part of the country, and no speciality in the character of the sea upon that portion of the coast. It is an utter mistake to imagine that danger is confined to that particular spot upon the circuit of this island. It is interesting to hear my hon. Friend describing himself as standing upon a rock in the midst of a storm and forming all his nautical conclusions out of what is about to take place; it is interesting, and I might almost say, if I did not wish to avoid hyperbole, it is sublime. But my hon. Friend might find other rocks to stand upon on other portions of the coast, where he might fold his cloak around him in a manner quite as picturesque and as comfortable, while he watched his fellow-creatures struggling for their lives beneath, and thus realize the well-known quotation from the Latin poet which I should be ashamed to recite in this enlightened Assembly. But why do we speak of the enormous number of shipwrecks on this portion of the coast, as if shipwrecks were almost unknown on any other part of this island? The right hon. Baronet was very bold in quoting his figures from memory. But here are some figures from that same Report of 1864, and I have very little doubt, from what I know, that the comparison since then is greatly in favour of the east coast; because I doubt whether there is any portion of the coast on which the character of the vessels employed has been so much improved in so short a space of time as on the east coast. I do not include the Scotch coast in the figures I am about to quote from the Parliamentary Paper of the Board of Trade, showing the number of shipwrecks during 11 years. During that period there occurred between the Faroe Islands and the North Foreland 1,480 wrecks; between the North Foreland and Scilly 1,240 wrecks; and in the St. George's Channel, or Irish Sea, 2,772 wrecks. What is the inference? First, that there is no great or glaring difference between those portions of coast which the right hon. Gentleman has marked as possessing harbours of refuge and those where there are none; and, secondly, that undoubtedly you cannot proceed to shed your paltry millions, as they have been called, upon the sand in the neighbourhood of Filey without being prepared to meet claims of the same kind dotted from point to point around the some thousand miles that constitute the coasts of these islands. I own that I take a Parliamentary objection to the Motion of the noble Lord the Member for King's Lynn. As it comes before us, this is an isolated and local Motion, and it is a great pity that local Motions should be made in this House by local representatives for the expenditure of public money in favour of particular portions of the country. I take the liberty of telling this to the noble Lord, that with a longer Parliamentary experience he will come well to know the importance of that proposition. I do not deny his abstract right to propose and discuss anything that the House pleases to listen to; but the practical wisdom of this House has endeavoured to shut out proposals of this kind by establishing a rule that it will not entertain a Motion for a grant of money except at the instance of the responsible Ministers of the Crown. I cannot do otherwise than enter my protest against local proposals of this kind, because of the nature of the feelings they call into action, because of the play of motives for which they give scope, and because in every public and popular assembly in the world, so far as it is public and popular with strong democratic influences, it is known that the struggle of particular localities and interests to get their hands into the public purse is one of the most fruitful sources of political demoralization. I quite admit that the Motion could not stop here. It is idle to suppose that the case of Filey could be dealt with in a particular manner as the reversal of a policy; and now I beg to remind the House of the circumstances connected with the adoption of that policy. We are twitted as being indifferent to the saving of human life. Ten years ago there was a great struggle on that subject, as the right hon. Member for Droitwich well knows; and the

House of Commons carried by a majority against the Government of Lord Palmerston a Resolution giving effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission. The right hon. Gentleman also knows that the Government of Lord Palmerston declined to act upon that Resolution. But they did not simply decline—they recommended a policy of their own, which consisted of two branches. The first sought to do whatever lay with them as a Government towards improving the character of the mercantile marine of this country, and thereby providing for the security of human life; and they likewise adopted the policy embodied in the Act of 1861, under which loans of public money were provided at low rates of interest, with a view to encouraging the formation of those great public works at different points on the coast which might serve as harbours of refuge. Reference has been made to "Gibson's widows," as a name in use on some portions of the coast—as though some people were ignorant enough to imagine that my right hon. Friend Mr. Milner Gibson, by the recommendations he made, sacrificed human life; but I say that, by his recommendations, he saved human life. There was then a system of navigation in use which led to great sacrifices, and if we had adopted that most reckless plan for the wholesale creation of harbours of refuge at the public cost, the improvement of that system of navigation would have been greatly retarded. It was the ancient collier that was the great enemy of human life, and it was indeed a venerable commodity, if the title to veneration is to be measured by years. There are some wines that will keep for almost any number of generations, and that privilege the ancient collier shared to such an extent that it was declared to be an observation frequently made—"When a vessel is good for nothing else she is sure to find a market in a coal port," and no one ever heard of a collier being broken up. I think that between that system of carrying on the coal trade and the old plan of creating these harbours at the public charge there was an alliance; and I claim for the Government of Lord Palmerston that, by setting its face against that plan, instead of making widows they kept husbands alive, and the general substitution, extensively in the coal trade, of seaworthy and effective ships for those that were not. In the course of 10 years we have passed from a state of things in which steam navigation from the Tyne—which, no doubt, is a fair sample—was 15 per cent, and 85 per cent sailing ships, to another in which 51 per cent of steam and 49 per cent of sailing ships. That process has since that Return been progressing in an increased ratio, and that has been a really powerful instrument in the saving of human life. Another fact having an important bearing on the necessity of harbours of refuge is, that superior ships were not easily induced to go into harbours of refuge. My impression is—but I am not sure—that the harbour of Holyhead is a gratuitous harbour of refuge; and yet what happened to the *Royal Charter?* Why, that the most terrible wreck of modern times happened when she was within half-an-hour of Holyhead Harbour; and not because she fell short of, or could not get into that harbour, but because she had passed it, and did not think it worth while to go in. [Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: The ambition of a quick passage.] And something more than a quick passage—namely, the keeping her in a state of continual activity, so as to turn out the greatest amount of profit for her expenditure within the shortest possible space of time. But the case of the *Royal Charter* is no isolated example of the difficulty of inducing ships of that kind to enter harbours of refuge, and the more shipping improves the less and less will harbours of refuge be valued for this purpose. I have been told that the only screw coal colliers that have been lost have been out at sea, and at such distances that harbours of refuge could never have been available to prevent it. It is painful even to be asked whether we would save a million of money rather than human life. It is painful to treat the two things as if this could be reduced to a common measure. At the same time it should be remembered that, as human happiness is in our charge on a large scale, it does appertain to human happiness that we should be just, equitable, and thrifty, in the administration of public money. Now what occurred in the successive campaigns of Mr. Lindsay? I have no hesitation in saying that the reason Lord Palmerston was able to resent the pertinacious inroads that were attempted on the public treasury by Mr. Lindsay was not so much on account of the mere amount of money that was required but to the searching scrutiny made at the time by Mr. Milner Gibson, then President of the Board of Trade, whose nautical experience every sailor respected, into the real value of the claims of those harbours of refuge. Mr. Milner Gibson looked from wreck to wreck; investigated the causes of each; tested the question how far those harbours could have been made available for the saving of human life in each particular case; and reduced all the vague and general statements, such as had been made by his hon. Friend the Member for Leeds, about the hundreds of vessels all driven out to sea to matters of mere imagination, and he satisfied the House that not one life could have been saved by the adoption of the policy then argued, but that the results in that particular were particularly insignificant and barren in proportion to the ardent, sanguine, and admitted philanthropic efforts of those who have been the supporters of this policy. But what did Lord Palmerston and his Government do. I am not aware—I was not—if any of my Colleagues in the Cabinet were parties to the original initiation of this policy.

LORD CLAUD JOHN HAMILTON: The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Member for the University of London.

MR. GLADSTONE: He was not in the Cabinet.

LORD CLAUD JOHN HAMILTON: No, but he was a member of the Government.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that might possibly be so; but at the same time the responsibility of one member of the Government for the policy of every other, though a sound principle, must not be taken too rigidly. I hope the noble Lord the Member for King's Lynn may at some time be a member of a Government, and will then find the benefit of some elasticity in the principle. I am anxious to show what has been done rather than lay down dogmatic rules. Now, what would be the effect of such a Motion as that before the House upon the system now in most beneficial action? At the time of Mr. Lindsay's efforts, the men of the North of England, with that energy and that sagacity which they were well-known to possess, had set their minds upon the improvements of their ports, but most naturally when they were promised that very large grants should be made they pressed for those grants; and when they were refused the people of Newcastle formed one of the noblest and most magnificent plans of local improvements connected with their river and port that ever arose in the minds of a local community—they framed a plan at the cost of £1,500,000. They undertook not a smaller but a much larger charge than had been contemplated by the Commissioners, on their own responsibility, trusting that they would receive that moderate and unobjectionable assistance which had been promised in the shape of a share in the public loans at a low rate of interest. And here I will say that it was with regret I heard an hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stevenson) connected with the works which did more than honour to all concerned, state that the people of Newcastle considered they had received scant justice at the hands of the Boards to whom they had applied. I will say on the part of my right hon. Friend near me (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) and myself, that it would cause us the greatest dissatisfaction and even pain not to have been able to correspond with the expectations that have been held out. I invite the parties concerned to communicate with the Government, and the matter shall be carefully looked into, in order that if we have fallen short of what has been reasonably expected the deficiency might be made good. But the principle upon which the Government have proceeded is perfectly sound—there were to be loans at a low rate of interest, and the money was to be repaid. Had that system failed to work? Instead of failing, it has surpassed the most sanguine expectations, and already £1,700,000 of public money has been advanced, probably without a shilling of ultimate risk. Nor is that the aggregate of what has been spent, but merely the means of stimulating to a far larger expenditure. Let the House beware, then, how by a rash and hasty vote they interfere with this activity. And is there no fear from such interference? Do you suppose it possible to say—"We will give £800,000 to Filey without asking a shilling of local contribution or any charge on shipping," and then expect that other communities will do as Newcastle have done? You cannot, in fact, work these two systems together. I do not speak of financial consequences merely, but the policy advocated by the noble Lord (Lord Claud John Hamilton) is an enfeebling and emasculating policy in its effects on the energies of the country. My noble Friend the Member for Berwick (Viscount Bury) said that what he asked for was what would be best for the shipping interest. Well, if there is good to be done by harbours of refuge—I mean the extensive good contemplated by their advocates—the measure of that good is undoubtedly to be found in their effect on the shipping interest—because what they want to prevent is the loss of ships, of cargoes, and of lives. How then does the shipping interest consider these harbours of refuge? In what way have they recognized their interest in them. We know quite well that they have refused to bear any burden of any kind for the purpose of sustaining any proportion of the cost of those works. Now, that is a matter of fact, and not a a matter of argument or imagination and anticipation. They have demanded that passing tolls should be abolished; they have resisted impositions, and declared they would not pay one farthing towards the creation of any one of these seaports; and I im not aware that that they have ever mooted that these harbours should be created, or that they should be charged with the dues of them. That is really a confutation of the idea that very great changes with respect to the amount of wrecks and the destruction of life and property will arise from this costly measure. But allow me to point out that we are getting harbours of refuge to a large extent. It cannot be denied that the works of the Tyne are operating to the creation of a most magnificent harbour of refuge. They give a low water bar of 21 feet, and the degree to which they have affected the security of navigation is to be found in the statement, in which it appears that during 1865 there entered the port of Newcastle for the purpose of refuge 132 ships; that number progressively increased to 558 in 1870; and in January and February of the present year 334 vessels had entered. Under these circumstances, I hope we shall not be asked to deal with a Motion of this kind upon arguments for the employment of convicts, and arguments for the creation of a military harbour for our fleet. Is the noble Lord (Lord Claud John Hamilton) really going to take the initiative out of the hands of the Government? I must tell him that if a harbour was required for the purpose of accommodating out fleet, it is but fair that the Admiralty should have some voice in the matter. The Admiralty, however, are not sensible of the existence of any such want; nor is the scheme of the noble Lord for the employment of convict labour one of which the Home Office approves. When a Gentleman brings forward a Motion stamped with this local character it is not an easy matter for him to get out of it; but this I must say—I hope the House will not follow him upon so very dangerous and slippery ground as he invites us to tread without the smallest possible prospect of benefit, and with the certainty of vast expense, and with the certainty also of the proposition meeting with resolute opposition.

Lord CLAUD JOHN HAMILTON, in reply, said, he thought it right to state that Mr. Milner Gibson was not responsible for the change which had occurred in the policy of Lord Palmerston's Government with respect to harbours of refuge. The proposal was made by Lord Palmerston's Secretary to the Treasury, and with the full authority of the Government Mr. Wilson moved for a Committee, on which sat the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who voted in favour of an expenditure which he now repudiated. [The Chancellor of the Exchequer: I was a member of the Committee, but I never gave any such Vote.] He had carefully gone through the proceedings of the Committee, and he could assure the House that whenever the question of voting a large expenditure of money arose the right hon. Gentleman always voted in the affirmative. The Committee reported; and the appointment of a Commission was sanctioned by his right hon. Friend the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington). How was it that when his right hon. Friend proposed the appointment of that Committee from the Treasury Bench, neither Lord Palmerston or his Colleagues on the front Opposition Bench said a single word in opposition to the Motion? It was not, indeed, until the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had returned from the Ionian Islands that Lord Palmerston and his Friends, on returning to power, reversed their policy. It was, he felt, unnecessary to try to defend the right hon. Member for Droitwich from any charge in connection with the matter, for when the Government of Lord Derby came into office, in 1866, it was for a particular purpose—to pass a measure for extending the franchise, which the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government found himself unable to carry. Lord Derby's Government sat for two years and a-half on those Benches; but it should be remembered that Lord Derby's Government was in a minority, and that, had his right hon. Friend brought forward such a proposal, the first person who would have endeavoured to turn him out of office would have been the present Prime Minister. His right hon. Friend, therefore, had in his opinion, abundant excuse for not having dealt with the subject. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) had taken him somewhat severely to task, and had called his Motion one of an isolated character; but the reason why he had selected Filey was because it had been recommended by the Royal Commission as a purely national harbour. He had brought forward the subject as Member for King's Lynn, for he was in no way connected with the locality, and acted merely from patriotic motives. The people of King's Lynn did not care where the harbour of refuge was — all they wished for was a harbour of refuge on the eastern coast; and when he found the Commissioners had recommended Filey as the best place, and when after consulting the shipping interest they concurred in that recommendation, he had simply brought Filey before the House, and he never imagined that the doing so would have been imputed to him as a local job. Any such imputation he must distinctly repudiate. Filey represented no interest; and was, in fact, at present little more than a village. He must, in the next place, remind the right hon. Gentleman that when vessels in distress entered harbours, such as Great Grimsby, they did not do so without paying a toll of something like 3*s.* a ton register, and that they would be much more ready to run into a safe harbour if they had only to pay the small sum which would be levied upon them at such a place as Filey. With respect to the employment of convict labour, he had been told that the present Director of Convict Prisons had visited Filey in connection with the subject last year; and he (Lord Claud John Hamilton) had put a Question on the subject to the Treasury Bench on that point which had not been answered; so that it would be seen that he did not seek to take the government of the country into his own hands, as the right hon. Gentleman seemed to imagine. He had simply to say, in conclusion, that after the amount of support which he had received, and the great importance of the question in a national point of view, he should feel it to be his duty to press his his Motion to a Division.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he should not trouble the House with many observations, but he hoped the House would bear with him while he pointed out the extent of his offence, which could hardly be gathered from the speech of the noble Lord. Considering that the investigation into the subject with which he was connected was the first of the kind, and had taken place 13 years ago, it would have been quite excusable if he had changed his mind. He had been a member of Mr. Wilson's Committee, being at the time Vice President of the Board of Trade in the Government of Lord Palmerston, and the principle on which that Committee proceeded was that a certain sum should be advanced for harbours of refuge out of the Consolidated Fund; but that in consideration of that a sum about three times as great should be obtained from passing tolls. Now, that might have been a bad or a good principle; but it did not, at all events, contemplate what the noble Lord asked for on the present occasion—namely, to spend a certain amount out of the Consolidated Fund without any local contribution. The Committee recommended that a sum of from £1,395,000 to £1,849,000 should be expended on making harbours of refuge. They recommended that £400,000 should be expended out of the Consolidated Fund for making all the harbours of refuge which they believed to be required, being half the sum now asked for on account of one harbour of refuge. Such was his answer to the charge of the noble Lord. The matter was afterwards re-investigated, and a greater demand was made by the Commission which the right hon. Member for Droitwich was so proud of having appointed that he seemed to think that its appointment placed him on a pinnacle of merit. They recommended that the amount advanced out of the Consolidated Fund should be £2,390,000, while the advances out of local resources should be £1,625,000. The noble Lord, however, did not propose to follow the general spirit of the recommendations of the Commission, but picked out one isolated point, with respect to which the Consolidated Fund was to contribute all, and local resources nothing. A more fatal blow, not only at the Exchequer, but at the reputation of that House, could not be imagined. He had some experience on such a point. He had been a member of a Colonial Assembly, the greatest part of the time of which was taken up in discussing measures such as the noble Lord now proposed, involving the application of general revenue to local purposes—such as the making of a road in one place, or the construction of a railway in another. The main time of the Legislature was occupied in that most discreditable manner, and he, therefore, ventured from practical experience to warn the House not to encourage such Motions as the present; for it would find no course so injurious to the respect and estimation it should be held in by the public as countenancing the grant out of the general revenue of the country of money to be expended on local purposes.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: I hope that when the right hon. Gentleman refers to me he will not grossly misrepresent me—[" Order ! "]

Mr. SPEAKER having read the Motion—

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER begged to know whether the language used by the right hon. Baronet was in Order?

Mr. SPEAKER: I did not hear the exact words used; but the words were not taken notice of by any hon. Member at the moment when they were uttered, the reading of the terms of the Motion have intervened, and it is now too late to call them in question.

Question put:—The House *divided*:—Ayes 89; Noes 124: Majority 35.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE DUTIES ACT (1869) AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Bourke, Mr. Cross, Mr. Beckett Denison.*)

[BILL 69.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the second time,"—(*Mr. Bourke.*)

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, as the hon. and learned Gentleman had not explained the object of this Bill, he would himself give some explanation of it. The object was to make a small alteration in the law with reference to licences. At present a tradesman employing any person in his shop to wait upon him as a servant was obliged to take out a licence for him as a servant, although he employed him in his business. If he only employed him in his business he would not be obliged to take out a licence, but if he employed him as a servant he would be obliged to do so. The alteration proposed was that where a tradesman employed a person mainly as an errand boy he should not pay any licence for him although he employed him also as a servant. Now, this was a very inconvenient course, for if they went on in this way they would have every Member who found fault with anything in the taxation of the country introducing a Bill in order to alter it. The Government every year brought forward a Bill for the amendment of the Customs and Inland Revenue Law, and if any hon. Member had an Amendment to propose it was usual to propose it by moving a clause in Committee. This had been represented to the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite; and he now repeated publicly that the course thus indicated would be that which would be most convenient to the hon. and learned Member and the House. If the hon. and learned Member acquiesced in that view, nothing need be said now on the merits of the question. [Mr. Bourke dissented.] Well, then, the Bill did not give any criterion by which the tax could be imposed. It said that an errand boy was to be exempt from taxation if "mainly employed" as such; but how could any man say what it was to be mainly employed in such a capacity? No rule could be laid down, and it would be impossible to collect a tax under such circumstance. There must be a definite rule, or else the collection of the tax would lead to either tyranny or corruption. If there were no definite test an officer might tax a man unjustly without there being any possibility of convicting him of misconduct, and that would necessarily give rise to numerous appeals. No two men would agree as to what it was to be "mainly employed."

What was a tradesman and what an errand boy? There were no legal definitions of them. And where did the errand boy shade off into the shop boy? The Bill would introduce an entirely new principle of taxation, and would give far too wide a discretion to collectors. One collector would hold that a friend's errand boy was employed very little in the house, and another that an enemy's errand boy was employed a good deal. He had received a letter respecting the conduct of a tax-gatherer who was a milkman, and it was complained that he winked at a factory operative cleaning a horse as long as his milk was bought; but, when it was refused because it was too bad to drink, he discovered that the factory operative was a groom. This suggested the question why the hon. and learned Member stopped at errand boys and did not include adults who were employed in double capacities? Another objection to his proposal was that it was unwise to multiply exceptions.

Mr. BOURKE said, he had been anxious to hear what the right hon. Gentleman had to say. The reason why he introduced a Bill was that last year he had tried to effect his object by Resolution and failed. The House knew how easy it was for a Minister to give an assurance that a matter should be looked into. This was done last Session; but it had since been found that boys employed by tradesmen, who cleaned boots or knives, were transformed into male servants as much as if they were grooms of the chamber or valets. All shopmen were exempt from the tax, and *à fortiori*, these boys ought to be also exempted, as they mainly performed shopmen's duties, and it was not necessary to make special provisions to exempt adults, because menial duties were not required of them. Under the description he proposed he was sure no collector could have any difficulty in deciding who was liable to the tax. The great motive for pressing the Bill was that, in towns, it was desired by philanthropic persons to take boys out of the streets and find employment for them, and this tax of 15*s.* a-year was a great obstacle to their employment. He was not wedded to the form of a Bill if he could have an assurance that the object should be effected by a clause in the Government Bill.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the hon. and learned Gentleman would set a most inconvenient precedent. It was most desirable to have all our enactments of that kind in the same measure. The proper mode of proceeding would be for the hon. and learned Gentleman to insert a clause in the Inland Revenue Bill, for which a convenient opportunity would be afforded him. If the Motion were pressed he should be obliged to give effect to the observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer by moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Second Reading *deferred* till *Tuesday*, 18th April.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [March 20] *reported.*

Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN said, he was asked last night by the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) to explain a charge of £24 for arms for Canada. The noble Lord wished to know whether the arms were rifles, but it turned out they were heraldic arms, a new seal having been furnished upon the federation of the North American Provinces.

Resolutions *agreed to.*

WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS BILL.

[Bill 57.]—(*Lords.*)

CONSIDERED AS AMENDED.

Order for consideration read.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he did not wish to offer any opposition to the Bill, at the same time he felt great doubts on the subject. The Bill proposed to extend the jurisdiction of British Courts to 20 miles beyond our own territory, while it made no provision for constituting new Courts on the frontier. Now, he could not but fear that a Native, arrested beyond British territory and carried to Sierra Leone to be tried in a Court where proceedings were conducted in a language of which he was ignorant, would be placed at a great disadvantage and might be subjected to injustice. He hoped the question of the judicial proceedings at Sierra Leone would be discussed on a future occasion.

Mr. M'ARTHUR said, he fully agreed with the remarks made by the hon. Member for Penryn (Mr. R. N. Fowler.) The Bill involved a new principle—that of extending British criminal jurisdiction into territories not under the Government of the Crown, and of rendering Natives amenable to our authority, who knew nothing of our laws and customs, and who obviously had no sufficient means of defending themselves if wrongfully accused. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for the Colonies said such a Bill was necessary for the protection of British subjects. The power, however, they claimed ought to be carefully guarded and judiciously exercised. There already existed considerable dissatisfaction in Sierra Leone in relation to the administration of justice. Trial by jury in civil cases had been abolished, and the state of affairs in the Colony were anything but satisfactory. He (Mr. M'Arthur) would recommend the establishment of local courts, so that the people might understand what laws they had to obey. He also thought it important that the boundary of British territory should be properly defined.

Bill, as amended, *considered;* to be read the third time upon *Friday*.

SEQUESTRATION OF BENEFICES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Russell Gurney, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Sequestration of Benefices in England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. Bouverie, and Sir John Pakington.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 80.]

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (METRIC SYSTEM) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. John Benjamin Smith, Bill to establish the Metric System of Weights and Measures, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. John Benjamin Smith, Sir Charles Adderley, and Mr. Graves.

NEW FOREST BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Baxter, Bill to disafforest the New Forest, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Baxter and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 81.]

LANDRIGHTS AND DEEDS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Gordon, Bill to amend the Law relating to Landrights and Deeds in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Gordon and Mr. Charles Dalrymple.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 84.]

SEA FISHERIES ACT (1868) SUPPLEMENTAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Bill to confirm an Order made by the Board of Trade under "The Sea Fisheries Act, 1868," relating to the Frith of Forth, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Chichester Fortescue and Mr. Arthur Peel.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 83.]

PILOTAGE BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to abolish Compulsory Pilotage.

Resolution *reported:* — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Chichester Fortescue and Mr. Arthur Peel.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 82.]

House adjourned at half after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 22nd March, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee —Resolution* [March 21] *reported.*

Ways and Means—*considered in Committee— Resolution* [March 21] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Resolution in Committee—Ordered —First Reading*—(£462,580 9*s.* 11*d.*) Consolidated Fund *.

Ordered—First Reading—Registration of Partnerships * [86].

First Reading—Weights and Measures (Metric System) * [85].

Second Reading—Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) [9], *put off;* Adulteration of Food, &c.* [41].

Committee—Report—Workshop Regulation Act (1867) Amendment (*re-comm.*) * [74].

HYPOTHEC ABOLITION (SCOTLAND) BILL—[Bill 9.]

(*Mr. Carnegie, Mr. Fordyce, Mr. Craufurd.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. CARNEGIE, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, that in asking the time of the House on this subject, which was one on which the tenantry of Scotland took a very deep interest, it was not his intention to make this question what had been called a "hardy annual." He thought, however, he was entitled, on behalf of those he represented, to take up a little of the time of the House under the circumstances which had occurred. Two years ago he had succeeded in carrying a Bill through the second reading, but there it stopped owing to his losing his day on account of the discussion about the Mayor of Cork; last year he did not bring in a Bill, but he put a Question to the Lord Advocate, who answered him that the question was under the consideration of the Government. It remained under the consideration of the Government for the remainder of the Session, and during the Recess; and now he had resolved to propose a Bill himself, and at such a period of the Session as afforded a possibility of its being passed. The subject of the law of hypothec, its nature and origin, had been so much discussed in the country, and in Parliament, that probably it was not necessary for him to say much more about it at the present time. The only new thing he had to state was, that two years ago the House of Lords appointed a Committee to investigate this matter. He stated at that time that he did not think any very great good was likely to come out of a Committee in that place—for the reason that its Members were necessarily composed of one class, and that therefore evidence was not likely to be obtained so satisfactorily as that obtained by the Royal Commission which was constituted of Members of all classes. And certainly that anticipation was fully borne out. The Committee made a marked distinction between a favourable and an unfavourable witness. Those who favoured the existing law were treated with marked courtesy, and plied with leading questions; whereas witnesses who were opposed to the law of hypothec, as it existed, were subjected to a style of cross-examination which would have done credit to the school of which Mr. Serjeant Buzfuz was a distinguished representative. He must say that the treatment some of the witnesses received—especially from one noble Duke—rather surprised him in such a Committee-room. The Committee asked why no small tenants had been examined by the Commission; but, in spite of this, they examined no small tenant. With regard to the law of hypothec, and in what respect it differed from the law of distress, it was scarcely necessary for him to enter. All Scotch Members understood it, and he would refer those English Members who did not, to previous debates and Blue Books; but he would quote one passage from the Report of the Lords' Committee, because it comprised the whole subject in a single sentence—

> "The main difference," they say, "between the law of hypothec in Scotland, and the law of distress in England, consists in this—that in Scotland the landlord has the power of preventing the tenant from disposing of his crop before the rent becomes due, whereas in England he has no such power."

Otherwise the two were very nearly analogous; but, whatever the differences might be, he was ready to admit that every argument against the law of hypothec in Scotland in the main applied to the law of distress in England. The question was whether the law was defensible or not. Was it defensible in theory? He thought it was generally accepted that when a man became bankrupt his assets were divided amongst his creditors. That was a reasonable proceeding to take as the standing point. Then came the question whether there was any particular reason why the landlord should have claims of this sort, which the seller of raw material had not. It had been said that there was great analogy between the law of hypothec and the law of lien as applied to ships. But a great authority—the present Lord Justice Clerk (Lord Moncreiff), who was then Lord Advocate, was examined before the Committee—distinctly denied that there was any such analogy. He said—

> "I do not think that any great light is to be thrown upon the question of landlord's hypothec by those illustrations, excepting that it shows it is not inconsistent with the general principles of law that where the risk is unusally disproportionate to the interest, there should be a special power of security. Beyond that I do not think there is much analogy in the cases."

The question was whether a landlord, either in an agricultural subject, or an urban subject, did run an unreasonable risk. He (Mr. Carnegie) thought he did not. The merchant who sold raw material to a manufacturer risked the capital he had invested, and in that raw material he risked the whole of his capital; but a landlord in letting his land only risked the interest of his capital—the yearly rent. He did not think, therefore, that the case could be made out that the landlord ran any very enormous or disproportionate risk as compared to the other competing classes. Then, did the existing law have any practical good effect? How did it affect the landlords? The Royal Commissioners said that the landlords never took it into account in selecting a tenant, and did not look to it as giving security for their rent. The landlords, however, asserted that under the law they could give indulgence to their tenants. But by depriving them of the right of hypothec they were not deprived of the right of giving any indulgence they liked; the only difference would be that, in giving that indulgence, they would give it at their own risk, and not at the risk of other people. A bankrupt tenant very seldom did any good either to the landlord or to his farm. He (Mr. Carnegie) said that the great evil of the law was that it did tempt landlords to take men of insufficient capital for their farms. The apparent security it offered made it very difficult for a factor to advise his landlord to refuse a tenant who offered a large rent; the law threw a temptation in the landlord's way that was very undesirable. This Bill had been so drawn as to guard all existing rights; and the landlords would have no cause of complaint in the event of this Bill passing; because the landlord, on his land coming out of lease, would have at his own discretion various ways of dealing with it. Should he consider that the security the law gave him was insufficient, he still had, as a last resort, if he chose, to take the land into his own hands. He had it in his power. The land was there; he could either farm it himself, or let it; and could exact what conditions he chose for it. A great distinction had been drawn between large and small tenants. As regards this Bill that was not a correct distinction. The distinction he (Mr. Carnegie) would draw was between the tenant with sufficient capital, and the tenant with insufficient capital, irrespective of the size of his holding. It had been said—but very unjustly—that the large farmers wished to diminish the number of small farmers, and even get rid of the small farmers altogether. He did not think that was in the least the case. The large farms and the small farms co-existed together, without any jealousy on the part of the tenants. What large farmers objected to was that men with insufficient capital should compete against them for the occupancy of farms. That was what they objected to, not to the existence of small farms. The reckless competition that had taken place sometimes for farms had done an immense deal of harm to the country. Some landlords had been imprudent enough to let land at much over its value to men of comparatively no capital; these men had become bankrupt and paid no dividends, and the whole credit of the farmer class had been seriously shaken. As to the small tenant theory of the law of hypothec, small tenants had never come forward to demand the maintenance of the law. On the contrary, the balance of evidence was that the smaller tenants were quite as much opposed to the law as the larger ones. It had been stated that the landlords, for the purpose of protecting themselves, would have recourse to fore-rents. Now, he (Mr. Carnegie) had no objection to the principle of payment for occupation, and not for crop. He believed that to be a sounder theory; but he also believed that, in practice, the management of estates would go on much as at present, except that the landlord and factor would be more careful in selecting men of capital. He had heard it said that if the law of hypothec were abolished the landlord would be more afraid of giving leases. Now, the evidence taken before the Commission was that the system of leases arose from considerations with which the law of hypothec had nothing to do. He came now to the question as to how the law affected the merchant. Any law by which a merchant received a very small dividend from a bankrupt debtor must affect him injuriously. Now, wherever traders had become bankrupt under this law, the merchants had received very small dividends; and, although some alteration had been made in the law, giving merchants some little more equity in dealing with landlords and tenants, it had not been altogether successful. He had shown, then, that the law of hypothec was injurious to landlords, tenants, and merchants. He believed it tended to hamper agriculture, by preventing capital being applied to the cultivation of the land; and, if so, the law was injurious to the community in general; and, if for that reason alone, it was desirable that the law should be abolished. He had hitherto directed his remarks principally, though not entirely, to hypothec relating to agriculture. But his Bill included hypothec on other subjects; and he had thought it right it should do so. The analogy between them was very strong; and though nowhere had the law been carried out so strictly in urban districts, or produced such bad effects, as in the agricultural parts of the country, still he considered that it was a very mischievous law. He did not see that those who provided lodgings, or places of business, had any greater claim than those who provided food, or those who provided clothing. They had done away with the protection some of them had in the arrestment of wages, and it was unfair that a house agreement should be the one which was given a preference over the rest. A great hardship often arose from the seizure of lodgers' goods for rent; there was now a Bill before the House to give lodgers better protection in this respect. It had been said that the abolition of urban hypothec would lead to the letting of houses to workmen for shorter terms; but it appeared by the evidence before the Committee that already the practice was growing of letting such dwellings from month to month. He had endeavoured to show that the law of hypothec was false in theory and injurious in practice. The only argument that he could see in favour of it was one that was often adduced—namely, that it was in existence, and that with this law in existence the agriculture in Scotland had been in the main prosperous. That was generally the argument—the last dying speech and confession—of any abuse. He could fancy in any crowded Asiatic town where disease was rife, the people saying—"We have done very well as it is; then why should we change?" Such an idea, if carried out, would bring back man to the lowest depths of barbarism. The law of hypothec was a relic of the times when rent was paid in kind, and it was no more fit for the present time than would be a Roman villa on the top of Ben Nevis.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Carnegie.*)

SIR GRAHAM MONTGOMERY said, his hon. Friend (Mr. Carnegie) had dealt with the subject in a very able manner, and had shown much knowledge of the question. The subject was, no doubt, a dry one; but his hon. Friend had gone into very many details, and he (Sir Graham Montgomery) must beg permission to follow him through his remarks. But first he would express his hope that Her Majesty's Government would take an opportuity, during this debate, of saying what was their intention with respect to this subject. When last year his hon. Friend (Mr. Carnegie) put a Question to the Lord Advocate with reference to this subject, and asked what was the intention of the Government in the matter, his right hon. and learned Friend replied that the question was being considered by the Government in connection with the corresponding law in England. He (Sir Graham Montgomery) hoped that if the Government intended to bring in a measure on that subject, they would hear what were the alterations they proposed. The present Bill was a simple Bill—it was a short one—it went right to the point at once. It consisted of two clauses, and proposed to repeal the law of hypothec altogether. The theory of the Bill, and what he took exception to, was that it called landlords' rent personal debt. It seemed to him that the landlord was entitled to a share of the produce of the ground, and one would have supposed that, when personal debt was substituted, some equivalent would have been given for the right taken away. When a tenant did not pay his rent, it was a difficult thing to eject him. Upon a proceeding for that purpose, he might appeal in the first instance, and might again appeal from the Court of Session to the House of Lords; so that a tenant, who was not disposed to be ejected, might give the landlord a great deal of difficulty, and all the time the rent was running on. He should have supposed his hon. Friend would have proposed some more convenient mode of getting rid of tenants who did not pay their rent. His hon. Friend had criticized rather freely the proceedings of the Committee of the House of Lords on the subject. He seemed to think that the selection of witnesses examined before their Lordships was unfairly made.

MR. CARNEGIE said, that what he had referred to was not the bringing of the witnesses, but the treatment of the witnesses.

SIR GRAHAM MONTGOMERY: He thought that before their Lordships there were witnesses—Mr. George Hope, for instance—perfectly able to state to the Committee all the arguments in favour of abolition; but he thought there was a complete failure to make out a good case for abolition. What were the allegations against the law of hypothec? The first was that it gave a preference to the landlord. Why should not that be the case? In Scotland, land was generally let, not from year to year, but on a lease of 19 years. The landlord was thus bound up with the tenant from that period, and was not in the same position as that of the manure and seed merchant. The mere fact that the landlord had only partly the control of the land and the tenant for 19 years was, to his mind, a strong reason for giving him a preference over other creditors. Another allegation was that the law of hypothec increased competition in land. No doubt that was quite true, for tenants were able to take land under it who could not otherwise do so. But it seemed to him right and proper that the tenant should not pay his rent till he had reaped his crop, and that was precisely the way in which the law favoured the tenant. Nor did he believe that this competition was unhealthy. In Scotland, of late years, rent had greatly advanced, and farms became more difficult to obtain than formerly; but he did not think the law of hypothec had anything whatever to do with that fact. The increase in the price of produce was the main reason for the advance in the value of farms. Another allegation against this law was that it was very pernicious to agriculture; and it had been stated that agriculture in Scotland was in a depressed state, and that the tenantry were in a suffering condition. Now, he should have thought that the very reverse of that was the case. There was no country in the world where that interest was more flourishing than at present it was in Scotland. His hon. Friend (Mr. Carnegie) might say it was flourishing in spite of the law of hypothec; but the law had promoted its prosperous condition by securing credit to the smaller class of tenants. The hon. Gentleman said that the landlords were in the habit of letting their farms to the highest offerers, without inquiring as to their ability to meet their engagements, or as to their capital, and were therefore careless in the selection of their tenants. Now, that statement was hardly borne out by facts. Bankruptcies of tenants in Scotland were not greater than in England or any other country. In Scotland many of the smaller class of tenants attributed their rise in the world to the existence of this law. Indeed, several parties examined before the Committee of the House of Lords admitted as much, and the deprivation of these beneficial results would be generally deplored. The exact state of feeling with regard to the law was very clearly brought out before this Committee; the factors—those who had the management of the land—were for the retention of the law; the tenantry were divided on the question, some holding one opinion, and others the reverse; and, of course, manure merchants and seedsmen, who supplied the farmers with what they required to carry on their operations were entirely against the law; but he did not think it had been proved that these gentlemen had suffered more than they would have done had the law not existed. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Carnegie) alluded to fore-hand rents, and seemed to think that it would not be evil if they were adopted. On the contrary, he (Sir Graham Montgomery) felt satisfied that the proposed change would be very prejudicial to the interests of both landlord and tenant. The larger class of tenants were, no doubt, in favour of this movement, but he doubted much whether his hon. Friend was correct in assuming that the smaller tenants were of the same opinion. He thought, if they were polled, they would be found anything but in favour of the abolition of the law of hypothec; and he believed that if this Bill were passed, the smaller tenants would be driven out of their holdings. Now, as to the question of urban hypothec, with which the Bill also dealt. The law, which worked particularly well in large towns with regard to the letting of houses, was to be abrogated at the same time with that affecting tenants. But it was stated in evidence before the Lords' Committee that if this law were abolished, it would produce great suffering and distress among the working classes; and he could well believe it. The law of distress in England, and the law of hypothec in Scotland, as was stated by the Lord Justice Clerk (Lord Moncreiff), were one and the same in their practical operation. He (Sir Graham Montgomery) would rather say that the landlord in Scotland had the advantage over the landlord in England in possessing the power to sequestrate for current rent not due; in England there was no such power. As they all knew, there were great facilities in Scotland for borrowing money at low rates of interest; one of the causes was this very law of hypothec, and he doubted very much whether, if it were abolished, agricultural improvements would not be to a great extent arrested; and he was of opinion that the abolition of the law of hypothec would tend to destroy the confidence hitherto subsisting between landlord and tenant. Feeling that the measure was totally uncalled for, and that if the alterations it proposed were to take effect, they must lead to injurious consequences, he begged to move that the Bill be read a second time this day six months.

Lord GARLIES said, he had much pleasure in seconding the Motion of the hon. Baronet. There were five different interests affected by this Bill: first, the landlord; second, the more wealthy tenants; third, the smaller class of tenants; fourth, the merchants; and fifth, the land itself. As regarded the landlord, the hon. Baronet had shown very clearly that if the Bill passed, the landlord would not have the power of eviction which he should have, in the case of a tenant not paying his rent. On that ground, therefore, the landlords had a right to object to this Bill. In regard to the more wealthy tenants, he thought this cry had been got up in a measure by that particular class, in order to prevent the smaller tenants competing with them. But, in his opinion, this smaller class of tenants should not be subjected to such restrictions. There was a class of men in Scotland who, by frugal habits and industry, raised themselves to certain positions, from small holdings to large farms, and it would be very undesirable to throw any impediments in their way. As regarded the less wealthy tenants, the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Carnegie) said he did not believe they had any objection to the passing of this Bill. Now, he (Lord Garlies) thought there were a good many of this class who had, at elections, used the cry for the abolition of hypothec—not understanding the effect it would have upon them. He agreed that it was quite absurd to put the position of the merchants as at all analogous with that of the landlord. He maintained, also, that the merchant made his contract with his eyes perfectly open; for he was quite aware that the landlord had a previous right to the value of the crop, so that it could not be said that the merchant was placed in any position of hardship. As regarded the land itself, he maintained that the result of this abolition, as was acknowledged by the hon. Member for Forfarshire himself, would be that the landlord, instead of letting the farms, would keep the tillage pretty much in his own hands. He could not imagine anything more telling against the whole of the argument of his hon. Friend than that fact. The reason of the great prosperity—which was not denied from any side—that Scotland had achieved, was very much owing to the system of long leases, and the effect of passing this Bill would be to abolish long leases. The landlord would find he had not the same security, and could not guard himself against loss; so that the practical effect would be either to shorten the leases from year to year, or to induce the landlord to take the tillage into his own hands. This would tend to check the improvements, because a tenant without a long lease would never think of extending these improvements, and the natural result would be an increasing population, with a reduction of cultivation. But he could not help thinking that the real reason of this question being brought forward was that in sensational times—at General Elections—it was found necessary to have a hustings "cry;" and there were always a class of people ready to misrepresent facts, and to upset anything that existed. Perhaps the threats the other night of the hon. Member for the Border Burghs, who said if a certain Bill did not pass there would be a Dissolution, might be one of the reasons for inducing his hon. Friend to press this question.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Sir Graham Montgomery.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. CRAUFURD said, that though it had been stated by his hon. Friend opposite (Sir Graham Montgomery) that this was a somewhat dry subject, it was, nevertheless, a subject of very great importance to the commercial and landed interests of the country; and, that being so, he regretted that a larger attendance should not have been attracted to discuss the matter; because, though the question referred to one part of the kingdom, it must involve the re-consideration of the whole of this class of legislation. Some, indeed, of his hon. Friends argued that they should not attempt to deal with this law in Scotland until they brought in one general measure for the whole United Kingdom. But all persons with ordinary experience of common or political life must know, that if they postponed acting until they could effect a grand revolution, they might wait till the Greek Kalends. The best principle was, that when they proposed to remove an obnoxious fabric in the interests of the whole community, they should pick it down brick by brick, with as little disturbance and danger as possible, in order that it might ultimately come down altogether. A great deal had been said about the benefits which this law had conferred. It had been said of it, as it had lately been said of purchase in the Army, which had lately occupied the attention of the House for five nights, that while theoretically it was a very objectionable system, yet, in practice, it had worked well. The House, however, had decided, even without a Division, that the system, though it might work well, was bad in principle, and they had consented to its abolition. The same thing applied to this question of hypothec. Something had been said about the question of small tenants. They had been told that if it had not been for this law, they would not have risen from small beginnings to the successful state in which they now were. But there, again, the argument failed, because they had no *experimentum crucis* that their success was owing to this law and to this law alone. There was nothing to show that the intellect and ability of these men would not have enabled them to succeed without the aid of this law. Then it was said that small tenants were in favour of the continuance of this law, and that it was a protection to them, and an encouragement to them in the prosecution of their business. But he (Mr. Craufurd) should like, first of all, to have a definition of what constituted a small tenant. So far as he had seen, those who were called small tenants were men who had generally failed utterly to make a livelihood, in spite of the alleged benefits of this law. In spite of those they had struggled on, and had ultimately been obliged to give up their farms, because the small farms were not sufficient to enable them to pay expenses, and to earn a livelihood. Then it was said that if they abolished this protection to landlords, they should compel the institution of fore-hand rents. Now, there was a curious piece of evidence before the Hypothec Commission on this point. Mr. James Sinclair, a landowner of Caithnesshire, in answer to the question—

> "Is it consistent with your knowledge that fore-rents have not prevented letting of farms?"—replied—"No; it has been the invariable practice."

What became, then, of the great argument that fore-rents were the great obstacle to the letting of small farms? Mr. Sinclair says—

> "There is, in some districts of Caithness, great competition for crofts of £5 or £10; but the competition for these farms seems to be a sort of periodical epidemic. We find no difficulty in getting good tenants, paying fore-rents."

[Mr. ORR-EWING: They are not farmers.] The hon. Gentleman says these persons are not farmers at all. Now he (Mr. Craufurd) was not going into the question of what was a farmer, but he said that a tenant who paid from £5 to £10 a-year for his land, out of the land, was practically as much a farmer as the man who paid £500 a-year. The hon. Baronet (Sir Graham Montgomery) who had moved the rejection of the Bill, had said that the small tenants, if polled, would object to the Bill. The small tenants had never been asked, and he might tell his hon. Friend if he wanted to establish a case before a jury, he could not establish it unless he satisfied the jury that the men for whom he spoke held the opinion which he who professed to speak for them said they held. But the small tenants had not been called upon for their opinion, and that had created in his (Mr. Craufurd's) mind a suspicion that their views had not been correctly represented. If it was really the case that the small tenants objected to this Bill, to the extent to which it had been stated, those men ought to have been called in large numbers, and their evidence put upon record. No one had any right to say that those men held those opinions simply because he believed that they held them. He had no doubt that the people who said that was the opinion of the small tenants conscientiously believed it; but that direct evidence was wanting. The best evidence already obtained was only second-hand, and their was no better rule, either in law or in everyday life, than always to decline to take evidence as second-hand when it could be procured from the fountain-head. The statement about the small tenant, therefore, should be supported in the manner in which it ought to be supported, before this House listened to it Allusion had been made to the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1869; and his hon. Friend (Mr. Carnegie), who has charge of this Bill, complained very justly of the manner in which the examination of the witnesses was conducted. When members of the Hypothec Commission were called, they were asked no questions as to whether small tenants had been examined by the Commission, and what evidence they had given; but when persons who were not members of the Commission went before the Committee, they were asked questions which they could not possibly answer, such as—"Are you not aware that the small tenants, who were examined before the Commission, objected to the abolition of the law of hypothec?" I say that the small tenants themselves have never been asked the question. Then they were told that there was no demand for the abolition of urban hypothec. He admitted that the question of urban hypothec had not attracted so much attention as that of rural hypothec, and for this reason—urban hypothec affected the great mass of proprietors of houses in burghs, and they did not wish, whatever their political opinions, to have what they fancied a beneficial security taken from them. These men were generally electors of their burghs; they sent Members to that House; and it was not likely that the Members who represented a class so interested would vote against a law of which they so much approved. Now, although he had the honour to represent a district of burghs, he had felt it his duty to inquire into this matter, and he had come to an opposite conclusion with regard to this Bill. No doubt it was their duty to attend to the feelings and wishes of their constituents; but it was also their duty to exercise a discretion, to act on their own opinions, and to judge whether really and truly this law was, in general, beneficial to the community. And his hon. Friends, who represented urban constituencies, should not forget that the recent adoption of the lodger franchise required that they should take into their careful consideration the interests of the lodger as well as those of the landlord. When, therefore, his hon. Friend (Mr. Carnegie) asked him (Mr. Craufurd) to join in the Bill, he replied that he could not see any distinction between urban hypothec and rural hypothec, and that he should decline to put his name on the Bill, unless it was based on the broad principle that what was good for the country was good for the town; and his hon. Friend at once acknowledged that it was impossible to depart from that broad principle. If they were to go into the question of urban hypothec, the hardships and grievances which could be shown to arise from the law would startle the House. The House had already assented to the principle that urban hypothec was not to be continued in England; for only last night the House unanimously assented to the second reading of a Bill—the Lodgers' Protection Bill—which, *pro tanto*, repealed the law of hypothec in towns. As the law relating to lodgers stood at present, a man might go into unfurnished lodgings, and furnish them himself, and though he might pay his rent regularly to his landlord, if the landlord failed to pay his, the owner of the property might come down on the whole of the lodger's furniture, and sweep away the very bed from under him. Such a monstrous state of things surely ought not to be allowed to continue. They ought, in this House, to consider the interests of those of their constituents who were owners of property. They had been accused of legislating too much for landlords, and he asked, if a Parliament elected by Household Suffrage would maintain a law, which gave an undue advantage to landlords who could protect themselves by requiring security before letting their property to tenants? He had great pleasure in supporting the Bill on its broad principle, and hoped the House would receive from Her Majesty's Government a clear and distinct indication of the course they were going to pursue, and that they would give their hearty support to this measure, which he considered the interests of the community at large demanded that they should give.

MR. BAILLIE COCHRANE opposed the Bill, on the ground that it was avowedly part of a series of measures which were to be brought forward one after another in order to subvert the Constitution. The hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down said that if you wished to pull down an edifice, you were to do it by removing it brick by brick; and this Bill seemed to him one brick of our social edifice. This measure could not be taken by itself—it was the portent of further changes. The law of hypothec was not a landlord's question at all, it was purely a question of the interests of the tenants of Scotland. It made no difference to the landlord whether the law was maintained or abolished, as the landlord had only to make his own conditions in order to be perfectly secure; but if the law was abolished, it would inflict a serious injury upon the class of small tenants.

MR. M'COMBIE said, he had much pleasure in supporting the Bill of his hon. Friend (Mr. Carnegie). The tenant-farmers of Scotland were deeply indebted to him. The Bill vitally affected the interests of his constituents, the tenant-farmers of Scotland. The hypothec law was one of those classes of laws that had been kept up by the proprietors at the expense of the tenants. The law of hypothec affected every tenant-farmer, whether large or small. It created a fictitious value on land, and allowed the proprietor to accept tenants with little or no capital. Such persons, instead of farming the land, actually scourged it, and in a few years handed it over in an exhausted state to their landlord, who again re-let it to another tenant, very likely of the same description. There was not the half of the capital invested in land in Scotland that ought to be; and the land was not yielding above two-thirds of what it was able to produce. Therefore, he maintained that this was not altogether a tenant-farmer's question, but rather one of a national character. The large farmers had been accused that they wished to turn out the small tenants for the purpose of adding to their own holdings. He (Mr. M'Combie) most emphatically denied that such was the case. Many of the holdings in Aberdeenshire were of land of such inferior quality that they would never pay a large farmer—he would not have them if he could get them for nothing. They were told that it would ruin the poor tenants if the law of hypothec was abolished. Depend upon it, it was a law to keep a poor man always poor, and did not assist the farmer of fair means in getting rich. Again, who were the highest bidders for farms when they were advertised? With few exceptions, they were men with little capital, and sometimes men with no capital. The effect of the abolition of the law of hypothec would be that landlords would only let their farms to tenants who had capital to manage them. Who, then, were the parties that were against the abolition of the law of hypothec? It was not the large farmers; it was not the small farmers generally in Aberdeenshire; it was not the manure merchant; it was not the general merchant; it was not the labouring classes; it was not the tradesmen. No; it was solely those who profited by it—the proprietors and their factors. If he thought the abolition of the law would harm the poor man, he should be the last to vote for it.

MR. ORR-EWING said, that if this had been only a question between landlord and tenant, and that the law was maintained solely in the interests of the landlords, he should have supported this Bill; but he opposed it principally because he believed the law of hypothec operated for the benefit of the working men in urban properties, and for the benefit of small tenants in the rural parishes. If the law were repealed as regarded urban properties, it would inflict great injury on the working men, who must have houses wherein to lay their heads. The hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Carnegie) had told them that rents were collected in towns and cities by the month; but his (Mr. Ewing's) experience of the working classes of Scotland led him to believe that those who paid by the week or the month belonged to the lowest portion of the community: the general custom was to pay rent by the year or by the six months. The Act of 1867 would prevent a landlord from following the crops of his tenant, and since that Act the question had become one entirely of the capitalist against the poor man. He believed that no greater injury could be done to Scotland than by passing this Bill, for it would prevent the intelligent labourer or small farmer from raising himself from his position to a better. This, indeed, had been virtually admitted by the supporters of the Bill, for it had been said in the debate that no man who had not capital ought to have a farm. That would be most unjust. Look at the case of Mr. Denholme, who gave evidence before the Committee, that, in 16 years he had raised himself from the position of a ploughman to that of a tenant-farmer paying £1,400 a-year rent, and who said that he would never have had a chance of rising to the position in which he was placed but for the law of hypothec. Nine-tenths of the farmers of Scotland had been originally labourers or overseers, or the sons of persons who had risen from such positions; and the House should not lightly change a law which had conferred so much benefit upon the country. In his own county there was not a farmer with whom he had conversed on this subject who was not perfectly satisfied with the law as it stood. It was not fit, at all events, that it should be left to a private Member to bring in a Bill of this character. Had the hon. Member the slightest chance of passing the measure, even if he succeeded in passing it through this House? Certainly not. But if it were passed through this House, under the authority of the Government, it might meet a more favourable reception at the hands of the other House. The Government should, if it were thought necessary, bring in a Bill to assimilate the law of the three kingdoms. In his opinion, the need for the amendment of the law of distress in England was greater than in Scotland, where manure not on the soil, farm implements, and things of that kind could not be seized. Why, then, should Scotland alone be selected for legislation? He hoped the Government would not support the Bill.

Mr. DYCE NICOL said, that he believed the consequences of this law were not only to deter capital from land, but to keep the occupiers poor, by inducing them to agree to conditions opposed to good cultivation and profitable farming, which would be acknowledged by all practical men to be preferable to high rents; and that the interests of landowners would be best protected by looking narrowly to the skill, capital, and character of their tenants, which the abolition of this law would compel them to do. On a considerable portion of his property fore-hand rents were paid—that is to say, the first half-year's rent was payable in May after sowing, and the last in November. This he found to be the case when he came into possession, and on a recent renewal of leases was not objected to. They were all small tenants, who, as a class, were the most highly rented in Scotland, while recent statistics showed that four-fifths of the sequestrations are of tenants paying under £100 a-year—a sad commentary on the allegation that the law of hypothec enabled landlords to help the poor but industrious small tenant. Whether the Legislature were prepared at present to sanction the abolition of this law or not, he believed that concession to the reasonable remonstrances of the tenant-farmers on this subject could not long be delayed.

Mr. G. B. GREGORY thought that if this Bill were passed, they must soon after deal with the law of distress as it applied to England. It was the same question *mutato nomine.* The subject of distress for rent throughout the whole United Kingdom was involved. No principle of law was better understood than that of distress for rent. Everybody who took land clearly understood that his crops would be distrainable; and, indeed, in respect to land, the relation between landlord and tenant was a *quasi*-partnership, in consequence of which the landlord had a lien for his rent upon the crops which were grown out of his land. In his opinion the law led to no practical hardship; indeed, he believed that the arrangement was for the benefit of the tenant. On large estates the rents were generally collected yearly or half-yearly, so that the tenant had the benefit of a long period in which to realize his produce, and the landlord knew he had good security for his forbearance; but any change that would lessen the security for the rent would lead to a collection of the rent quarterly, or even by anticipation. He trusted that the Government would oppose this Bill.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, he could not but view this law of hypothec as the remnant of a feudal system, and he could not think that landlords should have such extraordinary power as this law gave them. The law was said to favour the considerate treatment of tenants by landlords. If that were so, it was at the expense of ordinary creditors.

Mr. FORDYCE said, the hon. Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing) objected to the Bill because, in his opinion, it would injuriously affect the interests of the smaller tenants. He (Mr.

Fordyce) represented what was *par excellence* the county of small tenants, and he was there to maintain that, as a rule, they were strongly in favour of the measure. The hon. Member adduced but one reason in support of this assertion of the injurious tendency of the abolition of the law of hypothec on the small tenants—namely, that it would be more difficult for them to get farms under the new system. He (Mr. Fordyce) was unable to see the force of this argument. Surely the credit of the tenant would be increased, and he would more readily obtain advances from banks and friends, when it was known that, in the event of any misfortune, the lion's share of his effects would not be carried off by the landlord; and, certainly, the tenantry were as good, if not better, judges of what was for their interest than the hon. Member. There was one argument against hypothec to which allusion had not been made, but which seemed to him to be a strong one. It put a landlord out of sympathy with his tenants. It withdrew any inducement to consult their views and feelings —at all events, put it in the power of a landlord of a mercenary spirit to rack-rent and oppress his tenants in every way. A landlord of a mercenary spirit might go over his farms, and find every blade of grass and every turnip destroyed by game; but so long as he was aware that if the worst came to the worst, and the tenant became bankrupt, he (the landlord) would receive full payment, it did not affect him in the least. It was a matter of perfect indifference what became of the tenant. The competition stimulated by the law of hypothec and the existing monopoly of land secured him an abundance of candidates for the farm. Abolish this law, and the state of things would be very different. A large farm would be like a large warehouse—of no use to the owner unless he consulted the views and feelings of the tenantry. He hoped the Lord Advocate would atone for the Game Bill he had introduced by supporting this Bill.

Mr. STAPLETON said, that the first question he was asked upon his canvass was, whether he would vote against the Scotch law of hypothec; and after inquiry he had come to the conclusion that so far as the Scotch law of hypothec differed from the law of distress in England and Ireland it was bad and required reform; but so far as it was consonant with the general law of the Empire no case had been made out against it. Now, the difference consisted in this—that the Scotch landlord could sequestrate the tenant's goods for rent accruing, and therefore not yet due at the time of the sequestration, which an English landlord could not do. He hoped therefore that in Committee the Bill would be altered, so as to put the law in the two countries upon the same footing. As for the argument that undue competition would be prevented, and farmers possessing capital would be encouraged by the Bill to apply their capital to the land, he did not see the policy of preventing B from making a bargain with A, in order that C might make a better bargain with A. As it stood, the Bill would increase the monopoly, not in the ownership, but in the occupation of land. He did not wish to shut out well-educated labourers or shepherds from rising to be tenant-farmers. Such a gradual rise was much better than the sudden fortunes made of late years in trade. The House, therefore, should hesitate before adopting the whole of the Bill. It had been said that more food would be produced, if the poor farmers had to give way to rich ones. He thought that a dangerous argument. It might land them in Communism. Louis Blanc had proved that the wages of workmen might be raised by diminishing the number of tradesmen employed in the distribution of their work. He thought they would do better to avoid these general considerations of remote effects, and confine themselves to the way in which that law affected those immediately concerned. The question was this—was there any reason for giving the landlord a preference over other creditors? The answer was obvious—that the landlord could not stop his credit at once, as other creditors might. This was so, even where the land was let from year to year, and *a fortiori* when it was let on lease. Now, in Scotland leases were the rule; not, as in England, the exception. It had been said that the landlord ought not to lease his land to one who was not a good man; but there were cases—as where a tenant died, and he was succeeded by his son—where that argument could not be applied; and he thought it did not amount to much. One of the greatest advances that could be made would consist in the assimilation of the law in the different parts of the kingdom, not only in this case but wherever it was possible.

MR. PELL thought that the Scotch system had produced one evil—namely, to encourage men deficient in capital to come into the market to compete against those who were in better circumstances. That was no reason why there should be a special law for one part of the kingdom, and he thought it would be well if something like the principle which regulated the relation between landlord and tenant in England should be applied to Scotland. He should vote against the Bill, because he did not believe, if it were applied to England, it would in any way benefit the tenants.

MR. W. H. MAXWELL said, he should not have risen to take up the time of the House had it not been for some remarks made by two hon. Friends. The practice in Scotland agreed very much with what was represented to be the practice in England, and he believed the practical results were similar. Having had to do with the management of land in Scotland for 30 years, and knowing what was going on in the district of country which he represented, he believed that this law, of which so much had been said, was very little known—practically, at least, in that part of Scotland. If he was not mistaken there were Returns on the Table of the House which showed that, although the landlord had the power in question, yet in reality he very seldom required to avail himself of it, and that the great complaint which had been made of injury to the agriculture of Scotland from the operation of this law was very much exaggerated. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Ayr (Mr. Craufurd) and the hon. Member for Aberdeenshire (Mr. M'Combie) had referred to the small tenants of the district with which they were connected. He could not say anything about the state of the small tenants in Aberdeenshire; but he knew a good many small tenants in Ayrshire, and he did not hesitate to say that there was no class of men who deserved more encouragement—a class who, having saved a few pounds, took a farm, and not only succeeded themselves, but put the family they left behind them in a position to raise themselves, and do credit to the district with which they were connected. He thought it would be a great pity if Englishmen were to go away with the idea that the small farmers of Scotland were not doing good to their country at the same time that they are benefiting themselves. He did not believe that landlords were much interested in the continuance of the present law; but he did think that small tenants were, and that such persons would suffer by a change. He should be glad if the agitation that existed to a small extent in Scotland was put an end to, and some measure were introduced by the Lord Advocate which would evince due consideration not merely for the interests which were connected with the land, but also for other interests, which were connected in much the same way as landlords and tenants. He wished to see some measure introduced which would embrace not only Scotland, but the kingdom at large. Holding these views, he could not support the Bill as it stood, and therefore he could not vote for the second reading.

THE LORD ADVOCATE: My hon. Friend the Member for Dumbartonshire (Mr. Orr-Ewing) has said that, in his opinion, no greater injury could be done to Scotland than by the passing of this Bill. I think my hon. Friend must admit on consideration that this is rather exaggerated language, and that Scotland is not in such a happy state of security against evils, that the greatest evil that could be done to her would be to abolish the law of hypothec. My own opinion is against the law of hypothec, and has ever been against it, since I considered the subject as one of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the matter and report upon it. I regard it as untenable, for I cannot consider it otherwise than as an exceptional and highly artificial law. The hypothec is a privilege in the strictest sense of the term, and a privilege of landlords. It is a privilege of landlords, because it is a peculiar law in their favour, which does not exist in favour of others. The question really is, whether the relation between landlord and tenant is such as to require and to justify the continuance of this exceptional and artificial law in favour of landlords. In order to take an intelligent view of this question, it will be necessary to consider carefully what is the nature of the relations between landlord and tenant. I must observe, before referring further to that relation, that the law with which the Bill professes to deal makes no distinction between rural subjects and urban subjects —the law is the same with regard to both. What, then, is the relation of landlord and tenant, that this peculiar law should exist in the landlord's favour? The hon. Baronet the Member for Peebles-shire (Sir Graham Montgomery) took exception to the language of the Bill, in characterizing the landlord's claim for rent as a personal debt—observing that the true character of the landlord's claim was a right to a share of the profit of the subject of the lease. Now, what is the meaning of such language in reference to cattle on a farm? Cattle are purchased and brought by the tenant upon the farm to graze there—perhaps they are not paid for—and they may not have been there a week or a day when they are subjected to the landlord's seizure. How can these cattle be the landlord's share of the produce of the farm? The same remark applies to urban subjects. Take the case of furniture which the tenant has purchased, and perhaps not paid for. Is that furniture part of the landlord's share of the produce of the house? So, also, in the case of a shop; this highly artificial law gives the landlord a claim over all others on the goods which the tenant has purchased, probably on credit, in order to carry on his business. Are these goods the landlord's share of the produce of the shop? The hon. Member for Sussex (Mr. G. B. Gregory) said that he thought the relation between landlord and tenant was a *quasi* partnership. What is the meaning of that? A tenant may hire a house and furnish it with furniture which is not paid for. Is there any partnership in that case? The same principle is applicable in all cases, and at present no distinction is made on account of difference of subject. According to the ancient practice of Scotland—I cannot speak with confidence with regard to England—the relation between landlord and tenant was not what it is now. The cultivator was hired by the landlord to cultivate the land, and was rewarded, not with money, but with a share of the produce. In modern times the relation rests upon a simple contract for the hiring of the land, which the proprietor has desired to turn to the best account. For this purpose the use of the land by the tenant has been made conditional on a periodical money payment. Now, what is the nature of the landlord's claim for that periodical money payment? It is nothing else than a personal debt. The law never regarded it otherwise—and that is its legal character. In order to carry on the business of farming, a man requires many other things besides land. He requires labour; he requires seed; he requires manures; he has to go into the market to buy all these things; and the hiring of the land is only one of the steps which are requisite to enable him to set to work in the business in which he is engaged. Now, why is the landlord to have a preference over all other creditors simply because he has a claim to the rent of land or a house? The hon. Member for Kirkcudbright (Mr. Maxwell) said that landlords very seldom use the privilege which they possess. I will venture to say that landlords use their privilege on every occasion when it is their interest to do so. I have not myself heard of any landlord who, in case of failure on the part of his tenant, has agreed to allow the whole of the property to be divided equally among the creditors. The landlord's privilege comes into operation only when the tenant becomes bankrupt, and if a tenant be unable to pay 20*s*. in the pound, the landlord exercises his privilege, and probably gets paid in full, while the other creditors can only obtain perhaps a few shillings in the pound. It is said that it is a great advantage to a large number of small tenants that this security for landlords should exist. It may be a great advantage to landlords, but I have never been able to see how the existence of this privilege can be an advantage to tenants, because the effect of giving a preferential security of the landlord must be to diminish the tenant's credit with others. To give the landlord a preferential claim is to prejudice the credit of the tenant with everyone else. What can be the advantage of the present law to the tenant if he is prejudiced in the eyes of the butcher, and the tailor, and all other persons with whom he has occasion to deal? Such is the effect of that exceptional and artificial law, which we call the law of hypothec, and which it is proposed by this Bill to abolish. I must not omit to notice an argument against change which has been constantly urged in the debates on the question. It has been said that this is a small tenant's question, and that that highly estimable class of persons would be injured by the abolition of the present law. My hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcudbright (Mr. Maxwell) characterized that class of tenants as an honest, frugal, intelligent, and industrious body of men. If that be a correct description of them—as I have no doubt it is—and if they pay, as they proverbially do, the highest rents, I cannot believe that the landlords of Scotland would be unwilling still to have them as tenants, even if the law of hypothec had been abolished. Frugality is one of their attributes. They do not require to live in the same manner as a higher class of farmers, and hence they can afford to pay a higher rent; and experience has shown that on the whole there is no safer class of tenants than the small tenants of Scotland. I have no doubt that they merit what has been said in their favour; and that being the case, the landlords of Scotland will, for their own sake, continue them in their occupations. Moreover, we must not put altogether aside the law of kindness, which must lead to a desire to encourage a class of men who are meritorious as well as safe. But suppose they were not such men as they are, what should we think of an announcement made by the landlords to this effect—"We cannot trust these men. Our opinion of their trustworthiness is not such that we should feel safe in leaving farms in their hands, and we would rather have a lower rent from men of capital, unless we can have the higher farm-men without capital, combined with a preferential security, which will save us from the risk of loss?" It is said, again, that the landlord would be compelled, if this law were abolished, to stipulate for fore-hand rents. Well, if it is necessary for the landlord's security that the rent be paid beforehand, by all means let it be so. Security is not a thing to be had without paying for it. People who run risks and give credit must be paid for that credit. It is for landlords, just like other people, to judge whether or not they can safely deal with a particular individual without security or prepayment, but by all means let them exercise their own judgment. They have the selection of their tenants, and other people who deal with the man whom the landlord has selected to be tenant are entitled to suppose that the landlord has deemed him worthy of trust. How does the law stand? The tenant becomes bankrupt, and the landlord who put him in the farm is by the operation of the hypothec paid in full, while other creditors who trusted him have only a dividend. It is said the law is known, and nobody can complain of its operation because it is known, and it is said further that, because security over property is quite familiar to the law, therefore there is nothing particular or exceptional in this matter. Now, the law of security ought to be the same to all—and there ought to be no particular or exceptional law in favour of landlords. The law of security is an important chapter in the law of every country. It stands upon considerations of policy, and general convenience, and does not permit a trader to give a security over his stock-in-trade, or indeed anyone to give security over personal property retained in his own hand. The hypothec is an exception to the law which governs securities, and I think it is an impolitic exception, for it pledges a trader's stock to one favoured creditor, contrary to all the considerations on which the law of security rests. As for the statement that the law is known, that is good for nothing. If it is, you might with out hardship, or giving just cause of complaint, confer a security in favour of any creditor whatever, and, because the law was known, say there was no hardship in it. I have never been able to see any reason why a man who lets a house for six months in return for £20, £30, or £40, or whatever the sum may be, should have a preference over the creditor who supplies the furniture of the house, or the goods necessary for the sustenance of the family living therein. Why should the landlord get everything, while the man who supplies the clothes and food should go without a shilling? A house is not more necessary than the furniture in it; but if you suppose a house is actually more necessary than the furniture which is contained in it, it is certainly not more necessary than the food which is supplied, and those who supply the food might have to go without a shilling, while the man who lets the house gets everything. It is said that it is a great boon for a poor man to command credit with those who let houses, but it would be also of great advantage to have credit with those who supply the necessaries of life. I see great injustice in the law which this Bill proposes to abolish, and therefore I am in favour of its being read a second time. I have been asked to state what the Government intend to do with respect to the measure. I have no difficulty in answering that question by saying that the Government will support the Bill. But we are here dealing with the law of hypothec in Scotland, and in reference to Scotland only—though it may be, as has been suggested, that the considerations and principles upon which this Bill rests may have force with respect to the law of distress in England. That is a question, however, which must be considered when it arises. If the same considerations and arguments do apply to the law of distress in England as to the law of hypothec in Scotland, I should myself be in favour of its repeal. This, however, is not the time to raise that question. I know that the relation between landlord and tenant in England is different, and there may very well be considerations arising out of that difference which have a material bearing on this subject. The contract is of a more commercial character in Scotland than in England. The custom in Scotland is that farms are let as leases fall out, according to their ascertained value at the time, and there is never any hesitation upon the part of the best landlords in Scotland to raising rents in accordance with that ascertained increased value. The thing may be different in England, and there may be reasons for retaining the law of distress which will not support the law of hypothec, which this Bill proposes to abolish. I should desire now to deal with the Scotch law of hypothec on its own merits or demerits, and not to be carried away by the references which have been made to the English law of distress, which is not at present the subject of complaint and may stand on a different footing; though, for myself, I do not shrink from saying that I should be prepared to carry to their legitimate result, whatever that may be, the principles on which my opposition to the law of hypothec are based.

Mr. GORDON said, he must express his surprise at the announcement which had just been made, that the Government intended to support this Bill. They had not heard that there was any complaints of the law of distress in England; on the contrary, those hon. Members who had addressed the House that day had intimated that there were no complaints against the law of distress; yet they heard from the Lord Advocate that the Government were ready to apply, or would be ready to apply, the same system to England in the case of the law of distress as they were about to do in supporting the abolition of the law of hypothec in Scotland. He must say their mode of dealing with this Bill was very inconsistent with the course they had taken with reference to the game question. The game question had caused more disturbance in Scotland than in England; but when in a former Session the hon. Member for Wick (Mr. Loch) brought in his Bills, the hon. and learned Lord Advocate opposed them—this year he said he would not oppose it, though he would oppose some of its provisions; and then he brought in a Bill of his own, not merely for the purpose of regulating the law with regard to game in Scotland, but in reference to the law of England as well, on the ground that in a matter of that kind there should be as much as possible an assimilation of the laws of the two countries. But what consistency was there in the course shadowed forth to-day? Here was a Bill to abolish the law of hypothec; and they were told that that law was substantially the same as the law of distress in England, and that in some future Session, provided the law of hypothec in Scotland was abolished, the Government might be prepared to apply the same principles to the law of distress in England. Why not adopt the same course as was done in the case of the Game Bill? When they were about to make changes of this kind, it was better to attempt at once to assimilate the laws of the two countries; and if that could not be done by making the law as it existed in Scotland exactly the same as that which existed in England let it be referred to the consideration of a Committee what should be done. If the subject was one worthy of consideration at all, the Government ought, upon their own responsibility, to bring in a Bill dealing with it; and then let them take up the question and deal with it in reference to the whole country, and not as regards Scotland alone. In reference to the law itself, it must be kept in view that the law of hypothec was not—as some hon. Gentlemen seemed to suppose — a privilege given to the landlord and created by statute. It was the result of common law. It had grown out of the relations of landlord and tenant from the earliest period. It was the law of the Romans, and the law of Rome was the foundation of our Scotch law. It had not been carried out as the result of a statute law, and only one statute had been passed in reference to it, and that was in 1867, when an Act was passed for the purpose of modifying the law to the benefit of the tenant. The hon. Gentleman who moved the second reading of the Bill said he wished to place all creditors upon the same footing. But was that a principle which they could carry out? There might be, by the operation of the common law, a preference created in the case of one creditor from another, as, for instance, in the case of mortgages and lien upon property. The common law allowed this. Were they prepared to do away with it? He ventured to think there was nothing positively unjust in the recognition of a right of hypothec in the landlord as against the goods of the tenant. The law was known to everybody. No person who dealt with a tenant did not know that his goods were liable to be taken under the law of hypothec in payment of rent. With regard to the policy of the law of hypothec in Scotland, tenants generally held under leases of 19 years' duration, and therefore landlords stood in relation to them in a different position to butchers and other tradespeople; they had the power of stopping the supplies at any moment, whereas the landlord could not terminate the tenancy in a like summary manner, and consequently the law was fair in itself. Then the landlord in Scotland was liable to the county rates, except one-half of the poor rates, amounting to 8½ per cent, for which he only ranked as an ordinary creditor. Scotland stood in a very peculiar position as regarded this question, and if any protection was to be given to landlords, he said the landlords of Scotland were better entitled to that protection than the landlords of England. What would be the result if you do away with this law? The landlord would be obliged whenever he suspected his tenant to be in a bad position to take out a sequestration in bankruptcy, and so bring matters to a point at once; whereas, if he had some security, he would act towards the tenant in a more indulgent manner; and in many cases the tenant recovered himself. He must say he thought it would be productive of great harshness to the tenant himself if they were to do away with this system. As regarded other parties who might have dealings with the tenant, they could do as they liked. They might stop their dealings whenever they liked. Therefore, there was no hardship so far as they were concerned. He said then that this was more a tenant's question than a landlord's, because the latter could make his own terms and secure his rent by enforcing payment quarterly, instead of allowing it to remain over, perhaps, for years. He thought the abolition would be equally injurious to the urban population — especially in large towns — as in the agricultural districts. He (Mr. Gordon) should regret exceedingly that men of skill, industry, and steady conduct should be prevented from rising in the world—and that he feared would be the result of this Bill. Let the House remark how different was the encouragement given to the small tenants in Scotland by this Bill than that given to the small tenants of Ireland last year. He should most certainly vote against the Bill, and he thought English Members would be inclined to reconsider the position now that they had been distinctly told that the same law might be meted out to them in some future Session as they now proposed to measure out to Scotland.

MR. ELLICE said, he thought that after the speech of the Lord Advocate, which entered into a much more extensive field than the law of hypothec in Scotland, it was necessary to say a few words. With regard to the law of hypothec, he would dismiss that altogether, merely stating his strong opinion that the law of all parts of this kingdom, whether in England or in Scotland, ought to be, as regards practical effect, identical, although, perhaps, in different terms. A few years ago, when a great alteration of hypothec took place, he (Mr. Ellice) besought the Government to make the law identical with the law of distress in England. He foresaw then that if the law of hypothec was ever so little different from the law in England, it would lead to further agitation on the subject, and he had proved in the right. If the Scotch law had then been assimilated to the law of England, they would not have been subjected to the agitation which had since been got up in Scotland. He should hail with delight any measure properly brought in, as it ought to be, by a responsible Government. But, as he had said, the Lord Advocate had entered into a much larger field of controversy than that of the law of hypothec. He said that the Bill for abolishing that law was supported by the Government because they thought it an unjustifiable law, as giving the landlord a preferential claim; and he said that the law of distress upon furniture in towns was as unjustifiable as the law of hypothec, and he went on to say that the same principle that was applied to Scotland ought to be applied to England in the case of the law of distress. This was the first time they had heard that. But the statement came from the Treasury Bench; it was not from an individual Member on the other side, or below the Gangway; but it came with all the authority and weight which must be attached to a declaration coming from the Cabinet of the country. He said, then, that the Lord Advocate had introduced new matter which neither that House nor the country had had time to consider. He should like to know what the proprietors of house property in London, in Dundee, in Glasgow, in Edinburgh, and Manchester, would say when they heard this? Before they came to a decision upon a matter of such importance, they ought to have the opinion of the country expressed; but if they passed the second reading of this Bill, they at once affirmed the principle and declaration of the Lord Advocate. They, in fact, committed themselves to the repeal of the law of distress in England, as well as the abolition of the law of hypothec in Scotland. He appealed to the Government to do the same thing now as they had formerly done with regard to game — they did not actually oppose the Bill of the hon. Member for Wick (Mr. Loch) though they supported it by their speeches, and withheld their votes — now they supported the Bill of the hon. Member for Forfar, and have brought in a Bill of their own. Let them act in the same way now. Let them advise the hon. Member to withdraw this Bill, and then let them bring in a Bill of their own dealing with this law of hypothec and law of distraint in a reasonable and just manner; let the country have an opportunity of seeing that Bill, and this House of considering it. It would thus come before them with all the responsibility of Government, and would have some chance of passing; while they know that such a Bill as that at present before them would have no chance of passing. In order to give the Government the opportunity of considering what course they intend to adopt on the subject, he would move the adjournment of the debate.

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Ellice.*)

Mr. PARKER hoped the House would not agree to the adjournment of the debate. This Bill was only intended to apply to the land, and would not in any way apply to preference contracts, such as mortgages or liens. It would leave freedom of contract open as now. He thought the very antiquity of hypothec was a presumption in favour of its abolition. It had been argued that the abolition would be injurious to the small tenants; but he would remind the House that small tenants had signed Petitions in favour of its abolition as well as against it. He admitted the conduct of the Government had not been as consistent with reference to this question as with regard to the game laws; but it was impossible for the Government now to undertake questions where there were no admitted grievances, before they dealt with those that required immediate attention.

Mr. LEEMAN said, that if this had been a measure confined in its influence to Scotland, the strong probability was that he should not have deemed it necessary to trouble himself or the House very much about it; but he could not listen to the speech of the learned Lord Advocate without feeling, as an Englishman, some surprise. He understood the Lord Advocate to state, that if the principle of legislation now proposed in regard to Scotland were adopted, there could be no reason why the Government should not apply it to the English law of distress, and abolish that also. Now, he altogether objected to this side-wind mode of legislating for England, however convenient it might be to Scottish Members. If such was the intention of the Government, they should have given some intimation to the country in the Queen's Speech that they intended to make so radical a change in the institutions of the country, as they now indicated. He protested against the Government dealing in the manner suggested with so large a question as this. A few days ago they had themselves formed a precedent which they might have followed in this case, for they advised a private Member to withdraw his Bill, and undertook to introduce a Bill of their own. If the Government were prepared to support the application to England of the principle embodied in this Bill for Scotland, in all fairness they ought to have told the country what their intentions were. Such a principle, however, ought not to receive Parliamentary sanction on the basis of a Bill introduced by private Members having no official responsibility. According to the Government, it was equally proper to abolish the landlord's right of distress in England and the landlord's right of hypothec in Scotland; and, once pass this Bill, nothing could be easier—it was only substituting "distress for rent" for "hypothec." He thought English Members ought to see to this. Referring to an illustration that had been used, he could not see that there was any analogy between the landlord and any ordinary tradesman. The landlord generally parted with the possession of his land for a considerable period, and in the expectation, both on his part and on that of the tenant, that a permanent relationship was being established between them, and not a mere hiring of a carriage or any other chattel, such as was indicated by the Lord Advocate. Again, a man who sold cattle to stock a farm was in a very different position from the landlord, because the cattle dealer would require to have the money paid down before parting with his cattle, while the landlord could not ask for his rent until a certain term had expired. In like manner, the butcher and the baker might ask to be paid beforehand for what they supplied. The ordinary tradesman could close his transactions with his customers, or vary them at pleasure; but the landlord was bound to at least a year or to a term of years, and to the conditions of his letting, and had no control over his property until its termination. Except in counties in which mortgages were registered a mortgage might be kept secret, and no one need know of its existence. The hon. Member for Berwick-on-Tweed had intimated that in Committee he would move to assimilate the law of Scotland to that of England, and the Lord Advocate had stated his views in favour of the abolition of distress in England; and therefore the House was discussing the Bill as if its principle was hereafter to be applied to England, and as if it were proposed to alter the law of this country with regard to distress for rent. A greater curse than the abolition of the law of distress you could not inflict upon thousands of small tenant-farmers in Yorkshire; for if it were abolished, the landlords would invariably require the payment of rent in advance; and the tenants could not pay in advance, because they looked to the produce of their crops to enable them to pay it at all. Of course there were instances in which the competency of tenants would be so well known that landlords would not require the rent in advance; but such instances were comparatively few in number. It was all very well to talk of kindness and sympathy; but landlords were practical men, and expected to have some security before parting with the possession of their land for a lengthened period. If it were proposed to alter the law of England, the country ought to have an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon the subject. The Bill might offer a Scotch mode of getting in the thin end of the wedge, in an attack on the rights of property; but it was a mode which was unworthy of the Government, and he trusted the Bill would be thrown out by a large majority.

COLONEL CORBETT said, he should oppose the Bill on the same ground as that taken by the hon. Member for York (Mr. Leeman). He objected to the case of England being prejudged in this manner. The question had assumed a new aspect since it became an English one as well as a Scotch one.

MR. M'LAREN said, this question had been discussed as if it applied to the occupancy of land alone; but he wished to say one word about low-rented houses. In the town which he had the honour to represent there were 15,000 houses of various kinds under £12 rent.

Now, he considered the passing of this Bill, without any right of hypothec, would be an injury—not to the owners of the houses, whom he did not care about, but to the tenants themselves. Abolish the law of hypothec, and there was no kind of security. If the landlord asked a poor man to give him security, the poor man could not do it. If he asked him to pay in advance he could not do it, because he had not got the money. If they passed this Bill it would cause a degree of distress and annoyance —he spoke from personal knowledge— which he thought few hon. Members had any conception of. Therefore the course he intended to take was this— unless the Bill should contain a clause after it came out of Committee giving the right of hypothec for six months, he should vote against the third reading; but in the hope that some such clause might be inserted in Committee, he would vote for the second reading.

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, in the face of the extraordinary statement of the Lord Advocate, he was not surprised that the hon. Member for St. Andrews (Mr. Ellice) should have moved the adjournment of the debate. The Lord Advocate had intimated, on the part of the Government, his willingness to apply the same principle as that contained in the Bill to the law of distress in England. [The Lord Advocate: I intimated no intention on the subject.] Then he (Lord John Manners), in common, he believed, with a large portion of that House, had misunderstood or misapprehended the expressions that were uttered by the Lord Advocate. The feeling manifested against this Bill and its principle induced him to think that it ought to be rejected on its second reading. In order that the House might better be able to come to a decision on its merits, he hoped that the hon. Member for St. Andrews would withdraw his Motion for the adjournment of the debate, and allow the Bill to be thrown out on Division.

Mr. M. T. BASS said, he heartily supported the principle of the Bill, believing that it would benefit both tenants and landlords in Scotland, and he hoped to see the day when the principle of it would be applied to England.

Mr. ELLICE intimated his intention to press the Motion for adjournment, because he believed it right, after the declaration which had been made from the Government Bench, that the Ministry should have an opportunity of re-considering their policy on the question.

Mr. COLLINS supported the Motion for adjournment. He said this was a tenant's question, and if the principle were applied to England, Yorkshire Members would certainly seek to exempt that county from its operation.

The LORD ADVOCATE: I think it is my duty to offer a word of explanation, because I wish to set myself and the House right with regard to what I really did say. Owing to some fault, no doubt of my own, my meaning has been misapprehended. When I came down to the House to-day—certainly intending to support this Bill—I had not the slightest intention of making any reference to England, or of saying one word regarding the law of distress in England. I was not aware, and I do not know, that the law of distress in England is a subject of complaint such as the law of hypothec in Scotland certainly has been. I am aware, that whatever may be said of the legal analogy between the relation of the landlord and tenant in England, and the corresponding relation in Scotland, there are distinctions of a very important character I was led—and perhaps I ought not to have been led—to make mention of England in connection with this, because of the challenge which was very pointedly addressed to me by the hon. Baronet the Member for Peeblesshire (Sir Graham Montgomery), who desired to know whether it was the intention of the Government not only to support this Bill, which was confined to Scotland, but also to extend the same principle to England, and introduce a measure to abolish the law of distress. I said the support which was given to this Bill was a support given to it as a Scotch Bill, and as dealing with Scotch law; but I had no authority to say, and no intention of saying, and, indeed, did not say anything of the kind which has been attributed to me. On the contrary, I repeat I was not aware, and am not aware now, that the law of distress has been the subject of complaint at all in England; but I venture to say this— speaking for myself, and in reference to my own argument against the law of hypothec—that, if the same considerations were urged against the law of distress in England as have been and are urged against the law of hypothec in Scotland, and there were no other considerations to alter the case, then, I for one, would be prepared to give effect to the same considerations in England: but on the part of the Government I express no opinion in reference to the law of distress in England, and no intention on the part of the Government of moving in the matter.

MR. CARNEGIE appealed to the hon. Gentleman who had moved the adjournment of the debate (Mr. Ellice) to withdraw that Motion, and allow the Bill to be decided upon its own merits.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Ellice,*)—put, and *negatived.*

Question put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House *divided* :—Ayes 105; Noes 186: Majority 81.

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put and *agreed to.*

Bill *put off* for six months.

AYES.

Adair, H. E.
Adam, W. P.
Akroyd, E.
Anderson, G.
Anstruther, Sir R.
Antrobus, Sir E.
Armitstead, G.
Baines, E.
Baker, R. B. W.
Bass, A.
Bass, M. T.
Baxter, W. E.
Bazley, Sir T.
Beaumont, W. B.
Bowmont, Marquess of
Bowring, E. A.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Brinckman, Captain
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, Lord C.
Bruce, rt. hon. H. A.
Buckley, N.
Campbell, H.
Candlish, J.
Carter, Mr. Alderman
Cartwright, W. C.
Colman, J. J.
Crawford, R. W.
Dalglish, R.
Davie, Sir H. R. F.
Davison, rt. hon. J. R.
Dixon, G.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, J. G.
Duff, M. E. G.
Dundas, F.
Edwardes, hon. Col. W.
Eykyn, R.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fletcher, I.
Fordyce, W. D.
Forster, C.
Gavin, Major
Gladstone, W. H.
Glyn, hon. G. G.
Gourley, E. T.
Graham, W.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hodgkinson, G.
Hughes, T.
Illingworth, A.
Jardine, R.
Johnston, A.
Kinnaird, hon. A. F.
Lambert, N. G.
Lancaster, J.
Lawson, Sir W.
Leatham, E. A.
Lewis, J. D.
Loch, G.
Lush, Dr.
Lusk, A.
M'Combie, W.
M'Laren, D.
Merry, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
Monk, C. J.
Morgan, G. O.
Mundella, A. J.
Muntz, P. H.
Nicol, J. D.
O'Conor, D. M.
Parker, C. S.
Philips, R. N.
Pim, J.
Platt, J.
Playfair, L.
Plimsoll, S.
Potter, T. B.
Price, W. P.
Rathbone, W.
Robertson, D.
Russell, A.
Rylands, P.
Salomons, Sir D.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Shaw, R.
Sheridan, H. B.
Simon, Mr. Serjeant
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Smith, E.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stone, W. H.
Storks, rt. hn. Sir H. K.
Sykes, Colonel W. H.
Taylor, P. A.
Trevelyan, G. O.
Vivian, Capt. hn. J.C.W.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
White, J.
Whitwell, J.
Wingfield, Sir C.
Young, A. W.
Young, G.

TELLERS.

Carnegie, hon. C.
Craufurd, E. H. J.

NOES.

Adderley, rt. hon. Sir C.
Allen, Major
Amphlett, R. P.
Arbuthnot, Major G.
Archdall, Captain M.
Arkwright, A. P.
Arkwright, R.
Assheton, R.
Baggallay, Sir R.
Bagge, Sir W.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Barnett, H.
Barrington, Viscount
Barttelot, Colonel
Bateson, Sir T.
Bathurst, A. A.
Beach, Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bentinck, G. C.
Bentinck, G. W. P.
Beresford, Lt.-Col. M.
Bingham, Lord
Bouverie, rt. hon. E. P.
Brand, H. R.
Bright, R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Bristowe, S. B.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Buckley, Sir E.
Cameron, D.
Cartwright, F.
Cave, right hon. S.
Cawley, C. E.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chambers, M.
Child, Sir S.
Cholmeley, Sir M.
Clowes, S. W.
Cochrane, A. D. W. R. B.
Cole, Col. hon. H. A.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collins, T.
Corbett, Colonel
Corrance, F. S.
Cowper-Temple, right hon. W.
Crichton, Viscount
Croft, Sir H. G. D.
Cross, R. A.
Cubitt, G.
Dalrymple, C.
Dalrymple, D.
Dent, J. D.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Dimsdale, R.
Dyke, W. H.
Eastwick, E. B.
Eaton, H. W.
Edwards, H.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Egerton, Sir P. G.
Egerton, hon. W.
Elcho, Lord
Ellice, E.
Elliot, G.
Elphinstone, Sir J. D. H.
Erskine, Admiral J. E.
Ewing, A. O.
Ewing, H. E. C.
Feilden, H. M.
Fellowes, E.
Figgins, J.
Finch, G. H.
Finnie, W.
Floyer, J.
Forester, rt. hon. Gen.
Fowler, R. N.
Garlies, Lord
Goldney, G.
Goldsmid, J.
Gordon, E. S.
Gore, J. R. O.
Gore, W. R. O.
Grant, Colonel hon. J.
Graves, S. R.
Gregory, G. B.
Gregory, W. H.
Grieve, J. J.
Grosvenor, Capt. R. W.
Grove, T. F.
Guest, A. E.
Gurney, rt. hon. R.
Hamilton, I. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, Lord G.
Hay, Sir J. C. D.
Herbert, rt. hon. Gen. Sir P.
Hervey, Lord A. H. C.
Heygate, W. U.
Hick, J.

Hodgson, W. N.
Holford, R. S.
Holms, J.
Holt, J. M.
Hope, A. J. B. B.
Hoskyns, C. W.
Hunt, rt. hon. G. W.
Jones, J.
Kingscote, Colonel
Lacon, Sir E. H. K.
Laird, J.
Learmonth, A.
Lewis, J. H.
Liddell, hon. H. G.
Lindsay, Col. R. L.
Lowther, J.
M'Lagan, P.
Mahon, Viscount
Maitland, Sir A. C. R. G.
Manners, rt. hn. Lord J.
Matheson, A.
Maxwell, W. H.
Mellor, T. W.
Meyrick, T.
Miller, J.
Milles, hon. G. W.
Mills, C. H.
Mitford, W. T.
Morgan, hon. Major
Mowbray, rt. hon. J. R.
Newport, Viscount
Noel, hon. G. J.
North, Colonel
Norwood, C. M.
Ogilvy, Sir J.
Paget, R. H.
Parker, Lt.-Col. W.
Pease, J. W.
Peek, H. W.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Earl
Phipps, C. P.
Powell, W.
Ridley, M. W.
Round, J.
Royston, Viscount
Russell, H.
Scourfield, J. H.
Selwin - Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Simonds, W. B.
Smith, A.
Smith, F. C.
Smith, J. B.
Smith, R.
Smith, S. G.
Somerset, Lord H. R. C.
Stacpoole, W.
Stanley, hon. W. O.
Stapleton, J.
Sturt, H. G.
Sturt, Lt.-Colonel N.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, hon. Captain
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, rt. hon. Col.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, hon. F. J.
Tollemache, J.
Trelawny, Sir J. S.
Turner, C.
Vivian, A. P.
Walker, Major G. G.
Walpole, hon. F.
Waterhouse, S.
Wells, W.
Wheelhouse, W. S. J.
Williams, Sir F. M.
Williamson, Sir H.
Wilmot, H.
Winn, R.
Woods, H.
Wyndham, hon. P.
Wynn, C. W. W.

TELLERS.
Montgomery, Sir G. G.
Leeman, G.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolution [March 21] *reported;*

"That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty, for the Service of the years ending on the 31st day of March 1870 and 1871, the sum of £462,580 9*s.* 11*d.* be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

Resolution *agreed to:* — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Dodson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Baxter.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time.

REGISTRATION OF PARTNERSHIPS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Norwood, Bill for the Registration of Trade Partnerships, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Norwood, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Monk, and Mr. Serjeant Simon.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 86.]

House adjourned at half after Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 23rd March, 1871.

MINUTES.] — *Sat First in Parliament*—The Lord Walsingham, after the death of his father.

Select Committee—*Report*—University Tests.

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Lunacy Regulation (Ireland) (47); Stamp Act (1870) Amendment * (45); Income Tax Assessment * (48).

Report—Prison Ministers * (53).

Third Reading—Benefices Resignation * (52), and *passed.*

FRANCE—STATE OF PARIS.

QUESTION.

The Duke of RICHMOND asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government had received any official information respecting the state of affairs in Paris, accounts of which had appeared in some of the evening papers?

Earl GRANVILLE: I am sorry to say that I have received information of a very sad character, entirely confirming what your Lordships have already seen in the newspapers — particularly with regard to the frightful massacre of unarmed persons. It seems to have been a most wanton outrage. I have heard that when the National Guard fired on the people, they were so close to them that they had hardly room to raise their muskets, and that it was under these circumstances they killed or wounded a large number of persons. Having fired, they threw up their muskets, and those behind them fired over their shoulders. On the other hand, I may mention that Lord Lyons informs me that M. Thiers has communicated to him his strong belief that the Government is master of the situation, and that in no very long time they will be able to deal effectually with the state of things in Paris.

LUNACY REGULATION (IRELAND) BILL.

(No. 47.) (*The Lord O'Hagan.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

Lord O'HAGAN, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, that the object of the measure was to apply to Ireland, with some improvements, the reforms effected in England nearly a quarter of a century ago. The latest statistics showed that there were at large 6,000 lunatics of whom no account was given, and that there were at least 1,622 who might be supposed to have property, and ought to be under the protection of the Court of Chancery; whereas only 156 were actually under its protection. This unsatisfactory state of affairs was to be attributed to the absence of any means of ascertaining the lunatics who possessed property, and to the expensive and complicated procedure of the Court. In the smallest case there had to be a commission, consisting of two Judges and a jury; so that the expense could scarcely be less than £60, was usually as much as £100, and was frequently much more. When, moreover, a lunatic was placed under the protection of the Court the expense was enormous, there being a formal petition, every part of which had to be verified at every step. The measure which he now submitted to their Lordships was a complete code of regulating the law relating to Commissions of Lunacy in Ireland, and the procedure under the same, and to the management of the estates of lunatics, and to provide for the visiting and protection of the property of lunatics. It was a very large measure, consisting of no less than 118 clauses. The Bill provided, in the first place, that the present Clerk of the Custodies should be in future styled the Registrar in Lunacy, and should perform all the duties hitherto performed by the clerk; and to him all medical men certifying to a lunacy, all managers of hospitals receiving a lunatic, and all persons dealing with any lunatic, were to make a return. The Lord Chancellor was empowered to order a medical visitor to visit an alleged lunatic, and might order an inquiry on his report, or might order an inquiry before a jury on the demand of an alleged lunatic, or might send the fact for inquiry to a common law court; the order of the Lord Chancellor, or the certificate of the Judge, to be conclusive. The Lord Chancellor might also order an inquiry by legal visiting as to the necessity for taking charge of an alleged lunatic, and might thereon direct the interim administration of his estate by a receiver. The Bill further defined the duties of visitors in regard to the care and treatment of any lunatic. All lunatics were to be visited four times in every year, and the visitors were to make reports to the Lord Chancellor. The Bill then made provisions for the management and administration of estates of lunatics. In order to meet the expenses of proceedings in lunacy where the estates were small, the Bill proposed to establish a lunacy fund, as was established in England in 1853, by a percentage on the estates administered to defray the cost of the machinery; but small estates not exceeding £100 were free from the percentage. He believed the Bill would be a substantial boon to Ireland, would effect a valuable assimilation of the law, and would benefit a class which more than any other was entitled to care and sympathy.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord O'Hagan.*)

Lord CAIRNS said, he believed the regulations proposed in this Bill would, taken as a whole, be found as useful in Ireland as similar ones enforced in England now were. One or two provisions of the Bill, however, required more explanation than that afforded by the noble and learned Lord (Lord O'Hagan). The question of percentage on lunatics' estates managed by the Court of Chancery was first introduced in this country by a Bill passed a few years ago; the same kind of proposal was made in the present measure; but he remarked that the percentage was different in the amount. Another part of the Bill requiring further consideration was that which related to the payment of officers' salaries. The Lord Chancellor appeared to possess the power of remunerating the Registrar and clerks without the ordinary reference to the Treasury in such cases. This was too large a power, and he hoped that the provision would be so altered as to limit the amount of the salary—at any rate, to fix a maximum beyond which no officer should be paid.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

METROPOLIS—THE WELLINGTON MONUMENT.

QUESTION POSTPONED.

Earl CADOGAN, who had given Notice to ask whether any arrangement has been made by the First Commissioner of Works for the completion within a specified time of the Wellington monument, said, that in deference to the request of the First Commissioner of Works, he would postpone his inquiry as to arrangements for the completion of this monument, having been assured that an arrangement was being made under conditions and guarantees which would be satisfactory to their Lordships and the public; and that, after the terms had been settled, the Government would proceed with the work which had been so long in abeyance. Nearly 15 years had elapsed since he, then sitting in the other House, had suggested the propriety of erecting a monument to the memory of the late Duke of Wellington; yet, at the present time, only the less important half of the work had been completed, while the whole amount voted had been expended; and he was sure that their Lordships would agree with him that it was high time for this wearisome and disgraceful case of incapacity and want of good faith on the one hand, and of official mismanagement and laches on the other, should be brought to an end; and the House would eagerly await the announcement shortly expected to be made, that means had been devised for the completion, within a reasonable period, of this unfortunate and long-suffering undertaking. In fairness, he ought to state that this result would be entirely due to the energy and determination displayed by the present First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Ayrton) in his arduous and protracted struggle with Mr. Stevens, the artist, and his coadjutor, Mr. Penrose—energy and determination which contrasted favourably with the conduct of his immediate predecessor in office, who did nothing; while the authorities were, year after year, set at defiance, while public expectation was baffled, and while public money was squandered. He hoped that as soon as the arrangement had been concluded the noble Marquess opposite would give the House full information on the subject.

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE said, he was obliged by the courtesy of the noble Earl in postponing his Motion. He hoped he should be in a position immediately after Easter to afford their Lordships a full explanation of the course Her Majesty's Government intended to pursue in reference to this matter. As he had already said to the

noble Earl opposite, it would be desirable when he had a statement to make, that it should refer not to what was being done, but to what had actually been done. He desired, however, to make one remark with reference to one part of the noble Earl's statement. While he entirely agreed with the noble Earl that the present Commissioner of Works had acted with a decision most creditable to him, he regretted that the noble Earl should have said that the predecessor of the right hon. Gentleman in office had been guilty of remissness in this matter. He must remind the noble Earl that this scandal—for that was certainly the only word that could properly be used—did not date from the tenure of office of Mr. Ayrton's immediate predecessor, but had been going on under several successive occupants of office, and was attributable not to any remissness on their part, but to the indulgence with which artists were always treated by those who employed them.

Earl CADOGAN said, he had intended to use the plural number, and to apply his remarks to every First Commissioner of Works from 1858 to the present time.

IRISH MILITIA REGIMENTS.

QUESTION.

The Earl of LIMERICK asked the Under Secretary of State for War, What steps Her Majesty's Government propose taking to ensure the attendance of a sufficient number of officers at the preliminary drills of Irish Militia regiments? He had no intention of criticizing the action of the Government in calling out the Irish Militia. Their Lordships were doubtless aware that the Irish Militia had not been embodied or recruited during the last six years. The consequence was that, at the moment when the order was received to recruit, the regiments were found to be in a very attenuated state, and the number of recruits at the preliminary drills would be unusually large, and to ensure proper drill and discipline an adequate attendance of officers was necessary. In his own regiment, only 395 men were on the roll, and 450 or 500 recruits would be present at the training. The circular at present in force directed the proportionate number of officers that were to attend—namely, one officer for

30 to 75 recruits, and two officers for any larger number. It also provided that all officers who desired to attend might do so for instruction during preliminary drill. These officers themselves could only be looked upon as so many recruits. He thought that in the case of disturbances the number of officers allowed would be insufficient to ensure steadiness and discipline. It would hardly be consistent with good policy that from any cause there should be an insufficiency of such officers on occasions of this kind. The recruits of his own regiment and of another regiment which would assemble in the same town would number 700, and under the present arrangement there would only be six officers and adjutants to ensure proper drill and order.

THE MARQUESS OF EXETER desired to ask the noble Lord the Under Secretary for War what the Government proposed to give to officers attending preliminary drill? They would not have the advantage of a mess until the regiment was regularly assembled. They could not afford to attend on half-pay; and he thought they should be allowed full-pay when they incurred the expense of attending.

LORD NORTHBROOK stated, in answer to the first Question, that an arrangement had been made by the War Office with the Lord Lieutenant for the supply of officers to Militia regiments in Ireland during the time of the preliminary training of recruits. If the noble Earl, as commanding officer, of his regiment made application to the Inspector General of Militia in Ireland, provided the number of recruits exceeded 200, he would be authorized to have a captain and two subalterns for the purpose of superintending drill; and, further, should the Inspector General be of opinion that it was advisable that officers of the Line should be brought in to assist at the training of recruits, arrangements would doubtless be made in accordance with that wish. In cases where disturbances were apprehended further assistance would be given. With respect to the Question put by the noble Marquess, he believed that officers called out to assist at the drill of the recruits would have full-pay, and that officers attending for the purpose of receiving instruction themselves would receive 5*s.* a-day. If he was not correct in this statement, he would communicate with the noble Marquess.

House adjourned at Six o'clock,
till To-morrow, half past
Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 23*rd March*, 1871.

MINUTES.] — NEW WRIT ISSUED — *For* Tamworth, *v.* Right hon. Sir William Henry Lytton Earl Bulwer, now Baron Dalling and Bulwer.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—ARMY ESTIMATES.

WAYS AND MEANS — *considered in Committee* — Consolidated Fund (£5,411,900).

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Poor Removal (Ireland)* [87].

Second Reading—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Supplemental* [79]; Consolidated Fund (£462,580 9*s.* 11*d.*)*; County Justices Qualification Amendment* [77].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Local Government Supplemental* [63], and *passed*.

IRELAND—POOR LAW—IRISH POOR REMOVAL.—QUESTION.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the hardship in many instances of the removal of Poor Persons from England and Scotland to Ireland; and, if so, whether he intends to introduce a Bill on this subject this Session?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, in reply, that his attention had been called to certain cases of great hardship which had occurred under the present system of poor removal, and he purposed, in conjunction with the President of the Poor Law Board, to see whether a remedy could be devised. Any legislation on the subject, however, belonged rather to the Department of the President of the Poor Law Board than to his own, as it would render an alteration of the English law necessary.

WINES IN BOND.—QUESTION.

SIR JAMES LAWRENCE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the following Order issued by the Board of Customs on the 20th February 1864 has been cancelled or altered:—

> "No chemical or unusual preparations, such as tannin, ether, &c., for the purpose of fining or flavouring, may be added to Wines in Bond unless

the necessity of such addition is clearly proved to the satisfaction of the Board, and their special sanction obtained;"

whether any proof is required by the Board of the necessity of such admixture excepting the statements of the owners of the Wines, or their agents; and, whether it be true that, for the purpose of fining, Spanish earth may be mixed with Wines in Bond without any restriction as to quality or quantity, unless the operation is likely to cause an alteration in the rate of Duty, in which case the Board's sanction must be obtained, but not otherwise?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: In answer, Sir, to the first part of the Question of the hon. Gentleman I have to state that I am informed by the Board of Customs that no such Order as that mentioned has been issued, from which I infer that it has not been cancelled. As regards the second part of the Question, there is some proof required besides the statements of the owners and their agents. As to the third branch of the Question, there is no Order at all in existence regulating the quantity or quality of Spanish earth to be mixed with wine. And now I would put it to the hon. Gentleman whether we have not investigated this rather technical and minute subject far enough in this way, and whether, if he wishes for information, he could not hit upon a more appropriate mode of obtaining it? If he moves for a Return of the Orders of the Board of Customs, I shall be happy to give it to him, and that would save us from further disputes as to what these Orders are. If, on the other hand, his object is to call in question the manner in which the Government deals with goods in bond, let him frame a Motion, and I shall be glad to discuss it with him. I only hope he will drop this species of interrogatory.

SIR JAMES LAWRENCE: I think it necessary to say that I have copied that Order word for word from a printed book, compiled by an officer of Customs, and published under the sanction of the Board of Customs in the year 1868. I have referred to the book twice within the last three days in order to see that I was right; and I have inquired of various authorities on the subject, and am informed that it is a well-known Order, No. 255. I shall be happy to send the book to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in order that he may ascertain whether the Board of Customs have repealed or cancelled the Order.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: That is just the inconvenience that I have noticed. I know nothing of these things myself. I communicate with the Board of Customs, and the answers I receive I convey to the hon. Gentleman. That is why I think it would be very much better if he would go straight to the Board of Customs and in some shape consult with them.

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE—ARTICLE 90.—QUESTIONS.

LORD JOHN MANNERS asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether it is intended, under the New Code, to grant the allowances to managers of schools promised by Article 90 of the Revised Code, for pupil teachers who have been apprenticed before the appearance of the New Code?

MR. W. E. FORSTER replied that it was not intended under the New Code to grant the allowances mentioned in Article 90 of the Revised Code, because such allowances were considered unnecessary, in consequence of the increased grants under the New Code.

MR. SAMUELSON asked, Whether the report in a weekly paper is accurate that the right hon. Gentleman stated in reply to a deputation of school teachers, that schoolmasters would not be promoted to the office of Assistant Inspectors of Schools?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he was glad the question had been asked. He had seen the statement in two or three newspapers, but he did not think he had ever made it to any deputation, and he certainly had not intended to make it. It was intended that assistant Inspectors should be appointed out of the schoolmasters on the recommendation of the Inspectors, and the limit of age reduced from 35 to 30. The requirement that they must have been pupil-teachers was not now necessary, if they were certificated masters who had passed an examination.

MR. ST. AUBYN asked, Whether School Boards have power to compel the attendance of children within their districts without levying a Rate for the provision of schools?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, that by the Elementary Education Act a school board could be elected for any school district, whether there was educational deficiency in such district or not, by a resolution of town councils in case of boroughs, and of ratepayers in case of districts other than boroughs. Such a school board would have all the powers given under the Act to school boards, one of which was to make bylaws for compulsory attendance. It would not be necessary in order to pass those bylaws that a rate should be levied for the provision of schools; but in all cases a rate must be levied where there was educational deficiency.

CORRUPT PRACTICES ACTS.

QUESTION.

MR. JAMES asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, in the event of the Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal) Bill becoming Law, the Government is prepared, at the earliest opportunity, to introduce a measure for the purpose of consolidating and amending the Corrupt Practices Acts now existing only by virtue of a continuance Act ?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL replied that Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to deal with the subject if the Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal) Bill should pass; but they did not see much hope of being able to do so this Session.

CLERKS OF LIEUTENANCY.

QUESTION.

MR. W. EGERTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in Committee on the Army Regulation Bill, he will introduce any Clauses to give compensation to the Clerks of the general meetings, or the Lieutenancy for the loss of their offices; and, whether he intends to abolish the office of Deputy Lieutenant?

MR. CARDWELL: Sir, the clerks of lieutenancy came to me at the War Office and left with the understanding, on my part, that they were to send me full particulars of the grounds on which they found a claim for compensation. In the meantime, I am not prepared to enter into any engagement on the subject. I have formed no opinion upon the office of deputy lieutenant.

MURDER OF CAPTAIN WILFRED SPEER.

QUESTION.

MR. CUBITT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any information has been received from Her Majesty's Minister at Washington as to the result of the trial of the soldier of the United States Army who was accused of the murder of Captain Wilfred Speer; and, whether he has received any particulars of the trial?

VISCOUNT ENFIELD replied that a communication had been received on the 16th of March, under date of the 6th, stating that one William Barrett had been tried for the murder and acquitted. Instructions had been sent to Sir Edward Thornton to have the depositions and notes of the trial sent home.

EPPING FOREST—VERDERERS' COURT.—QUESTION.

MR. PEEK asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether any obstacle exists to the revival of the Verderers' Court having jurisdiction over Epping Forest, as the only means of preserving it in the interest of the public; and, whether he will issue the necessary orders for the election of a verderer by the freeholders of Essex, in accordance with ancient usage?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, in reply, said, the hon. Member seemed not to be aware that the Verderers' Court had for some time been obsolete. That was, however, the fact, and he very much questioned whether it could be revived, one of the obstacles in the way of its revival being that if it were to sit and pronounce judgments there was apparently no machinery by which they could be enforced. He could not, he might add, acquiesce in the assumption contained in the Question, that the jurisdiction of such a Court afforded the only means of preserving Epping Forest in the interest of the public. In reply to the second part of the Question, he had to state that the election of a Verderer was held in pursuance of a writ issued by the order of the Court of Chancery, and not by the Attorney General.

PRUSSIA—TREATY OF PRAGUE.

QUESTION.

MR. M. T. BASS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government had any information that Prussia was likely to fulfil the engagement of the Fifth Article of the Treaty of Prague, and restore a portion of North Schleswig to Denmark should the populations of those districts by a free vote express their desire to be reunited to Denmark; and, whether a plebiscite was likely to be taken with a view to this restoration of North Schleswig to Denmark should the vote of the people be favourable to it?

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, in reply, that to the best of his knowledge and belief the Government had no information such as that referred to in the first part of the hon. Gentleman's Question. The hon. Gentleman would, perhaps, kindly accept the same answer with respect to the second part.

ARMY—SUPERCESSION OF COLONELS.

QUESTION.

COLONEL ANSON asked the Secretary of State for War, What steps are being taken to lay down the organization of a Corps d'Armée in the field, with its number of Divisions and Brigades, and their constitution; and, whether the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the legal points raised by the Report of the Select Committee which sat last year to inquire into the supercession of the Colonels of the Royal Army, by the Colonels of the Indian Army, has yet reported; and, if so, when he will lay their Report upon the Table of the House?

MR. CARDWELL: A Committee, under the presidency of General Haines, has been appointed to lay down the proper proportions. The Royal Commission has just reported; but Her Majesty's Government have not yet had time to decide upon the Report. It will be laid on the Table without any unnecessary delay.

CHINA—HONG KONG.—QUESTION.

MR. BOWRING asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received a Petition from the Chinese Community and others in Hong Kong against the gambling house system at present legalized in that colony and now producing a revenue of 15,800 dollars per month (or nearly £40,000 a year); and, whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table the existing Ordinance on the subject, and any Correspondence relating thereto?

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN said, in reply, that no such Petition had been received; but the Colonial Office had been informed that a memorial of the character alluded to by the hon. Member from the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce was upon its way, and would probably be received in a few days. The existing Ordinance was that of 1867, and was laid upon the Table of the House some two years ago. Sir Richard M'Donnell was at present absent from the Colony on leave; but he would be instructed upon his return to consider the whole subject, with a view to putting an end to the licensed gambling-house system as soon as practicable. It would be inconvenient to present an incomplete Correspondence upon the subject.

ADULTERATION OF MILK.

QUESTION.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Sir, the President of the Poor Law Board is reported to have said—"that, among the samples of milk which had been analyzed, many were supposed to have been lowered by admixture, but none to have been adulterated." I wish to know—1. What is the Poor Law Board's definition of adulteration. 2. Whether the President thinks there is any difference between the lowering of milk by admixture with water or any other liquid and ordinary adulteration. 3. Whether he is aware that there is as much as tenpence difference per gallon between the contract prices of St. George's, Hanover Square, Union, and some of the East End Unions of London. 4. Whether he thinks that such a lowering of milk by admixture as these prices demonstrate is, or is not, a subject for inquiry, with a view to applying a remedy?

MR. STANSFELD said, in reply, that what he intended to say in reply to the noble Lord a few days ago was that he did not think the word "adulteration" was correctly applied to the lowering or impoverishing of milk. It was matter of opinion, for instance, whether wine was "adulterated" by the admixture of water. But, be that as it might, what he had stated with respect to the samples of milk referred to in *The Milk Journal*, to which the noble Lord had called his attention, was that, in his opinion, there was no justification for speaking of them as furnishing "an exposure" as to the system of contract in supplying milk to the Metropolitan Unions. As hon. Gentlemen were aware, articles of common consumption like milk varied very much in quality and richness, not only as supplied to workhouses, but to noble Lords and Members of that House; but although he did not think a strong case had been made out in the present instance, he was ready to admit that it would be of service, not only to the public, but to the Boards of Guardians themselves, that some general inquiry should be made into their system of contract and method of purchase, and he had accordingly informed the noble Lord that the subject should receive early consideration.

ARMY—THE QUEEN'S AND EAST INDIAN CADETS.—QUESTION.

MAJOR ALLEN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the new regulations for Sandhurst, the provision for the Queen's and East India Cadets will be made as heretofore?

MR. CARDWELL: Sir, Sandhurst is at present occupied by gentlemen who have already passed their examination, and I have great reason to be satisfied with what I hear of their conduct and progress. The question of cadets generally is under consideration, and I am not prepared to state as yet what arrangements will ultimately be adopted.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE ACT.

QUESTION.

MR. BRADY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to the practice of occasionally prosecuting persons in humble circumstances, under the 29th of Charles II., cap. 7, for what is called following their ordinary calling on the Lord's Day, whilst great numbers of other persons are allowed openly to violate the Act with impunity?

MR. BRUCE said, in reply, that prosecutions of persons in humble circumstances for following their ordinary calling on the Lord's Day were not instituted at the instance of the Government. He would admit the unsatisfactory state of the law on this subject, and he was convinced that much of the spirit of the Act of Charles II., which dealt with it, was obsolete. The Government, however, did not propose to take action in the matter; but there was a Bill before Parliament which would partially remove the grievance complained of.

ARMY—MILITIA OFFICERS.

QUESTION.

COLONEL BERESFORD asked the Secretary of State for War, What examination, if any, a subaltern of two years' service in the Militia will have to pass previously to receiving a commission in the Line; and whether he will be allowed to exchange from the Line into a Cavalry regiment?

MR. CARDWELL: It is proposed, Sir, that gentlemen who have served two years as subalterns in the Militia, and have given sufficient proofs of competency, shall receive a certain number of commissions without purchase in the Line. The Militia will be under the general superintendence of the general officers of the districts, assisted by colonels on the Staff, specially appointed, and reporting on the qualifications of the officers. It will remain for consideration what examination shall be required. Service in the Militia would seem to be a preparation for the infantry rather than for cavalry. If an officer desired to be permitted to exchange into the cavalry, he would have to prove separately his qualification for that arm of the service.

RAILWAY ACCIDENT—ALLEGED COLLISION AT BURTON-ON-TRENT.

QUESTION.

MR. M. T. BASS asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he has received a report of a collision which is said to have taken place at Burton-on-Trent last Friday, in consequence of a goods train having run through the Burton station at high speed into another goods train, in which fourteen trucks were smashed or broken up; and, whether it is true that the driver and stoker have reported themselves to have been asleep when this happened, having had only five hours' rest between Wednesday at 1 45 p.m. till Friday at 1 a.m., when the accident occurred; or whether he knows if there be a shadow of foundation for this report?

MR. A. PEEL replied that the Board of Trade had received no information on the subject.

BRIBERY AT NORWICH.—QUESTION.

Mr. C. S. READ asked Mr. Attorney General, If it is his intention to bring in a Bill to disfranchise those Voters who were reported as guilty of Bribery by Mr. Justice Keating at the last Election Petition for the City of Norwich?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, in reply, that of late Bills had been brought in to disfranchise voters only where it had been reported that bribery had extensively prevailed, with the view of punishing the guilty parties. On looking, however, to the Report of Mr. Justice Keating, he found that no corrupt practices had prevailed at the last election, although several persons had been reported guilty at the previous election. As at present advised he hardly thought there was occasion for an Act of Parliament.

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE.

QUESTION.

Mr. LIDDELL asked what form of discussion will be adopted with regard to the Revised Code; and, whether the same opportunity will be afforded to Members for discussing the proposed Amendments to the Code as was afforded in the case of other legislation?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER replied that the New Code with reference to elementary education which had been placed on the Table would not come into operation for one month, to give an opportunity to either House of Parliament to move an Address on the subject. With respect to any further alterations, the Government would not undertake to make them unless they were the result of a very decided expression of the will of the House, as that would delay the whole operation of the Act.

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

ARMY ESTIMATES.—RESOLUTION.

Mr. MUNDELLA, in rising to move the following Resolution:—

> "That this House, whilst approving the abolition of Purchase in the Army, is of opinion that the Army may be put in a state of efficiency without increasing the ordinary Military Estimates of last year,"

said, in bringing this Resolution forward he disclaimed the remotest desire on the part of the country to interfere with the most ample and efficient means of defence. They did not seek to promote economy at the expense of national safety or the risk of national honour—their aim was rather to secure efficiency without extravagance, and security without wasting the national resources. They believed that, after all, one of the greatest elements of national defence was the power of the purse; but the greatest element of all was found in the patriotism of a loyal, intelligent, and united people. While they disclaimed any desire to reduce the national forces below the point necessary for the national defence, they, on the other hand, professed to have no monopoly of these patriotic feelings. These aspirations, they believed, equally animated the Government, which was shown by the large reductions they had made in the expenditure during the last two years, and in the corresponding reduction of taxation which had taken place to the great benefit of the country. But while the reduction of expenditure in the Navy had been attended with increased efficiency, the same result had not been attained by the War Department. The reduction which had taken place in that Department had not been made without some sacrifice of the military defences of the country, though that had arisen, not from the lack of ability or devotion in the Secretary for War, but in the Herculean character of the task before him, and the total absence of that co-operation which was necessary in order to carry out the reforms of which the War Department stood so much in need. They were all aware that, however good retrenchment was in the abstract, it was of all things the most difficult to carry into effect. That could not be done without striking friend and foe. The Prime Minister, in 1868, spoke of the watchful class who were always on the alert to increase the expenditure of the country, and no one could be familiar with official circles, or could have mixed at all in the fashionable life of the metropolis, without observing, during the past two years, scenes of lamentation in all quarters at what was termed the cheeseparing economy of the Government. The bitterest opponents of the Government had been those on whose co-operation they had had most right to count, and on whom they must rely in order to carry out their reforms. Even in their own ante-chambers the Ministers had been anathematized for their economies; and it was hardly to be wondered at that, during the past six months, and in the face of a great European crisis, the Government had yielded somewhat to the pressure and opinion of that class who had access to the Press, and who had most influence in promoting the expenditure of the country. It was needful to strengthen the hands of the Government occasionally; and when they grew discouraged to remind them of those principles on the faith of which they received the confidence of the country. When such Estimates as the present Army Estimates were brought forward, the occasion was a suitable one for calling attention to lavish expenditure, and asking for a revision of those Estimates. We had lately been subjected to a panic, and as most panics had their origin in the clubs, so this last one had not found many converts outside the district of Pall Mall. These panics were generally got up for the benefit of the tax receivers, and almost invariably ended in increasing the burdens of the taxpayers. All past experience showed how utterly hopeless it was to attempt to satisfy panic, which, as Shakespeare said of time—

> "Hath a wallet at his back
> Wherein he puts alms for oblivion,
> A great-sized monster of ingratitudes."

Such men were afflicted with periodical panic, and there was no complaint so incurable. During the recent Recess, the Minister for War quoted with approbation a saying of Mr. Sydney Herbert, that the nation was constantly oscillating between panic and parsimony. We might have had many panics during the last 35 years; but parsimony had certainly been the exception in our military expenditure. The whole military and naval expenditure from 1835 to 1845 was from £12,000,000 to £14,000,000 per annum. An impetus was given to expenditure in 1847 by the Duke of Wellington; and from 1847 to 1853 the cost of the joint services ranged from £15,000,000 to £17,000,000. In 1852 there was another invasion panic resulting from the establishment of the French Empire; the Militia was re-organized, the Army and Navy were augmented, our coasts and dockyards fortified, yet, in the year 1853, we were at war with Russia, with France as our ally. From 1853 to 1857, the joint expenditure of the services was £29,000,000 a-year. The close of the Russian War found us in the possession of the greatest naval armaments the world had ever witnessed. In 1857 and 1858, which were years of peace, when we were in the closest alliance with France, the expenditure arose to the very high level of from £22,000,000 to £23,000,000. But even this profuse expenditure did not secure us against another and a most humiliating panic in 1859 and 1860. The Volunteers were constituted, our fleets and armies were further augmented, and Lord Palmerston induced Parliament to acquiesce in that gigantic folly, his fortification scheme. From that time our expenditure had been raised from £26,000,000 to £28,000,000. Where in all this had there been parsimony? Since the present Government had been in office, the House and the country had been frequently assured that never in our history had our fleet been so strong; and yet since the introduction of the Army Regulation Bill, hon. Members had declared that we were absolutely defenceless. The hon. and gallant Member for Tipperary (Colonel White) said the other night that our very existence depended upon the doubtful result of one naval engagement. That state of things did much discredit to the organization of our military and naval forces. Although we had an invincible fleet, and our geographical position enabled us to adopt means of defence more easily than any other nation, the cost of our military defences was larger than that of any other Power in Europe. From 1866 to the present time the expense of the Prussian Army of 280,000 men on a peace establishment, and 610,000 on a war footing, was only £7,000,000, and during the last year the cost of the entire Federal Army of Germany was only £10,250,000, and of the Navy £550,000. No doubt, in consequence of the system of quartering men upon the inhabitants, and from the fact that a class of German volunteers bore their own expenses, the total cost did not appear in this Estimate; but even making a considerable allowance on that account, our own expenditure was still excessive in comparison. It might be fairly asked how he could show that our armaments might be put in a state of efficiency without increasing the ordinary Military Estimates of last year. Those Estimates were about £13,000,000. The first method of attaining the proposed result was to eradicate existing abuses in the Army, and the next, to carry re-organization very much further than was intended by the Bill of the Government. It was due to the Government to acknowledge that such reform was only rendered possible by the measure which the Minister for War had had the courage to introduce for the abolition of purchase, and he trusted that the discussion which would be raised by this Motion would give the Government confidence to make a further advance, and by a revision of the Estimates to prepare a more thorough system of re-organization. He believed that the Prime Minister had now fully grasped the importance of this matter and realized the fact that in the whole of our expenditure there was no such unworked mine—no such virgin vein of economy as in the Army Estimates. Of all things it was most difficult to find out what anything cost under that system. To those who said the people of England were impatient of all taxation, there could not be a better answer than the manner in which they had received the proposal to spend £8,000,000 in the abolition of purchase in the Army. While, however, no complaints had been made on that score, public meetings had been held all over the country, and numerous Petitions had been presented to the House against the increased expenditure on other matters provided for by the Estimates. So long as purchase existed we had no fixed establishment, and that was the first principle of sound administration. The result was that we were obliged to supplement the pay of our officers by indirect and secondary modes of increasing expenditure, which it was now almost impossible to remove except by most sweeping measures. A Return recently presented showed that we had at present 580 generals, of whom only 30 were employed at home and in the Colonies. We had also 8,477 officers on full-pay, and 1,667 on half-pay or retired allowance. Omitting the latter, we had 1 officer to every 22 men in the service, our force amounting to 180,671. When a regiment went to India on a war establishment it had 1 officer to 31 men. In Prussia they had 1 officer to 45 men; in France, 1 to 50; in Russia, 1 to 40; in Austria, 1 to 52; and in Italy, 1 to 38. [Lord EUSTACE CECIL asked where the hon. Member obtained his figures?] They were from the Returns and the Army Lists of the respective countries. He got some statistics concerning the Prussian cavalry from Captain Hozier, and from these it appeared that in that force there were 18 officers to every 600 mounted men; whereas in the English cavalry there were 31 officers to 300 mounted men. A great saving might be effected amongst the higher ranks of officers. The honorary colonels received £167,000, and that amount was improperly included amongst effective services; the pay of the general officers was £72,800; a large portion of the Non-effective Vote was for what was called distinguished services, but they were really undistinguished; there was also a portion of the Vote for half-pay received by general officers not placed on either of the preceding lists; and, lastly, there was the Staff pay of those general officers who were employed at the Horse Guards, in the command of divisions, and other Staff appointments. So that general officers received pay from five sources. Under a good system every general ought to have a defined employment, which he would retain until he retired on full-pay and with an adequate pension. There were, however, 148 honorary colonels, drawing £167,000 a-year; and he hoped, after the debate on Monday night, the Vote on that account would steadily decrease. He now came to the privileged corps. The Guards had the pleasantest quarters, and all the privileges of rank—which officers valued more than money. In the cavalry of the Line a colonel's pay was 23*s.* a-day; but a lieutenant-colonel of the Guards received 29*s.* 2*d.* a-day. A major of the Line received 19*s.* 2*d.*, and of the Guards 24*s.* 5*d.* [An hon. MEMBER: There are no majors in the Guards], a lieutenant-colonel of the Line receiving 17*s.* The Guards had also a special allowance of £11,500 and £5,000 a-year for the mess-table, which was charged in the Civil Estimates. He hoped the item of £40,000 for Army agents would never appear in the Estimates again. Why could not paymasters pay the officers in this country as they did in every other country in the world? It would probably also be found that paymasters could do much of the work of quartermasters, and in these two items a saving of something like £60,000 a-year would be effected. The greatest moral and social results to be effected in the Army must come from the system of short service. Long service made the Army a curse, both to itself and the community. Such a system led to enforced celibacy, and a celibate Army could never be anything but an instrument of vice. Major Edwards, in his report, deprecated the pothouse system of recruiting, by which men of the lowest class were drawn into the Army. The extent of the vicious element in the Army was evident from the statement that in 1868 there were 25,612 convictions by courts martial, and 8,672 imprisonments in military prisons, and 1,651 men marked as permanent deserters. There were also 70,000 admissions into hospitals, the great majority being cases of diseases resulting from vicious habits. Under such circumstances, how could we have an effective Army? General Moltke recently said that battles were won by legs and not by arms. A British officer had expressed an opinion that 20 per cent of our Army would break down under long marches, these being chiefly men who had enlisted on long service. In 1869, of the whole metropolitan police force of 8,803 men, there were only 16 charged with offences involving imprisonment, and of that number only two were sent to prison. Soldiers who were not employed fell into bad habits, and thus an idle Army became demoralized. This was evident from statistics which he would give on the authority of Sir Charles Trevelyan. The death-rate of men under 20 years of age in the Army was 3·7 per cent, as against 5·83 of males in the healthiest parts of England and Wales; showing an advantage of 45 per cent in favour of the Army. From 20 to 25 years of age the mortality in the Army was 5·80 against 7·30 in the general population, being 40 per cent in favour of soldiers. From 25 to 30 the death-rate amongst the population and in the Army was equal. But from 30 to 35 there was a marked change, the mortality amongst troops being 12·3, and amongst civilians 8·26, being 45 per cent against the Army. From 35 to 40 it was still worse, the death-rate in the Army amounting to 15·89 per cent against 9 per cent of civilians, giving 75 per cent against the Army. From 40 years of age and upwards the deaths amongst soldiers reached 18·94 per cent, while amongst civilians the rate was only 9·86, showing an increased mortality of 90 per cent among the troops. [Major General Sir PERCY HERBERT: Is that home service?] These statistics referred to troops serving in the United Kingdom. In fact, as had been well said, our pothouse system of recruiting soldiers for long terms of service gave an encouragement to drunkenness, debauchery, and disease after a soldier had learned his profession; whereas the Army might for a short term be a training school of the highest value. When he was in Germany last year an eminent officer, who had been engaged in the construction of great engineering works at Berlin and elsewhere, told him that no man guilty of any crime was allowed to remain in the German Army, and stated further that the men whom they were most anxious to employ were those who had just completed their three years' service. The fact was that the Army was to German soldiers a University; their education was re-furnished; and they were trained in a way which we could hardly understand. Thus he knew of a case in which a German officer was found lecturing his non-commissioned officers upon topography, and English topography. An English officer said to him—"I have passed through Sandhurst, and never opened a book upon topography," and English officers hardly ever knew anything of it. He did not mention the fact to the discredit of English officers, for the more intelligent among them resented this state of things, were tired of the want of employment, and desired to do something to bring themselves up to the Continental standard. The fate of the French armies showed what was the consequence of neglecting the education of troops. General Trochu almost predicted what had happened, and in his book repeatedly referred to the demoralizing effect of idleness on old soldiers. He did not speak on this matter from mere observation, but also from the Reports which had been presented to the House. Captain Boyle, the Governor of Weedon, reported in 1867 that the conduct of the prisoners was very bad, and that 51 offences had been recorded against four men. Colonel Wellesley, the Governor of Gosport, stated that chronic evildoers were allowed to remain in the Army;

and Captain Allen, the Governor of Edinburgh, made a still worse Report than the others. The Inspector General's figures showed that the number of soldiers committed had risen from 355 in 1859 to 2,657 in 1867, being an increase of 2,302 in nine years. The result was that our military prisons cost, on an average, about £80,000 per annum, and the medical staff and hospitals about £250,000. Another matter was that we had to pay large bounties because men would not enter our Army without them. Was this to be wondered at when the Army was in the state to which he had referred; and when any mother would look upon her son who entered the Army as lost? The cost of recruiting must be large so long as the present system prevailed, and there were retained in the Army some of the worst offenders in the country. He believed that with short service and an open career they could enlist a class of men such as had never yet entered the ranks. If there were 1,000 young men of 18 or 19 wanted to-morrow as clerks at £40 a-year there would be 10,000 applicants, persons who had the education and demeanour of gentlemen. Why should not such people enter the Army? But, of course, they could not do so whilst there were such bad characters among our long-service men. They ought to retire 20,000 or 30,000 men, and amongst them weed out the doubtful and disreputable ones; and to attract recruits of the better class—they should throw open appointments in the Customs, Post Office, and police to men who had served in the Army. If this were so, they would not be thrown upon the dregs of society for recruits. He was a Member of a Royal Commission engaged upon a subject neither pleasant nor savoury; and he must express his opinion that they never could have a celibate Army without it being a curse to itself and to the rest of the population. Another thing that would tend to enable them to keep their Army at a small cost was, that they should accommodate the drill to the emergencies of civil life. Rough, unmannered men, came out of drill improved in every respect; he had asked some such why they did not re-enlist in the Militia. They said that they could not afford to go 20 miles away, and live for a month on the small pittance allowed, and at the same time keep a wife and family and take the chance of losing their employment. He asked whether they did not think that they could keep up their drill, and one smart fellow who had been a sergeant said that he could never forget his drill. Now, if they could give men two or three hours' drill on holidays and on evenings 10 times a year, giving them 1*s.* on such occasions, they might soon have plenty of men, many of whom would be quite content to remain until they were 40. For his part, he thought that the Volunteers had hardly been well treated during this debate. As an old Volunteer officer, he was much struck by the remark of the head of the War Department as to Volunteers firing away 60 rounds of ammunition in two minutes, for by the regulations of the War Department itself a man was not allowed to fire more than 30 rounds a-day. It might be possible with a breech-loader and at one distance to fire 60 shots in a couple of minutes; but for squads who had to fire man after man, and at various distances, that firing was the hard work of two mornings. As to regiments in which he had served, they were told year after year that they were fit to stand in Line with Her Majesty's forces. He was one of the first officers in the Robin Hoods, in which regiment there were 997 effective men, most of them—180 per cent, he believed—extra efficient. That regiment had drilled 3,500 men, most of whom had left and become lost to the country. No doubt they might be found in case of danger; but, still, they were not upon paper, and no one knew where to find them. The truth was that there was no organization; there was no head of the Volunteers; and hitherto they had simply been allowed to play at soldiers. He believed that the Volunteer movement had well drilled and made efficient marksmen of 450,000 men, although there were only 170,000 upon the muster-roll of the day. When he heard of more men and more money being wanted, he asked why should they not have more organization? When the American War was at its worst, and when everybody was crying out for "more men," a poet wrote—

"'More men?' More men—that's where we fail;
Weak things grow weaker yet by lengthening.
What is the use of adding to the tail
When it's the head's in want of strengthening?"

It was quite possible to induce every Militiaman when he left the Militia to join a Militia Reserve, and every Volunteer on retiring to enter a Volunteer Reserve. He was aware that the right hon. Gentleman would tell him that the Army no longer contained the bad characters to whom he had referred. But *The Pall Mall Gazette*, in January last, published a statement to the effect that the Horse Guards took a positive delight in refusing to allow men to be turned out of the Army who had been sentenced to be discharged as a punishment for their offences; and enforced the observation by referring to the case of a private in one of the battalions of the Guards, who had committed almost every crime except murder, and who had been sentenced twice by courts-martial to be discharged, but who had been retained in the service by the Horse Guards. That man still wore the uniform of the service. He had shown that statement to the Surveyor General of Ordnance, who, on seeing it, remarked that it was impossible to believe all that appeared in the newspapers. Under these circumstances, he had instituted inquiries into the matter on his own behalf, and he obtained a list of the names and offences of men who were a disgrace to their regiments, which list was at the service of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War. These men would be a disgrace to any community, and they were the terror of all civilians in whose neighbourhood they happened to be quartered. Several of these men, some of whom had been convicted 60 or 70 times of different offences, had been sentenced to be discharged; but that punishment had not been carried into effect owing to the sentence being overruled by the Horse Guards. If such was the course adopted by the Horse Guards, how could it be expected that respectable men would enter the Army? After the occurrences of the past six months it was evident that centralization was needed at head-quarters. The day after the order for the mobilization of the Prussian Army had been issued, a gentleman who called upon Count Moltke apologized for intruding at a time when his attention must be so much occupied; but the latter placed him at his ease at once by informing him that the order for the mobilization of the Army had been sent by telegraph the day before, and that he was then reading an amusing book. He believed that that was a story the accuracy of which could be vouched for. Now, in our case, upon such an occasion, all would have been confusion. There were a hundred reforms that anyone who had studied the Army Estimates could point out, and there were some things that were most necessary. He begged to preface the remarks he was about to make by stating that he had no sort of antipathy to, or prejudice against, His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, whom he had always heard spoken of as being a brave officer and a good soldier, and were he to say anything respecting him that was inaccurate, His Royal Highness had plenty of able defenders in that House who would set him right. He maintained that it would be impossible to carry out the proposed reforms in the Army unless they had the hearty, cordial, and enthusiastic co-operation of the Commander-in-Chief. If the Government plan was not approved by the Horse Guards it would be thwarted and be rendered nugatory. The Bill of the Government proposed to place in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief a power hitherto unprecedented, and which, if improperly used, might prove exceedingly dangerous. Were he not to point out these facts he should be guilty of cowardice or of flunkeyism. What was the probability of His Royal Highness approving the plan of the Government? About 10 months since His Royal Highness made a speech in which he adverted to the great changes that appeared to be going on all round us, and observed that among the other institutions threatened with change was the Army; the Army had, however, rendered valuable services, and he would ask, if it were efficient, what was the use of effecting changes in it unless it were to be improved by them? It was not in such a spirit that the radical reforms required in the Army could be carried into effect. He asked whether it was not well known among the officers of the Army that the proposed changes were opposed at the Horse Guards, and that all reforming and scientific officers were not in very good credit at head-quarters. If necessary to do so he should have no difficulty in proving his case, inasmuch as he had communications from officers of all ranks on the subject, who spoke with bated breath, and who begged that neither their regiment nor their names might be given, because they were aware that if their sentiments on the question were to be known their prospects would be blighted. Under these circumstances, if the five years rule could not be agreed to, it was important that the stricter rule should be adopted, which would prevent the Horse Guards from opposing the proposed reforms. He knew that he should be told that the things sought for were not all to be accomplished in a day, and in this he agreed; but surely it was possible to order all men who were medically, morally, or physically unfit for the service to leave it. This alone would make an immense reduction. It would also be possible to put a stop to the appointment of honorary colonels, and this would make a difference for the better. It was possible also to carry out further reforms in the clothing and factory departments. He knew a case in which a boot had been submitted to the War Department; it was a better boot than the Army had ever had, and by its adoption £30,000 a-year would have been saved. It was only the other day, however, and after long delay, that his right hon. Friend had succeeded in getting that pattern sealed, and now a few of the boots were ordered. There wanted a little more enterprise in this direction. His right hon. Friend the Secretary for War came down in August last and asked for a Vote of £2,000,000 to enable him to raise an additional 20,000 men. There was every prospect then that the war would extend throughout Europe. A conspiracy was brought to light at that moment also, which affected materially the neutrality of Belgium. Again, when he framed his Estimates in the beginning of December last, there was every appearance that the war would be continued. He did not complain of the Estimates as they then stood. But what was the condition now? Things had altogether changed. There had been a Conference; the Black Sea Question had been settled. [*Ironical cheers.*] He did not say it was settled to the satisfaction of the hon. Gentlemen opposite; but it was settled. France, however, was unhappily in a position which they must all regret, and he hoped that the present state of France would be a warning to us. If France had only spent half the money on her military expenditure during the last 20 years which she had done, and had spent one-fourth of the remainder on the education of the people, she would now have been intact, prosperous, and happy. It was her infatuation for military glory which had brought her present terrible calamities upon her. The Vice President of the Education Department told them they could not afford to pay for teaching extra subjects in their schools, and they were threatened with a deficit of £3,000,000. Yet all Europe was again at peace, and their differences with America were also on the point of settlement. This, then, was not the time to vote these extravagant Estimates. Never since Waterloo had any Minister come down to this House and demanded such a sum for military expenditure. Therefore, he said to his right hon. Friend—take back your Estimates, for the condition of things is changed. The Navy of France had often been the bugbear of that House; but of what use had that Navy been during the late war? The words addressed by the Emperor of Germany the other day to his Parliament were well worthy the attention of Members of that House. It was the part of true patriotism to indicate the weak points of this country in reference to the new conflict with Germany which lay before her, and to which the Emperor alluded when he declared that henceforward it would be the task of the German people to make themselves victorious in the universal competition of nations in the arts of peace. Now, he believed that we were not so well prepared for a pacific struggle of that kind as we were to defend our shores from attack, and he trusted that that additional £3,000,000 for the Army would not be asked for, but that something more would be given to strengthen us where we were weakest—namely, in technical questions, in education and social questions, and thus to make our people more intelligent and more prosperous than they now are. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Mr. PEASE, in seconding the Resolution just moved by the hon. Member for Sheffield said, that question was of the greatest importance, not only to the taxpayers of this country, but as the inauguration of an era of increased military expenditure on the part of Her Majesty's Government, the moral effect of which on this country, and also on

Europe at large, it behoved the House well to consider. He looked upon the question of purchase as comparatively settled on the point of principle; and the matters of detail, such as the repayment to those officers who had purchased over the price of their commissions, and the over-regulation prices, were questions which could be settled in Committee. As he understood the meaning of the Resolution it was that the amount of £12,900,000, which had been voted as the ordinary Estimates of last year, was sufficient to procure a more efficient Army than we had had in the past, without adding £3,000,000 more to it, to put the Army on an increased footing. He might be told that he held extreme views on questions of that kind; but he hoped he had not earned in the House the character of a man holding extreme views on any subject. If he advocated disarmament, he did not advocate it in reference to one nation only, but to all nations; and in the present state of things he was obliged to look upon the question of a standing Army or a Reserve as one to be regulated by the position of different countries towards their neighbours, by their mutual relations, whether of peace or war, and by the resources of all kinds possessed by each. It might be said by the War Minister that instead of attacking his Estimates *en bloc* they ought to attack them in detail; but it was almost impossible for any man who had not the same means of information which the right hon. Gentleman himself could command, and who did not know what stock of different articles the Department had in hand, to check each particular item of expenditure, and to say, for example, whether they did not want more than a certain quantity of gunpowder, provisions, saddlery, and so forth, or whether £2,000 increase for second-class chaplains was right or wrong. Therefore, he preferred to take the Estimates as a whole not as feeling any want of confidence in the Government, but because the Estimates had been prepared, as the hon. Member for Sheffield had shown, under a very different state of things from that which now prevailed. If, however, the right hon. Gentleman persisted in asking them to deal with his proposals in detail, he should endeavour to follow him—Estimate by Estimate—in no factious spirit, but with the hope of preparing himself in another year, more than he was prepared at present, to enter into the question in detail. The cost of our naval and military armaments during the last year of the late Administration was £26,282,000. In the first year of the present Government their cost was reduced to £23,910,000; and in the year following to £22,097,000; but in the year after that it rose again to £25,434,000. This comparison showed that we had got up again to very nearly the mark of the expenditure of the late Government. But he wished to go a little further back than that. He had marked out a few figures from the Parliamentary Returns exclusive of special grants amounting to £29,000,000, and he found that for the five years from 1840 to 1845, we spent on an average £8,185,000 on our Army; during the following five years, from 1845 to 1850, the average was £9,400,000; during the next five years, from 1850 to 1855, the average was £10,089,000; and passing over the years of the Crimean War, the five years from 1860 to 1865, showed an average of £15,165,000; while the five years ending 1870, showed an average of £14,492,000. For this year the amount was £15,800,000, a sum higher than the average of any year excepting the period of the Crimean War. Taking the averages of total expenditure by 10 years, it appeared that we had spent between 1840 and 1850 the sum of £156,000,000; between 1850 and 1860, including the Crimean War, we had spent £243,000,000; and during the 10 years between 1860 and 1870 we had spent £260,000,000; so that during the 10 years between 1840 and 1850 we had spent £104,000,000 less on our Army than during the 10 years between 1860 and 1870. In presence of such sums the cost of the abolition of purchase sank into insignificance. Two years ago the right hon. Gentleman had had asked for a sum of £22,000,000 for the Army and Navy; but what change had occurred in the condition of the nation to warrant the increase in his present Estimates? It was true that the recent war had discovered much that was before unsuspected by the country at large; but surely Her Majesty's Ministers must have been long and intimately acquainted with the Prussian and French systems, and he contended that the country was in no more danger now than it was two years ago—the war was over and peace was made. There were two things for which we kept up this Army; one was the preservation of our character abroad, and to have the means of taking part, if we were so minded, in any European disturbance. But it was admitted on all sides that we no longer desired to go abroad to seek for war. We no longer meddled with the affairs of our neighbours, and everyone who had spoken on the question of the Army had spoken of war as a purely defensive one. It had been said that this country might require to defend Canada against America; but what had had been the American policy? The American Government had at one time upwards of 1,000,000 of men under arms, and they had gone on decreasing their forces until they had now only a standing Army of 37,000 men. That Army was officered by 1 general, 1 lieutenant-general, 16 brigadiers, 60 colonels, 83 lieutenant-colonels, 270 majors, 39 aides-de-camps, 538 captains, and by other officers, which brought up the total to 2,350; whilst we had officers amounting to 3,588 only, including lieutenant-colonels and majors, all in full pay, and each of these two ranks in full pay were a regiment in themselves. The disposition of the American Government towards us might be estimated from the fact of their having apprehended the Fenian conspirators who retreated from our forces on the frontier, and the manner in which they had behaved in the negotiations on the *Alabama* question—a most sore point on the other side of the Atlantic. In addition to this, we had sent a Commission to America, and we had everything to hope from a Commission formed of the leading statesmen of both countries. Next, did the danger come from Russia? We were not going into a new Crimean War; everything, so far as we in this country knew, was settled; and if it was not settled, he believed the feeling of the House was very strong against going to war with that great country. We wanted no new Crimean War. The noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) was the only Member who had come forward with a scheme of an Army fit for going to war. Well then, were we going to be attacked by anyone? The noble Lord (Lord C. J. Hamilton) the other night thought certainly not by France; but France had been our great bugbear. It was France that caused us to create our Volunteers, and it was France that made us increase our Navy Estimates year by year. But France had also been our ally, and the friendly feeling of the two countries was shown in the large sums of money which had been collected in this country to relieve the distress caused by the war. Next there was Prussia, allied to us by the ties of marriage—so strong as to arouse the jealousy of the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Henry Hoare), of religion, and, stronger still, of interest; but what had the Prussians done to us, or we to the Prussians, that they should attack this country? And if not by these Powers, where else were we to be attacked from? And were these attacks going to be made without navies? He might ask what was the position of our own Navy as compared with the navies of Europe? The Russian Navy had 290 steamers, carrying 2,205 guns, and 29 sailing ships, carrying 65 guns, and it cost only £3,000,000, whilst ours cost upwards of £9,000,000 annually. He believed that the Turkish Navy, which was the best navy in the world next to our own, had 13 iron-clads, 27 screws, 23 paddles, and a few smaller ships, and they carried 2,283 guns. The Prussian Navy had 38 steamers, carrying 320 guns, 6 of these were iron-clad, and 7 sailing vessels carrying 160 guns; and amongst them was the *Renown*, a ship which we sold to the Prussian Government, and which carried 54 guns, or one-eighth of the whole guns of the Prussian Navy. The annual cost of the Prussian Navy was £1,291,000. The English fleet—which had always been, and would always be, our first line of defence—had 54 iron-clads in or out of commission, and 174 steamers, carrying in all 5,594 guns. Comparing the fleets, guns against guns, the Prussian carried 480 guns, the American 1,366 guns, the Russian 2,270, the Turkish 2,283, the French 3,045, and the English 5,594 guns. Behind this first line of defence was the standing Army, the Militia, and the Volunteers. Surely the comparison was favourable, and if a real panic arose in the country the advice of his noble Friend (Lord Elcho) was the only one that could be adopted. He cordially agreed with the hon. Member for Sheffield that the way in which the Volunteers were treated showed their services were ill appreciated. Successive Governments had failed to treat them with respect, because there was no general fear of attack in the country. In his own district—and he presumed in most others, the men had been impelled to enrol themselves simply by a feeling of patriotism. It was possible that he might take rather a prejudiced view of these matters, because he came from a district where there were no barracks, no dockyards, and no arsenals, and where the inhabitants, nevertheless, entertained a sense of perfect security, and supposed the taxes they raised were spent in other parts of the country. He objected to the increase of the Army expenditure because he believed that there never was a time when an Army was less required, and when it could be better placed in the position described by the First Minister as that in which it ought to be placed—"a small Army in time of peace, but capable of great elasticity in time of war." This increase of Army expenditure implied that so many more men, practically useless in time of peace, were to be supported by the earnings of the industrious classes of the country, and locally an increase of barracks and the disorders attending barrack life, and an increase of special legislation. The increase of civilization entailed increased expenditure in the way of education, sanitary improvements, and in those things which increased the well-being of mankind, and this increased expenditure could only be met by a diminution of those charges from which humanity naturally shrunk. With respect to the course proposed by Her Majesty's Government with reference to foreign affairs, he believed it commanded universal, or almost universal, satisfaction. The Government had pursued a policy of peace, and the honour of the country had not been affected. They had proposed reforms which had been adopted, with some modifications, from the other side of the House. Their policy with respect to finance had been to keep down the expenses of the country; but it seemed to him that a change had come over the spirit of their dream, and that they had gone over to the other side of the House for a policy. He desired to see them adopt the policy which they pursued when they first took their seats on those Benches. The House was told that this cheeseparing policy was impairing the *prestige* of the country. [An hon. MEMBER: Yes.] When was that the case? Had our merchants lost their *prestige*, who make their voices heard in both Houses of Parliament? Had our soldiers lost their *prestige?* He would refer to Inkermann and Balaklava. Had our officers lost their *prestige?* He would refer to the events of the Indian Mutiny which, cruel as he considered many of them to be, showed that neither officers or soldiers had failed us. Had our diplomatists lost their *prestige?* He would refer the House to Lord Clarendon, Lord Derby, and to Lord Granville, and would say that the country had never seen in the best of days gone by, three men following each other of whose services the country had more reason to be proud, or to whom the country ought to be more grateful. There was great danger at a time like this in increasing our military expenditure, and he appealed to the Prime Minister, of whom he had been a faithful follower in large divisions on that side the House, and in small divisions on the other side the House, to reconsider the retrograde step he was now taking; it was unsound, economically; politically, an error. It was an immoral proceeding, internationally, for this country to set the example of a large military expenditure. It was a policy that was weakening the Liberal party in the country as well as in that House, and if the present Ministers kept their seats, it would only be with loyalty weakened—it might be only in degree—behind them, and with a great loss of confidence in the country; if they were driven from office, they would only be able to come back by returning to the policy which in a moment of panic they seemed to him needlessly—he had almost said recklessly—to have abandoned.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, whilst approving the abolition of Purchase in the Army, is of opinion that the Army may be put in a state of efficiency without increasing the ordinary Military Estimates of last year,"—(*Mr. Mundella,*)

—instead thereof.

MR. GLADSTONE: I rise, Sir, for the purpose of offering what I trust will be a short statement on the part of Her Majesty's Government, in the belief that by doing so at this early period it may be for the convenience of hon. Members, and may possibly tend, in some degree, to limit the range of this discussion. And, before adverting to the general subject of the Motion, I wish to say a word upon a single and isolated point noticed by my hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) in the course of his speech. I refer to that portion in which he alluded to the influence to be exercised by the military chiefs of our military system, or to what is usually called the influence of the Horse Guards. Now, I cannot state too clearly what I conceive to be the necessary relation between the Executive Government of the day and the military authorities of the Army. With the general politics of the military authorities of the Army we have nothing whatever to do, and with them it would be presumption and impertinence on our part to interfere. But we are convinced that their views, as well as ours, is this—that as far as the military politics, so to call them, of the Executive are concerned—as far as the military plans and measures of the Executive Government are concerned, the Executive Government must always have the energetic co-operation, not merely the passive neutrality of the military chiefs of the Army. That is the foundation upon which alone the Army and the military system of this country can be possibly kept in harmony with its general constitution. I was anxious to offer these few words, because I thought my hon. Friend appeared to be under a somewhat different impression. His Motion, as I understand it, means this — that the Estimates of 1871-2 ought to be, and might be, reduced to the level of the Estimates of 1870. I know not whether I quite understand the Motion as referring to the Estimates of 1870 as presented at the commencement of the Session, or to the Estimates of 1870 as they were subsequently enlarged. ["No, no!"] Then, I understand the Motion to mean that between £2,750,000 and £3,000,000 ought to be taken off the Estimates now before the House, and to mean that that might be done without impairing the efficiency of the Army. I am not prepared to accede to that proposition. I am not prepared to accept the invitation of my hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield, that we should take back and revise our Estimates. I have listened with much attention to the speeches of both my hon. Friends, who are Gentlemen eminently qualified to do justice to any view which they may adopt, and though I heartily concur in much that has fallen from them as to the general principle on which the Army ought to be governed, and as to the aims which we ought to have in view, as an ordinary rule, in our military expenditure, yet I confidently submit that they have in no degree proved their case, and that it is impossible to deduct from the Estimates now upon the Table the sums which they would have us deduct, and to present those Estimates upon the same scale on which we were happy to present them last year, without impairing the efficiency of the Army. There was one portion of the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield in which he seemed to assume that the whole saving might be accomplished by the dismissal of bad characters from the Army. [MR. MUNDELLA: That was only a portion of my argument.] I understood my hon. Friend to say that the whole thing might be effected by that very salutary operation. The operation, meanwhile, is one that is being carried on by the War Office, and I trust that it will be conducted more and more satisfactorily from time to time, for I am convinced that nothing can be more fatal to a sound military system than the toleration of what can be properly called bad characters in the Army. But if my hon. Friend did not mean to say that this £2,750,000 might be saved by a thorough and radical weeding out of bad characters from the Army, I am at a loss to know to what particular points of the Estimates he looks for the purpose of effecting this sweeping change without a diminution of efficiency. The only other two heads which I recollect him to have mentioned were the sinecure colonelcies and the Army agencies; upon both of those undoubtedly he laid his finger, but so far as I can recollect they were the only additions which he made to his suggestion for the removal of bad characters. [MR. MUNDELLA: And of men medically unfit.] That is perfectly true; my phrase was too narrow. My hon. Friend spoke of men who were physically and morally unfit. But the abolition of sinecure colonelcies can only be carried out by stopping appointments which would have but a very small effect on the Estimates for the present year; and the abolition of Army agencies connects itself with improved methods, which we are most anxious to adopt, in reference to stores and clothing. In truth, therefore, the speeches of my hon. Friends the Mover and Seconder were much more speeches in favour of retrenchment generally than in support of the particular Motion before the House. My hon. Friends no doubt will say that we ought not to rest satisfied with pointing out what appears to us the insufficiency of their arguments to sustain the Motion which has been made, but that the Government ought to put forward their own view of the Estimates which they have proposed. That is a very fair challenge, and I will endeavour to do so. Let me state generally our position in regard to the Estimates, as compared with what it was three years ago. I refer to that date not for the purpose of raising any controversy whatever, but simply for the purpose of placing the facts before the House. If we take the Army Estimates of this year as compared with those for the year 1868-9, the gross totals, as printed, would show an increase only of between £300,000 and £400,000; but after allowing for changes in the method of account, the increase upon the Army Estimates such as we found them when we took office would be between £700,000 and £800,000. It is fair, however, in taking into account the defensive expenditure to take into account the whole expenditure. And accordingly we find that the Naval Estimates this year, as compared with those of 1868, exhibit a diminution from £11,157,000 to £9,756,000, or a reduction of about £1,400,000. After allowing, therefore, for the increase which has arisen this year in the military expenditure, the total defensive expenditure for the year—which I wish to speak of as a whole, for as a whole it ought to be viewed—would exhibit a sum to the credit of the present year of between £600,000 and £800,000. If my hon. Friend asks me whether the augmentations which have been made are indications of any intention on the part of the Government to depart from the system on which they have acted, I answer him emphatically in the negative. No person would be more grieved than we should if it were supposed, or turned out in practice to be true, that this prolonged scale of military expenditure, which the circumstances and exigencies of the time require us for the moment to adopt, were to become the normal measure of the military expenditure of the country. It is due to my hon. Friend and to the House that we should point out in what way this additional charge has arisen. I say that the Estimates, as they are now printed, are, in an emphatic and peculiar sense, to be considered as transition Estimates—having reference to two great causes. The first of these causes has been the state of the world and the conditions existing as to peace or war upon the Continent; the second cause has been the necessity and the strong desire on the part of the country for an extensive change of its military system. When I refer to the state of the world and its relations to peace or war, my hon. Friend need not fear that he will trace in my remarks any sympathy with that propensity to panic upon which he has severely, but I must say, in my own mind, and speaking for myself, I think he has justly animadverted. That propensity, as we have seen it from time to time during the last 20 years, has been a weakness and discredit to this country; and I earnestly hope whatever proposals or recommendations we may make, that they will never be so couched as to foster or encourage that somewhat unhappy disposition, little worthy, as we think, of the masculine character of the country. But while I am not among the people who would thus be disposed to overrate the possibility of danger to this country, the House would not permit the Government to jump at once to the conclusion that the military establishments of the country should be limited, absolutely and rigidly, to what is required for the defence of its shores. It is hardly necessary for me to remind the hon. Member for Sheffield how, in his own speech, he has recognized that, though we may be happily and mercifully spared many of the dangers that beset others, yet our duties extend somewhat beyond the limit of our territories, and that we are not prepared, absolutely and irrespective of circumstances which may arise, to withdraw from a position in which we may be called on to perform duties over and above what pertains to the immediate safety of the country. I find no fault with those who think fit to hold and propagate the other opinion and to say that absolute non-interference in the politics of Europe should be our rule. I deeply deprecate the view of those who, on all occasions, are so morbidly sensitive as to national influence, that England forsooth, according to them, must be called on to interfere by force of arms, even when she has no duty or call whatever; or, if any, merely a secondary duty. But the absolute opposite of that proposition neither I myself nor the Government, nor the House of Commons, nor the English people, can be prepared to sanction. The Estimates of last year we did not regard as the *ne plus ultra* of reduction and reform. Indeed, one objection which I should venture to take to the Motion of my hon. Friend, is, that he seems to give too high a sanction to those Estimates, as if they were proposals by which all future movement on behalf of the taxpaying community was to be absolutely arrested. The Estimates of last year were good Estimates at the time, and relatively to the circumstances in which they were made; but they were greatly enlarged by the Vote of Credit taken towards the close of last year. That Vote, as my hon. Friend justly observed, had reference to the state of war then existing in Europe. We know that the preliminaries of peace have been signed, and an hon. Friend of mine is about to call upon us to undertake some discussion on the subject of these preliminaries. I can only say that he will be a very sanguine man if he contends that because these preliminaries of peace were signed, or even at the moment when they were signed, the peace of Europe therefore is to be considered without a cloud. It would even be, I think, a sanguine expression, in the actual circumstances of the time to say that things have gone back to the condition in which they were 12 months ago. We must still hope that affairs will take a favourable turn; but I think any Ministry would be an over-sanguine Ministry which should venture at this moment to submit to the House of Commons Estimates framed entirely on the supposition that the exigencies which arose last year had wholly passed by, and that we could consider Europe as having returned to a state of solid peace and settlement. Therefore, as far as regards one of the two causes out of which this augmentation has arisen, we could not adopt the proposition of my hon. Friend. At the same time, it is obvious—and there will be no difficulty in making the admission to him—that, although it is our duty at the commencement of the year to ask on every point for the confidence and enlightened judgment of the House of Commons, what we think an adequate and sufficient supply for the whole service of the year, upon what I may call safe suppositions and calculations, yet every improvement that is made in the condition of affairs abroad may undoubtedly tend to modify the situation; and my hon. Friend may rely upon it that if we witness such an improvement in the course of the year, we shall not be slow to allow it such influence as it may fairly exercise on such expenditure of the public money in regard to military or any other Estimates, because the responsibility of the Government does not terminate as soon as it has obtained the vote of the House of Commons, it being still their duty to expend the money in such a manner as the circumstances of the time seem undeniably to demand. Then comes the other cause out of which the changes in the Estimates have grown—namely, the tendency to alterations of our military system. And here I may observe that there is one tendency to augmented military expenditure of which my hon. Friend complains—namely, the adoption of all the changes which are necessary to give to the military service such a character as may enable us to reckon upon bringing into it by voluntary means a class of men, whether as officers or soldiers, whom it is desirable for the country to have. My hon. Friend ought to bear in mind that we cannot extend even the Militia and Volunteers to a very considerable degree without producing an upward movement in the Military Estimates. I will endeavour to place before the House a sort of analysis of the increase in our Estimates, which analysis shall be very simple in its character, exhibiting to the House our good faith and sincerity, and showing that the present Estimates belong to a period of transition, and do not indicate the future scale of the military expenditure of the country. If, then, I take the whole augmentation in the Estimates over those of last year it is, I believe, £2,886,000; but of that sum more than one-third, or about £1,050,000, arises out of the increase of the Army by 20,000 regulars and between 4,000 and 5,000 horses. Now, I ask, is it desirable that we should part with that increase? We have thought not. But I am not about to argue the question on the present occasion. We come here not simply on a question of the political exigencies of the moment; but, at the same time, there is not a doubt that the maintenance of this increase greatly enlarges the means possessed by my right hon. Friend near me of carrying on with despatch the process of the formation of an efficient reserve; and independently of questions of danger, independently of questions connected with any risk or necessity for action, which I trust we are justified in considering as exceedingly remote, we do think the mind and judgment of the country is set upon carrying forward with rapidity of execution the plan which has been formed for the efficient introduction of the system of short service—a system that has been highly, but not too highly, eulogized by my hon. Friend—and for the formation of those Army Reserves which we must hereafter look to as a means both of safety and of economy. Therefore, I point to this augmentation with a specific purpose, apart from the necessity existing at this moment, and as an augmentation justifying, as far as it goes, the description I have ventured to give of those Estimates as transition estimates. The next augmentation is that of more than £500,000 in respect of the auxiliary forces, and this added to the augmentation from the regulars forms somewhat more than one-half of the whole increase. With respect to this, I will only say it is a kind of force which is more than any other under the control of the House of Commons, and, as far as I can read the signs of public opinion and can judge of the manifestations made in this House, it appears to me that, under the head of Auxiliary Forces, there is anything but a disposition to contract the proposal of Her Majesty's Government. I now come to the charges in respect of stores and works, amounting together to about £1,300,000, and I will show my hon. Friend how the great bulk of the items respecting these stores are made up. There is about £158,000 to complete the reserves of armaments for the Navy; and this is an expense which I believe may be called, strictly, an occasional expense—that is to say, it is for the purpose not of maintaining but of completing the reserves. When the reserves are brought up to the point which will be secured by these figures you will have no expenditure to meet except what lies wholly outside them—namely, the necessary expense of their maintenance, extension, and increase. Next I come to the item of £170,000 for the purpose of arming the fortifications which, as my hon. Friend says, Lord Palmerston induced the House to agree to. And here I must say one word with respect to the share Lord Palmerston had in inducing the House of Commons to agree to the erection of these fortifications. It is perfectly true that Lord Palmerston was most friendly to the plan, and attached to it a very high value—perhaps a higher value than many others may have been disposed to assign to it—but it is far from true that the House of Commons wanted any inducing at all at that period in order to agree to the fortifications, for I will recall to the knowledge of my hon. Friend and of the House that when Lord Palmerston came into office in the summer of 1859, and it was thought prudent by his Government to have the whole subject investigated by a Commission in order to ascertain how far it was necessary or desirable to adopt plans for fortifying our arsenals, or any portion of the coast, so impatient was the House of Commons of that resolution of the Government, because it delayed the adoption of the scheme, that a Motion was made in this House, and received the support of so formidable a minority as to compel the Government to go forward without the intermediate process of a Commission. However this may be, I presume my hon. Friend thinks that as these fortifications have been erected we are right in proceeding to arm them. But that is also an expenditure of a temporary nature. I cannot, however, say that it will be altogether confined to the present year; but within about four years this charge of £170,000 will altogether disappear. Then there is a sum of £43,000 to be taken for the purpose of re-modelling the siege train, which sum is entirely occasional, and belongs only to the present year. The next item is £169,000 for bringing up the arrear of carriages and projectiles, and here my hon. Friend will allow me to state what that arrear consists in. It appears to have been a principle of military administration in this country that when it was thought necessary for the defence of the country to provide a certain number of guns, the carriages of the guns and the supply of ammunition should never be provided in the same year, but always in the year after. We have applied our minds as well as we could to this matter, and have come to the conclusion that it is not wise to have guns without any carriages and without any ammunition. This sum of £170,000 is therefore to make up what has really been a permanent arrear, and it is a sum which cannot possibly re-appear. There are other items connected with equipments and camps of instruction, which are in the same manner connected with the completion of our system. In the first place, there is a sum of £276,000 for small arms. This is in consequence of the necessity of arming the Volunteers and introducing the Martini-Henry rifles into the Regular Army. We expect that if the Snider rifle is not wholly rejected as far as regards the Reserve Forces, the process of arming the soldiers with the Martini-Henry will be terminated in the course of three years. That is the statement of the Government as to one million of the money which we look upon as being connected with causes of expenditure that will not in an ordinary state of things recur. We have been called upon to maintain our military system and to carry it on from year to year and to bring it up to that state in which the country thinks it ought to be. Undoubtedly, we must not be too sanguine with regard to each and all of these heads that extra expenditure will not be necessary; but some of them evidently carry upon their own face their temporary and occasional character, and so far as we are able to judge, the placing of a million of money to meet the various heads coming under the description of stores may be considered as not belonging to the permanent expenditure of the country. Well, there only remains the sum of £288,000 under the head of works, to account for the remainder of the difference between the two sets of Estimates. Of this sum £100,000 is for the expenditure upon a torpedo cable, which is connected with the introduction of a new system, which will not require to be repeated. The other works are works for Malta, Dover, and Harwich, on which £100,000 is to be expended, and with the particulars of which expenditure I need not trouble the House. After all, though I have given this information in order to fasten upon the Government a certain responsibility, and to enable my hon. Friend, if the prospects I have held out be not fulfilled, to charge us in after years, yet I know very well that none of these statements can carry absolute conviction. But I look to the indulgence of the House to judge of our future intentions by our past performances, and I ask them confidently to believe that, which on my own part, and on that of my Colleagues, I can confidently assert, that while we shall never be backward to do what we did last year—that is, to call upon Parliament to supply us with the means that we may think the honour of the country requires, yet, apart from those special exigencies that occur from time to time, my hon. Friend need not in the slightest degree apprehend that the temper of our minds has undergone any, the smallest, change, that we are more disposed than we have heretofore shown ourselves to encourage unnecessary alarm, that we are less sensible of the duty and the value of endeavouring to retrench public expenditure, or that we are less disposed, and, so far as depends upon us, less determined to apply that principle, according to the varying exigencies of the time, with a firm and steady hand during the period, whether it be long or short, that we may have the honour to administer the affairs of the country.

Mr. DIXON thought that they should have had from the Prime Minister at least some intimation that the wishes so ably expressed by his hon. Friend would meet with greater consideration from the Government. He had been requested by his constituents to express their opinion on this subject to the House, and after the speech of the Prime Minister he felt that it was all the more incumbent that he should do so. Birmingham, of all the constituencies, might be supposed to have the greatest personal and pecuniary interest in a state of warfare, and in the increase of the means of war, and yet they took the opportunity at every public meeting, held at Birmingham, to declare themselves opposed to the increase of our armaments, and in favour of the maintenance of peace. On three separate occasions during the late Recess, while the war was carried on with vigour, the public voice of the people of Birmingham was utterly opposed to war. A town's meeting had also been held to protest against an increase of these Estimates. He believed Her Majesty's Government, in the formation of the Estimates, had acted upon the erroneous impression that there was a general demand for an increase of our armaments. There was, however, a feeling in the great constituencies that if ever there was a Government that would preserve at a low level the military expenditure of the country, it was the present Government; but the confidence of the people had been entirely shaken by these Estimates, and the Government would find that it had misinterpreted the feeling of the great body of the nation, and that a considerable portion of the popularity they had hitherto enjoyed would be withdrawn, in consequence of this easy adoption of what had been heretofore called the policy of the Opposition. The Prime Minister had said that we ought to be in a state of greater preparation for a possible war; but, so far as he (Mr. Dixon) knew the opinions of the people of England, they believed that at no period of our history was England in a condition when she might less apprehend being engaged in war than at the present moment. They were desirous that our Army should be re-organized; that our military defences should be made more perfect; but they were also convinced it could be done without any increase in the Estimates for the year. So far as he knew, on no point had any attempt been made this year to reduce the great expenditure under which we were suffering. The proper course for the Government would have been to say—"We think certain improvements ought to be made, which will cost a certain sum—we ask the House to give it. At the same time, we believe there are certain items which we can do without, and we propose to strike them out from the Estimates." Certain intimations had, it is true, been given by the Government, which were received by the House with some degree of satisfaction; but these intimations were not made with that distinctness which was desirable. When his hon. Friend the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) brought forward his proposition the other night to discontinue the appointment of honorary colonels, a proposal in the principle of which the Secretary of State for War said he agreed, and avowed his conviction that certain alterations ought to be made; yet the right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington) characterized it as a "presumption" on the part of his hon. Friend to come forward and point out special methods of reform. Well, if it were a "presumption" in independent Members to make any proposals, all that was open for them to do was to come forward and say—"We desire that there shall be no increased Estimates; we maintain that further saving might be made, but we decline to say in what way." He (Mr. Dixon) was convinced that a saving might have been effected, and he was confident that the people would not be satisfied with the statement which the Prime Minister had that night made. He was assured that the great constituencies, which had hitherto supported Her Majesty's Government, would be impressed by that statement with the simple notion, which the best speeches and the ablest arguments would not be able to drive out of their heads, that the Government, which they had mainly created and supported, and which they considered were pledged to economy, had failed to carry out those reforms to which they had pledged themselves. These large constituencies did not believe in the probability of any invasion from abroad, or in the necessity of any interference with the quarrels of any nation in the world, and they would say that Her Majesty's Government had played into the hands of the very men whom they had always strongly opposed. This Government, created and supported by a large majority throughout the country, had given heed to the representations of the Opposition and to certain metropolitan newspapers which did not represent the feelings of the people. They had given way to a difficulty which everybody knew existed, and which had been caused by those who surrounded the Minister of War and the Government; and, instead of doing the work they were sent to perform, they had yielded to those who regularly and consistently opposed these reforms; and to that extent the Government had forfeited their hold upon the great popular constituencies. He did not mean to say that the majority which had hitherto so loyally supported Her Majesty's Government would dwindle away, because it was in that House, and could not therefore, for the present at least, do so; but it would be a source of weakness for the Government to reckon upon the support of the Opposition, as they had done upon some recent occasions, to carry their measures. After certain important Divisions lately, it was found that the majority of the supporters of the Government had gone into the Opposition Lobby. This was likely to be repeated if the present policy was continued, and strong as Her Majesty's Government was, and entitled as it was, in many respects, to the faithful adherence of all the Members below the Gangway, yet it was a dangerous game for the Government to play, and one which they would probably have reason to regret; and independent Members, whilst they opposed them, would oppose them with much unwillingness and sorrow.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT said, he concurred in what had been said by the hon. Member who had just addressed the House, that a defence of some kind or other might always be set up in favour of an extravagant expenditure of money, and that the arguments of the Prime Minister in support of this increased expenditure had not been satisfactory to hon. Members below the Gangway. The Government had been taunted from time to time during the Session with reverting to a scale of expenditure which a little while ago they very much condemned, and those taunts were not wholly without justification. What was the origin and what the history of the present Government? They went to the last General Election with two great questions before the country, one undoubtedly the more prominent—the question of the Irish Church; but there was another scarcely second in importance—the question of national expenditure. The Gentlemen who then aspired to govern the country, and especially the Prime Minister, made powerful speeches in various parts of the country, condemning the extravagance of the men who were then in office. They obtained a great majority at the elections, came into office, and spent two laborious years in reducing expenditure. They took great credit for the task, and to that credit they were fully entitled. But now the House was asked by the Government, at a single stroke as it were, to vote away almost as many millions as it took them two years to save. The only conclusive reason that the Prime Minister had given for it the House probably would think was the present state of Europe. There were not many hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side at present; but when the Government which they supported was in office, the peace of Europe was in a much more dangerous state than it was now, for then France and Prussia were on the very point of war on account of Luxemburg. But now the passions of those two Powers were exhausted, the contest was decided, and there was no danger from that quarter. There had existed difficulties with America; but those he hoped had been settled, and he must be a madman who believed there was the slightest probability of their being engaged in war with that country, which now had neither Army nor Navy. The Eastern question, which had troubled them of late, was now settled; but if it had not been, he undertook to say that it would have required a stronger Government than the present to have dragged this country into another Crimean War, and he did not believe that any Member of the Government really believed that it was necessary to spend this year a larger sum upon our Army than was spent the beginning of last Session, and yet they were asked to add from 20 to 25 per cent on the £13,000,000 then spent. There was not a military Power in Europe that had ever spent so much. If the House had sufficient wisdom and patriotism to say that that large sum should not be increased, but reduced, the Treasury Bench would have a better opinion of it, and every one of them would go home with the feeling that the country was in a state of security. According to his view, the higher the character and the greater the ability of a Government the less was it necessary to spend large sums to have bloated armaments. An able Government seldom got a country into a difficulty, and when it did it had sufficient ability and moral resources to get it out of it, instead of resorting to that barbarous and criminal practice of war. They had such a Government, and their treatment of foreign questions had met with the sanction of the House. The country never had greater confidence in a Government in the management of foreign affairs than the present; but if it should happen, which he hoped not, that the party opposite should again come into power, it was only fair to them to say that he should probably have as much confidence in their management of foreign affairs as he had in the present Government, and that confidence rose from the fact that he found on looking back to the official history of the party opposite that they had been as prudent in the treatment of foreign affairs as the Government of the party to which he belonged. He wanted a better reason than any that had yet been given why this increased expenditure was required—why £13,000,000 could not provide the country with an efficient defensive Army. Nobody outside the House had asked for this increased expenditure, though some newspapers had asked for it, but there had been no public meetings and no Petitions in favour of it. Amongst the numerous reasons that had influenced the Government in departing from their policy of economy was this — that they had yielded to pressure from that class which benefited by taxation painfully wrung from the people. There was a class in this country that was powerful because it was organized in the pursuit of a common object, and who were unwilling to live by the ordinary productive operations of the people. That class was to be found in large numbers in the London clubs, surging with clamour around the various Departments, and enjoying a powerful representation in both Houses of Parliament. To that class any Government, no matter to what party it belonged, found itself sooner or later obliged to succumb. The barometer was not more sensitive to atmospheric changes than were those men of what was likely to occur on the Continent. The moment there was a panic, no matter where, they set to work, in an elaborate and mysterious manner, to create one in this country, and it invariably addressed itself to the illogical and weak minds amongst them. There was scarcely a panic in this country, except when those who were likely to do harm were engaged in deadly strife, and were so absorbed as to be scarcely conscious of our existence. They were told by that class—he would not say the war party, of which they had heard so much out-of-doors—but by the party who wanted money that did not belong to them—that the country was liable to invasion, and sometimes that it was imminent. He would not say he had a contempt for those men—because probably it would be improper to feel contempt for any man—but he did entertain a feeling of wonder and pity for those who said that the invasion of this country was imminent. There had been no invasion of this country for 800 years; no hostile force had set foot upon these shores from across the sea during the whole of that period, although they had had powerful enemies, and had given provocation. During that period there was probably not an accessible country in the world they had not invaded; but the reasons, probably, why this country had not been invaded was the inherent difficulty and almost impossibility of the task. If the task had been difficult in the past, was it likely to be less difficult in the future? They had ceased to give provocation to any Power to attack them, or to supply any motive for warlike aggression against them. They owned no territory on the Continent, unless it was that unfortunate rock at the mouth of the Mediterranean, which no Minister had been wise enough to relinquish to the country to which it belonged. We had no frontier to rectify, and were not in a position to cause suspicion in any quarter. Invasion in the future was therefore, he thought he was justified in saying, much less likely than it had been in the past. Had science too, he would ask, done nothing to add to the difficulties of any such attempt? Could we not, owing to the action of the telegraph and the railway, concentrate our forces in a few hours on any given point? It took us, according to Mr. Kinglake, five days to land 26,000 troops in the Crimea, without guns, and unopposed by an enemy. If it took a Power like England five days to do that with her vast fleet and her great resources, how could any enemy with which we would have to contend hope to effect a landing here in the face of the difficulties he would have to encounter? The fact was something like a craze took possession of men's minds when they spoke of an invasion as at all probable. But then if the great expenditure in which we were about to embark was not required for the purposes of defence it was only fair to assume that it was to be incurred in contemplation of the possibility of a foreign war. If that was the view taken, he must say it was contrary to the growing sentiment of the country. There never was a time, he believed, when the principle of non-intervention was more generally and firmly held than at the present moment. There was in this country a peace party, to which he had the honour to belong, but not as his hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea (Sir Henry Hoare) would say, "a peace-at-any-price party." It was a party growing in influence and in numbers, and who believed that the British Government could do more for civilization and humanity by developing wealth at home and her vast Empire over the world than by becoming an engine of destruction in any country outside our territories, no matter where. But he should probably be told that the peace party entirely set aside national obligations; but he could assure the House they did not disregard the obligations which one nation might be supposed to lie under with regard to another, though they differed from many persons as to what those obligations were. The first and foremost international obligation devolving on any country was to have within its own borders a justly governed and well instructed people, in order that it might not, by tumults at home or by false notions of honour and military glory abroad, become a nuisance to its neighbours and the world. He should no doubt be told there were treaties it was necessary to uphold, and they had had a good many lectures upon that subject already this Session. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) told them something about the sanctity of treaties, and that unless that feeling were maintained society might as well dissolve into its elements. He did not exactly know what that meant; but he believed that great wars, whether in defence of treaties or anything else, did more to resolve society into its elements than allowing treaties, from some cause or other, to become extinguished. In this country a profound feeling had been produced by the way in which, during the last six or eight months, treaties had been disregarded in Europe; and the inference drawn was that, seeing how they were treated, these political instruments ought no longer to be purchased by the sacrifice of tens of thousands of British lives. So far from wishing to maintain a selfish isolation, this country, since the principle of non-intervention had been taught and largely accepted by the people, and to a considerable extent practised by the Government, had been less isolated than ever it was before. The United States was not in the position of selfish isolation, because she did not go marauding over every other country. It was as easy for her to send troops to Ireland or France as it was for England to send them to the Black Sea, and yet she abstained from doing so, and was respected, and her conduct had weight in the councils of the world. England—which was, perhaps, the only nation in the world that did so—opened her ports to the whole world—was the great asylum for oppressed peoples. We raised contributions to assist the unfortunate of other countries, and if our Government employed its influence wherever it could to the advantage of others, and refused to carry slaughter into other lands—if that were called selfish isolation, he wished to God that other countries would follow our plan. If France, for instance, had done so 20 years ago it would have been a priceless blessing to her people and to Europe, and would have made her the admiration of this House, this country, and the world. It would not have been a proof of growing selfishness, but of growing knowledge and of a political development rarely seen. He did not want to see this country in a state of selfish isolation, or neglecting her national obligations. There was one obligation he could have wished had been fulfilled by the Government. There was a desire over England that the Government would do something to bring about even a beginning of general disarmament. He was forced to say, however, that the position in which the Government had placed themselves rendered them merely incompetent to undertake any such service. Supposing Her Majesty's Ministers went to the foreign Powers with the suggestion the reply would undoubtedly be—"Instead of precept, give us a little example. You are an insular people. You have an unrivalled fleet, and a maritime supremacy beyond question. Your policy is not one of aggression. You supply no motive, then, for attack or invasion. Yet you are not content to spend £13,000,000 on your Army; you are going to spend £16,000,000, and to arm from 400,000 to 500,000 men." At the present moment unfortunate France was in a position to consider afresh what she would do with regard to the extent and character of her armaments, yet here was the British Government inviting her into the dangerous path of military emulation. The House was asked at the end of last Session in what was called a panic—but which never spread beyond the House—to vote £2,000,000; and now they were called upon for a sum equal to nearly £3,000,000—thus making £5,000,000 in all in the course of a few months. Hon. Members opposite were in the habit of crying down and grumbling about local burdens. But here was a sum equal to one-fourth of the whole of the annual local burdens, and he should like to see how many of these hon. Gentlemen would take the opportunity of saving their constituents from additional taxation. But this House was composed, for the most part, of rich men. It was easy for them to vote away millions of public money, because rich men could pay increased taxes without sacrificing their comforts, or even trenching on their superfluities. Poor men, however, paid increased taxes, as the Prime Minister recognized in his famous Budget speech of 1863, not alone out of the comforts of life, but from their very necessities. He (Mr. Bright) had a theory that the Government were pursuing this course not because they had not the knowledge to do right, but because they had not the courage. The Government had no business to talk of panics; they should rather lead the House in the right path. There were scores of weak brethren in that House who would be set right, and could be kept right, by the Government at any time; and there were scores and hundreds who would go wrong on the subject of expenditure if the Government only led them wrong. A great deal was spent in this country; he was speaking of it from the point of view of those who had very little to give. The whole taxation was equal to £15 a-year for each of the six millions of families in the United Kingdom; and he had seen it stated that every man, woman, and child who worked for a living worked one hour per day, not to satisfy the ordinary demands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but those made for past and present warlike preparations. The proposition of the Government was to press more heavily upon those toiling masses. Now, those competent to form an opinion declared that a desire for Republican institutions was growing up in this country, and *The Times* to-day reported a statement that people believed the present vast and dangerous expenditure was inseparable from monarchical and aristocratic institutions. This was a growing feeling, and, if so, it became a source of danger to those who wished to continue as they were. For himself, he was anxious to live under existing institutions so long as we had power to modify them according to the wants of the times; and he wished that, in the interest of those institutions, the Government would cultivate greater respect for the uncertain incomes and precarious earnings of perhaps the most laborious people on earth.

MR. CANDLISH said, that if ever there existed an occasion for regret on account of a personal cause, the occupants of these Benches had much reason to regret the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), of his eloquent tongue, his clear head, and his warm heart. Had he continued on the Treasury Bench such Estimates as they now had to consider would not, in all probability, have been laid before the House. However, some compensation for that right hon. Member's absence was derived from the speech of the hon. Member for Manchester, who had amply justified the name he bore by the observations he had just offered to the House. He considered that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government was much to be regretted. It was not a justifying, but merely an excusing speech. Anyone who knew the ability of the right hon. Gentleman was well aware that no man could put before the House more plausible grounds for any proposition than the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. It was at once weak and unworthy of him to stoop so low as to justify the Estimates before the House by a comparison with the Estimates of the right hon. Gentleman sitting on the Opposition side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman the First Minister of the Crown complained that the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) had not made out his case; but his case was simply this—that the country was not prepared to expend £16,000,000 a-year on the Army, and it was for the Government to provide an efficient Army for the sum which his hon. Friend had indicated. A more suicidal course had never been taken than that which was now adopted by the Government. The justification of the Resolution of his hon. Friend lay, first of all, on the face of the Estimates; secondly, in the feeble defence of the right hon. Gentleman himself; and, thirdly, on the wish of the country in reference to the Estimates. There was to be an addition of about £1,000,000 to increase the standing Army. That proposal carried, on the face of it, its own condemnation. If there was no need for such an increase last year there could be no justification for it now. We had for years lived in apprehension of France; there was no ground for apprehension now. The right hon. Gentleman said that peace preliminaries had been signed but not ratified. Did anyone believe in the possibility of the resumption of war between Prussia and France? Those countries were so exhausted, and the craving for peace was so universal in both, that we were never more secure against European disturbance than at the present moment. These Estimates condemned the previous policy of the Government; for, if we wanted those increased armaments now when those two Powers were utterly prostrate, it was much more necessary when the struggle was going on, and when we might have been called upon to interfere. The right hon. Gentleman said—"Give us the money, and if peace settles over Europe, and the money is not needed, it will not be spent." But had not the state of Europe improved most materially since these Estimates were framed? They were framed in December or January, when Prussia and France were engaged in deadly strife. The improvement which the right hon. Gentleman desiderated had already set in, and yet the Estimates were undiminished as if the European struggle were still at its crisis. But it was said they had foreign treaties to uphold. It was high time to learn that our safety lay in abstention from European obligations. We ought to awake to the fact that treaties were devices by which the designing and unscrupulous might overreach the honest and conscientious, and were found by experience to be utterly worthless when the interest or ambition of those who promoted them rendered it convenient to set them aside. He trusted that the time would never come when an English soldier in arms would again appear on the Continent of Europe. In the interests of peace, in the interests of progress, and in the interests of an advancing industry, he regretted that the Government had not acceded to the suggestions which had been put before them for the last fortnight to revise and reduce their Estimates.

Mr. HOLMS, looking at the events which had occurred since the battle of Sadowa, thought they ought to put their house in order as thoroughly and as quickly as they could. Whatever criticisms were made in that House he was convinced criticisms would also be made by the nations of Europe, and they would not be slow to discover any weak point which might be left in our system of defence. France had been overwhelmed with disasters arising very much from too great self-complacency at her position, a blind confidence in certain parties, and the want of men to speak out frankly the truth in regard to the country. Now, he intended to speak out frankly on this subject; and he must begin by stating that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War had received but scant justice for the course he had taken even before the war began. The right hon. Gentleman was treading in the right path both as regarded short enlistments, the abolition of purchase, and the mode in which he dealt with our colonial forces; and he was glad to find that the right hon. Gentleman had, for the first time in the history of this office, placed the Estimates on the Table in a business-like form. He agreed in the policy of the Government with respect to the abolition of purchase, and wished to state why he should give his vote in favour of that object, which was to obtain professional men instead of amateurs. With that view every inducement should be offered to the present officers to retire as fast as possible; for unwilling servants were always an incumbrance. He believed the country would be willing to sanction the outlay if they felt quite sure that the purchase system would cease, and he had no doubt that this would be effectually secured by the Bill now before the House, in which seniority was tempered with selection. As regarded the non-purchase regiments in India, he had been informed that although purchase did not exist there, yet that a purse was usually made up to induce the major to retire. This, of course, would cease when it was known that the authorities had the power of selecting a major for the vacant place from another regiment. Unfortunately, the Government had not given us any idea of what would be the cost in the future of promotion and retirement after purchase had been got rid of. There had been many guesses; but there existed data of a very simple kind. The Committee appointed to inquire into the promotion and retirement of officers of the Ordnance Corps found that they were in a healthy state at the time of the inquiry. For five years the annual sum voted was £42,400, which maintained that force of 787 officers in a satisfactory condition. The officers of the Line on full-pay amounted to 6,327, and on half-pay to 1,097. On the same calculation that number of officers would require £398,000, from which must be deducted £65,500 now paid, leaving a sum of £332,500 required for retirement. He was in favour of our having greater military strength than we had now, and also in favour of a diminished expenditure; and he did not understand the Secretary of State this year simply saying in the old fashion—"If you give me so much money I will give you so many men." The people of the country had expected to learn from the right hon. Gentleman how it was that in the past, with expenditure so enormous, we had gained so little efficiency, and they were disappointed. If the right hon. Gentleman had asked for money to be invested as capital the people would have understood that; but he did nothing of the kind. We wanted armaments that would be readily expanded, and which, when expanded, would be homogeneous, and we wanted them in two parts—one to be a Reserve, which would be equal man for man to the standing Army, which would be equally equipped, organized, and officered, which would be more numerous, and which would include all the branches of the Army—artillery, cavalry, and infantry. The plan of the Government wanted the first necessary element of simplicity. Our present system was complex enough, and it was proposed to introduce one that would be more so. It was proposed that men should be enlisted into the Army and the Reserves for several different terms—namely, for the Artillery, Engineers, and Cavalry, one-fourth for 21 years with the colours, and three-fourths eight years with the colours, and four with the Reserve; for the Foot Guards and Infantry, one-fourth 21 years with the colours, part six years with the colours and six with the Reserve, and part three years with the colours and nine with the Reserve, and he expressed the opinion that any man could more easily understand the way in which soldiers were raised in Prussia or in Switzerland. The right hon. Gentleman had not favoured the House with any idea as to probable reductions of expense in future, except as regarded certain charges for guns in forts and for small arms. By the Government system they were to have in four years a Reserve of only 13,000 men, and nothing but a continuance of the large Estimates that they had hitherto had. The Government proposed to enlist the artillery for an average period of 11 years 3 months; and therefore the artillery could not pass through the Reserve at the same time as the infantry, who were to be enlisted for a shorter period. He held that the artillery should not be called on to serve for more than three years. Everybody must admit that in the late war the Prussian artillery did their work well; and surely we could get as good artillerists in three years as the Prussians could. By the plan of the Government the men were to remain in the Reserve for 13 years, and there was to be entailed upon the country for pensions £862,000 a-year. This he thought monstrous, his opinion being that there should be no pensions at all connected with the Reserve force. He would ask whether it was not possible to raise a Reserve force quickly, and by that means reduce the present expenditure? There were various modes of bringing about such a result. In the first place, all the married men who were not non-commissioned officers might be invited to go into the Reserve; all the men over 30 years of age might follow them, and others should be induced to pass on in the same way, so as to make room for the new men who came forward. This rapid formation of a Reserve was the turning-point in the re-organization of our Army, and in this respect we might with advantage take a leaf out of the Prussian book. The largest possible number of men should be passed through the Army into a Reserve during the next few years, and there would be no difficulty in supplying their places with new and younger men if a proper recruiting system were adopted. Upon what should the country rely with confidence in case of war? Not on the Volunteers, nor on the Militia, but on the Reserve Force No. 1, which was established by the right hon. Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington). By means of short enlistment, and a system of rapidly passing into the Reserve, this country might have a force of 100,000 men, and effect a saving of £15,000,000, while a large sum would also be saved to the nation owing to there being no necessity to withdraw from labour a large number of men. What the country might reasonably expect, and ought to receive, was to have an Army of that strength at a cost of not more than £10,000,000 per annum. Due efforts had not hitherto been made to enlist men of good character, and he demurred to the statement that we readily obtained recruits, because of the 20,000 men voted last August only 13,000 had been enlisted up to the 1st of February. The depôts should be made more comfortable, and the barrack accommodation improved, by a smaller number of men being placed in them. The House seemed to count too much on the apathy of the people about this subject; but if the nation saw resistance on the part of the Government to such just reforms as the extinction of honorary colonelcies, their feeling would be changed. He was convinced that real economy in military matters would be impossible until they had a better system of administration at the War Office. The Finance and Supply Departments were amply sufficient to occupy the attention of one man, and they ought to be separated from the Ordnance Department, so ably conducted by the right hon. and gallant Member for Ripon (Sir Henry Storks). It was also high time that there should be an independent audit at the War Office. He would not further occupy the attention of the House beyond expressing his regret that the Government had not been able to give a little more clearness to their view of the time when a reduction of the present high Estimates would be possible.

Mr. SCOURFIELD repudiated the charge brought by the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright), and denied that the class who were connected with clubs—by which he meant the landed interest of the country—were either the promoters of war or in any way encouraged it. If the mercantile interest created the wealth of the country, the insurance upon that wealth had to be paid out of the taxes upon property, as well as by the revenue derived from the trading portion of the community. He did not wish to institute any injurious comparison with the mercantile interest; but he must say that it was much more calculated in the ordinary course of things to bring the country into complications with foreign nations than was the landed interest. For instance, the importation of munitions of war was a purely commercial undertaking; but it had, on several occasions, given rise to angry feelings on the part of one or other of the belligerents. How had the agricultural interest been concerned in the quarrels with China or Abyssinia? The truth was that the charge broke down at the first investigation. There was one other point that he wished to refer to. An hon. Member (Mr. Jacob Bright) had asserted that for 800 years no foreign foe had landed in this country. That was hardly historically accurate, because they had all read of the Dutch fleet that, within a much more recent period, had burnt the shipping in the Thames; and he himself had the honour to represent a county where a foreign foe had actually landed. But he would also point out that the absence of the enemy from our shores was the strongest possible argument in favour of that system of defence which had kept them at bay, and to adopt the opposite line of reasoning was to imitate the example of those foolish persons who considered it a waste of money to pay for the police because their houses had never been robbed. It was generally understood when the lamentable accident occurred at Birmingham that the cartridges that exploded were not intended for a pacific purpose in England, but for exportation to a foreign belligerent.

MR. CARDWELL: I shall only occupy the attention of the House for a very short time in making a few remarks upon the question under discussion, which the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government has so fully stated, that, were it not for respect to the hon. Members who have taken part in this discussion, I should scarcely have thought it necessary for me to rise on this occasion, more especially as I believe it is understood that the debate is to come to a conclusion at no very long interval of time. Some hon. Members have expressed their surprise, having regard to the Estimates we have introduced into this House in former years, that we are not able to agree to this Motion. I hope it will be recollected that the Estimates of last year were a very great reduction upon the Estimates of former years. The expenditure of the year 1869-70 upon the Army was the smallest of any year since the Crimean War—that of 1870, that as originally proposed, was smaller than that which had been proposed for many years, and I do not think it is reasonable, when we consider what were the circumstances under which we had to prepare the Estimates for the present year, that it could be expected that we could keep them as low as those of the year 1870-1. Indeed, some hon. Members have admitted that to be the case; but there are others who assert that this increase in the Estimates is owing to the fact that the Government has weakly yielded to the influence of panic. I maintain that we have never yielded to the influences of panic, and that in preparing the Estimates we have been guided by the necessities of the case alone. It has been said that we have yielded to influences, not from within, but to those outside the House of Commons. But what are the real facts of the case? Let me first deal with the point of the addition of the 20,000 men to the Army. That addition has been sanctioned by the voice of the House of Commons in a Division in which there were only 5 dissentients. If there is one thing that this House has desired, it is that there should be an increase in our auxiliary forces — the Militia, which I am sure the House has been desirous should be increased, and the Volunteers, for whom many hon. Members of the most economical views have said, in the course of this debate, we have not done enough. Therefore, as regards the increase of 20,000 to the Regular Forces, and the increase in the Militia and the Volunteers, I think I may safely plead the sanction of the House of Commons. In regard to another point—the forts—no one can deny that in a peculiar degree they are the work of the House of Commons; but when they were ordered to be built it was surely intended that at the proper time guns should be placed in them; and any Minister would have been inexcusable who had failed to provide for that expense as soon as the right moment had arrived. The House has also taken a great interest in the subject of torpedoes, as offering us a remarkable defensive weapon and after the observations that have been made in this House respecting these instruments of war, it was impossible for us to submit Estimates which made no provisions for supplying the country with a sufficiency of them. I trust, therefore, I have shown that in preparing the Estimates for the present year Her Majesty's Government had been influenced not by external opinions, but by the determination of the country, expressed by its representatives in this House and by their sense of duty. It has been said —"You might reduce the number of men you have taken for the standing Army." I do not intend to go into the question now, as we shall have an opportunity of discussing it when the Estimates shall be laid before you. I would, however, say to those who have raised this point that the only way in which their object can be accomplished is by means of short service and by passing men rapidly through the Army into the Reserve. It is to short service that I, in common with the hon. Member who spoke last but one (Mr. Holms), look as the future means of securing for us both efficiency and economy. But if we are to look forward to short service, are we to discharge men now in the service, or to stop recruiting? If we are to have voluntary service, and are to engage it, as we are now, for the first time, doing, without the bounty, we must be very careful not to disturb the recruiting market and not to create, in that class from which we hope to obtain recruits, any feeling against joining the Army or the Reserve. What we have done is this— we have directed the military authorities, when the numbers of the regiments are full, or nearly so, as they are now, to offer admission to the Reserve to meritorious and well-conducted men, who may be willing to enter that force as far as that can be done without doing mischief. These men will still be borne on the books of the regiments, so that it will not, perhaps, be necessary, looking at the state of Europe, to fill up their places in the regiments. But either to discharge men against their own inclination, or to stop recruiting, would be at the present moment most pernicious. It is most important that our system should be elastic in order that we may not, by suddenly discharging men or stopping recruiting, lose the confidence of those from among whom we obtain our soldiers. After what my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government has said in regard to the diminished expenditure, after the supply of guns for the fortresses shall have been completed, it is unnecessary for me to say anything on that head. I will only add that I am as desirous of simplicity as my hon. Friend (Mr. Holms), or as anyone in this House; but simplicity, in a complicated system like ours, it is absolutely impossible to obtain all at once. The Prussian system has been held up to us as an example which we ought to imitate. But it must be recollected that the Prussian system is backed by compulsory service; whereas the very root of our system is voluntary service, and therefore, although there are some parts of the former system which we might do wisely to copy, yet it is impossible to argue from one system to the other on points where the analogy does not hold good. I believe that the proposals of the Government have commended themselves to the approval of the country, and I am sure that they will also be sanctioned by the House. I have only said these few words in reply to the observations that have fallen from hon. Members in the course of this debate on points which I thought it my duty to express my opinion.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR PERCY HERBERT: I rise, Sir, to express my astonishment and my regret that the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has not thought proper to take any notice of the remarks made by the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) in moving his Resolution. I had the good fortune to hear that hon. Member's very able speech, and I recollect that, among other things, he complained that bad men are kept in the Army, and kept there, too, by the Horse Guards, against the wish of the Secretary of State for War. Now, I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman, and, indeed, to anybody who knows anything about the management of the War Department, or about the customs and rules which regulate the Army, whether the Commander-in-Chief has power to discharge a single man from the Army. That depends upon the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, who sends the instructions to discharge the men; and when such an attack is made upon the Commander-in-Chief, the right hon. Gentleman sits still in his place, or when he and the Prime Minister rise to address the House, neither of them offer one word in defence of the illustrious Duke at the head of the Army. That is, to my mind, an entire neglect of duty on the part of the Government. ["Oh, oh!"] I do not say it was a personal attack, and no doubt the hon. Member (Mr. Mundella) fell into an error on that point in perfect good faith; but I maintain that it ought to have been corrected by the Minister. Again, the hon. Member for Sheffield asserts that the clothing department for the Army is in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief. How can it be said to be in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief? It might just as well be said to be in the hands of the Pope of Rome or of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

MR. MUNDELLA: I did not say that the clothing was in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief; but that the assent to changes in the dress of the Army was.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR PERCY HERBERT: The assent certainly is so; but the ruling of the question is entirely in the hands of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State may ask the assent of the Commander-in-Chief; but he is at liberty to act whether he gets that assent or not. But, as to the discharge of men of bad character, I know that officers commanding in the Army and the Horse Guards also have often been anxious to get rid of such men, but have been prevented from doing so by orders from the War Department. And why have they been thus prevented? Because as long as the bounty system existed, if a soldier of bad character, but who had not had his person branded as such, was discharged, he might re-enlist in another regiment and obtain another bounty. There is no other reason, except the financial ones put forward by the Secretary for War, or contained in his order, that interferes with the discharge of bad men from the service; and there is nobody in the Army, from the colonel of a regiment to the Commander-in-Chief, who would not be only too glad to get rid of those men; and therefore, I repeat, it is too bad that Members of the Government should allow such statements to be made in this House unchallenged. The hon. Gentleman also stated that our police are better behaved than our soldiers. I would only ask him to try soldiers at a guinea a-week, and see whether he would not get better behaved men. The hon. Gentleman compared our soldiers with the men in Continental armies; but he must recollect that in Prussia men are taken, as it were, by the "scruff" of the neck for the Army, and when they are taken by force and by conscription, of course you may find men in the ranks of the Prussian Army who are just as well educated as any man in this House. But how is that to be done in this country by voluntary enlistment for 1*s.* 2*d.* per day? The hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Candlish) said this country is not in imminent danger, and therefore the right hon. Gentleman should abandon his Estimates. Well, but if you wait till the country is in imminent danger there will not be time to raise your Army. The hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) said he belonged to the Peace party, and enlarged much upon that; yet he desired that the Government should attend to British interests all over the world. I do not, however, quite understand how British interests all over the world are to be attended to unless you have something more than mere moral force—unless, in fact, you have some physical means of enforcing what is due to them. The hon. Member for Manchester said something disrespectful of treaties, and also spoke about maintaining international obligations; but he limited the international obligations which he would have us maintain to the Quixotic proceeding of asking the Governments of Europe to disarm. I will refer only to one other remark of the hon. Member for Sheffield. The hon. Gentleman said that among other things the Government have settled the Eastern Question. Now, I feel pretty sure that so far from settling they have only re-opened it. There is no doubt that what we went to war for was the closing of the Black Sea to the Russian fleet. Well, the Black Sea is now open again to that fleet; and, as far as the Conference is concerned, its result appears to me to be this, that we have deserted Turkey; that we have affronted France, by going into a Conference on the Black Sea Question when she was incapable of taking her rightful part in it; that we got a slap in the face from Russia, and that our Government invited the Plenipotentiaries of every Power in Europe to witness the insult offered to us.

MR. CARDWELL: I am indebted to the hon. and gallant Gentleman for reminding me of what had entirely escaped me; but there is no doubt that the indisposition to discharge bad men from the Army was entirely due to financial considerations, because it was feared that the men so discharged might obtain the bounty a second time. I had fully intended to say—and I am very glad to have this opportunity of saying — that having abolished the bounty, we have taken measures for expediting the removal of bad characters from the service.

SIR HENRY HOARE said, as he sat below the Gangway on the Ministerial side—the quarter from which the opposition to the present Estimates proceeded—he wished to state his reasons for supporting what he believed to be the excellent measure of the Government. He believed that a re-organization of the Army was necessary for the security of this country and the maintenance of its honour and influence. The fact that we had studiously avoided giving offence to foreign nations and refrained from mixing ourselves up with the war had not retained to us that amount of influence which we ought to possess in the councils of Europe, and had not removed that feeling of envy, jealousy, and hatred with which we are regarded. The present Lord Derby stated, during the winter, that if he knew what the policy of foreign nations was to be he would say what ought to be our military system; and the hon

Member for Chatham (Mr. Otway) said tell him what was our military system and he would state what our foreign policy would be. The hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) had said he wished to see the influence of this country always properly exerted in foreign affairs; but what had been the effect of the suggestion of this country that the indemnity levied by Prussia upon France should be reduced by £40,000,000? Nothing; but had our position been equal to the occasion our suggestion would have been differently received. The hon. Member had also said the Government listened to the voice of the London clubs rather than to the voice of the country; but what need had a Government with 100 majority to listen to the clubs? The proposals of the Government had been entirely misunderstood; one-third of the increased expenditure was for arms of precision, torpedoes, and such matters, the charge for which would not recur; another £1,500,000 would be expended in organizing Reserves, and as this expenditure would tend to the reduction of future charges it could be objected to by none.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 294; Noes 91: Majority 203.

LORD GARLIES said, he would not vie with the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) in the attempt to regulate the business of the House, nor would he, in a dramatic tone, tell the Secretary for War—"Take back your Estimates!" Holding views, however, on this subject which it would be impossible to state in Committee, he hoped he should be allowed to state them now. The right hon. Gentleman had stated very forcibly the objections to the purchase system, but that system was not proposed to be done away with under the Bill; it was to be continued, as far as he could make out, until the year 1906, and meanwhile the anomaly so much spoken about, of officers who had purchased their commissions serving beside other officers who had won their promotion, would continue to exist. The hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) had been kind enough to read a lecture to Members on the Opposition side of the House, saying that, instead of studying figures of rhetoric, it would be better for them to study figures of arithmetic—a remark which was rather a strong thing for a young Member to say, considering the elasticity of the figures which he himself had given upon platforms and in that House. The hon. Member had also indulged in a tirade upon the corruption existing in the United States of America. No doubt, corruption did exist there, and he himself had been very much struck with what he had witnessed in the course of an extensive tour in the United States. But there was another evil just as baneful in its way, and that was the evil of stump oratory. To the hon. Member, who prided himself on being the political bantling of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government, he might take the liberty of giving this bit of counter-advice — for they had been old schoolfellows at Harrow—"although stump oratory may serve a momentary purpose, it will never pay in the long run." He was himself desirous to hold to the motto of the Government, to combine efficiency with economy; but he denied that the principle now enunciated by them would tend to that end. It was not questioned for a moment that we ought to maintain our honour abroad. What the country required was a moderate but movable Army—four corps of 25,000 men each, which should be ready to embark at 48 hours' notice; and that not with attenuated squadrons and batteries half-horsed, but complete in every respect. His view of enlistment was that men should be passed through the different services—first, that they should be enlisted in the Regular Army; then, that the second period of service should be in the Militia, with liability to be recalled to the colours; and the third period in the Militia simply, for the home defence of the country. This would be carrying out the Prussian principle, and having the Landwehr and Landsturm in one. If this scheme were thought out by hon. Members he believed they would find that something could be said for it, especially in regard to its economical bearing. Another point was that which had been decided upon by the Government, to hold out a prospect to the men who would enlist on these terms of having something to retire upon in the end. Nothing would do more to secure efficiency in the Army than that. But what had the Government done for the immediate efficiency of the auxiliary force? for that was the main point, and he would suggest that the training of the Militia should be extended, at least, a fortnight in each year, in order that they might derive benefit from the camps of instruction which he was glad to find the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War intended to establish. He thought it was time the House should be informed where these camps of instruction were to be situated, how many it was proposed to establish, and what was to be the organization of the system. It was because he believed that the whole scheme of the Government was merely to abolish a system which had worked very well, in order to replace it by a system of selection which was odious in principle, and unworkable in practice, that he entreated the Government to consider the observations he had addressed to the House. The only effect of the Bill would, he believed, be the utter disorganization, instead of a salutary re-organization, of the British forces.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.
(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 135,047 Men (including an average number of 6,385 all Ranks to be employed with the Depôts in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland of Regiments serving in Her Majesty's Indian Possessions), be maintained for the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, from the 1st day of April 1871 to the 31st day of March 1872, inclusive."

MR. LEATHAM: Sir, I rise to move that the number of men be reduced by 20,000. I regret that I have to commence my remarks at so late an hour; but, in order to save time, I will read a quotation, containing so much practical wisdom and so many facts bearing on the Motion that I need not apologize for bringing it under the notice of the Committee. When the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War moved his Estimates, on the 9th of March last year, he thus expressed himself—

> "I have here a Return, showing what the force of this country has been at various times throughout a long list of years. I find some years in which the actual force may have been exceeded; but there is not one in which the force exceeded the force for which these Estimates provide, if you include the Reserves; and I think that under these circumstances it was the bounden duty of the Government to give to the British taxpayer the full benefit of the colonial reduction. I do not think it to the interest of the Army itself to maintain it at so high a standard as to give reasonable cause for complaint of the pressure of taxation; and I think that if we had hesitated to give the benefit of this remission to the British taxpayer, there would have been felt that impatience of taxation which is as ready to be expressed now, as it was in the time of Lord Castlereagh, but which is not to be called 'ignorant' impatience, because it is armed with knowledge—and knowledge now is power—and is capable of making itself felt. I contend, therefore, that we are fully justified in the reductions which we have made, and that in making them we have not, in the slightest degree, impaired the efficiency of our military establishments."—[3 *Hansard*, cxcix. 1166.]

That speech was delivered at a time when Europe was at peace, although it was well known that Prussia and France were arming against each other. On the 1st of August, 1870, however, the right hon. Gentleman returned to the same topic, and said—

> "I repeat now, what I said on a former occasion, that, from the time of the disarmament which followed the Battle of Waterloo down to the time of the Crimean War, there never has been any force in this country equal to the force provided for in the Estimates of the present year."—[*Ibid.* cciii. 1327.]

And he goes on to say—

> "Let me take two years since the Crimean War, and compare them with the present. . . . . I shall first take 1862, when there were very extensive armaments in this country. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli), in a speech which will be long remembered, spoke of them as extraordinary and extravagant, and the term 'bloated armaments' was applied to them. What was our position in 1862? We were then almost at war; we had sent the Guards to Canada on account of the *Trent* affair. . . . . In 1862 the number at home, exclusive of depôts, was 74,372, while this year it is 78,548."—[*Ibid.* 1327-8.]

The right hon. Gentleman then proceeded to institute a similar comparison with 1868—the model year of hon. Gentleman opposite—and showed that, on the same basis of calculation, the number in 1868 was 70,492, as against 78,548. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

> "But I will call the attention of this House to another statement. If we take the Regular forces, and combine with them the forces liable to service at home and abroad, with the single exception of the year 1856, when the forces raised for the Crimea were still unbroken and not reduced, there never was a force in this country available for service at home and abroad such as will be provided when the troops from the Colonies shall have arrived home. . . . I therefore conclude my observations by saying I rejoice that we are not at war, and I trust that we have no prospect either of war or of armed neutrality; but this I venture to say, that if we were upon the eve of a war, we might truly say that England never entered on a war finding her resources in material and men in a greater state of preparation than she finds them at present."—[*Ibid.* 1331-4.]

It may, perhaps, excite the surprise of the Committee if I remind them that, on the very day the Secretary for War made this complacent and re-assuring speech, the right hon. Gentleman the First Minister of the Crown came down to the House and announced that he was about to move for an additional force; the force, indeed, of 20,000 men to which the present Motion has reference. These men were not wanted because France and Prussia had gone to war, but because the *Projet de Traité* had given a shock to the public mind, and that many persons thought we might be called upon at any moment to interfere by force of arms to preserve the neutrality of Belgium against France. And it was in his reply to a speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli), who had called the special attention of the House to the existence of the draft Treaty, that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government made this announcement. Would the right hon. Gentleman contend, however, that the Belgian difficulty any longer existed? The Government was bound to state why a force raised to meet a particular emergency was retained in the Estimates long after that emergency had passed away. The speech of the Secretary for War, on introducing the Army Regulation Bill, contained no apology or argument for retaining these 20,000 men, who were silently permitted to take their place on the permanent establishment of the country, in spite of the express declaration of the right hon. Gentleman that "we had no dangers to apprehend." No dangers to apprehend, Sir! Then why are we asked to levy this vast additional fine upon the industry and prosperity of the country? "I want 135,000 Regulars," says the right hon. Gentleman. "I want 39,000 men of the Army Reserve; I want 139,000 Militiamen; I want 14,000 Yeomanry, and 170,000 Volunteers. I want, in all, nearly 500,000 men. I wish, at great expense, to consolidate this huge force into an efficient and disciplined Army. And why? Because we have no dangers to apprehend." And what has become of the right hon. Gentleman's solicitude for the feelings of the British taxpayer? "We are asking for £8,000,000 sterling, in order that we may abolish purchase," say the Government. "We are asking for £412,000 more than last year for the Militia; a big additional sum for the Army Reserve; a bigger additional sum for the Volunteers; for £1,000,000 more than last year for stores and guns." Now, what do all these vast sums represent? They either represent nothing but extravagance and folly, or they represent a corresponding addition to the defensive strength of the country. We were told last year that our preparations for war were unsurpassed; to those unsurpassed preparations we are adding everything which is represented by these vast sums. Yet we cannot spare a single soldier from the Army; more than that, we are adding to it 20,000 men. What, then, becomes of all our preaching to foreign nations about disarmament, when at the first moment at which disarmament has become possible, we preach with such a text in our hands as this—"Look on us and be healed of your military fever. It is quite true that we avail ourselves of the first moment of peace enormously to swell our military budget. It is quite true that, although we now possess the only real Navy in the world, we go on building ships in breathless haste—faster, even, than we can send them to the bottom by the precipitate novelty of our inventions. It is quite true that, having been content for many years with a moderate Army—an Army sufficient to protect our own shores, but not large enough to be regarded as a standing menace to Europe—we have suddenly changed our policy, and talk of parading a force of 500,000 men before your eyes. It is quite true that we are doing all this under the advice of a Ministry whose watchword is 'Peace, retrenchment, and tenderness for the British taxpayer.' Attend not to what we do, but to what we say. Professions are everything. Don't mind our attitude; mind our Gospel. We are arming to the teeth; but that is only because we are a practical nation and have no dangers to apprehend." Sir, these are the Estimates of panic. They were framed to meet the exigencies of a state of public feeling which may have existed three months ago, but which certainly does not exist now. Does anybody doubt that in three months the panic will have so far subsided as to have left the right hon. Gentleman and his Estimates high and dry? Proof of this change of feeling is not far to seek. Three months ago it was perfectly possible, without risking one's reputation for sanity, to talk of turning England into one great camp; of raising 2,000,000 bayonets; of introducing here the Prussian military system. Three months ago it was not accepted as evidence of post-prandial inebriation if Our Own Correspondents wrote letters from Versailles, detailing Prussian projects of invasion, upon bridges of boats 30 miles long. But if any hon. Member were to talk now of turning England into a great camp, he would at once become an object of anxiety to his friends; if he were to talk of raising 2,000,000 bayonets, and of introducing the Prussian compulsory system, he would probably receive an early call from a couple of psychological physicians; and if Our Own Correspondent were to appear in public with that bridge of boats of his in his bonnet, public ridicule would compel him to seek a congenial shelter within the sanctuary of Bedlam. And since this is so, and since we may now calculate by weeks or by days our complete return to one of our lucid intervals—one of those revulsions of common sense, during which the British taxpayer dreads no invasion whatever, except that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is cause for astonishment—I must say more than that, it is cause for profound regret to me and many hon. Members of this House—to find that an Administration which started so fairly, with such high resolves and such magnificent promises, should distance, in extravagance of military expenditure, even the lavish Government which it displaced. Why what was the accusation which the right hon. Gentleman the First Minister bore before him, as though inscribed upon a banner, all through his great South Lancashire campaign? Was it not this—"The Government of the right hon. Gentleman opposite has added £3,000,000 to the permanent expenditure of the country within two years?" It was upon this *cheval de bataille* that the right hon. Gentleman went ambling and prancing from one end of South Lancashire to the other. The right hon. Gentleman comes into power; he ousts the Government of right hon. Gentlemen opposite on the ground that they are spendthrift; and at the first access of one of those melancholy paroxysms of alienation of mind, to which a certain portion—and not the wiser portion, of the British public is periodically subject, the right hon. Gentleman makes the paroxysm his own, and at one bound, in one year, and in dealing with one branch alone of our expenditure, he achieves that augmentation of £3,000,000 which it was the head and front of the offending of the right hon. Gentleman opposite that he achieved in two years, and while dealing with the whole area of national expense. I have the words of the right hon. Gentleman here, taken from a speech of his at Warrington. What he says is this—

> "I come back to the charge, and I repeat what I have said—£3,000,000 have been added to the public permanent expenditure, without taking into view one farthing of the millions that have been expended on the Abyssinian war."

He then goes on to say—

> "It is divided roughly, in this way, £1,400,000 for the Army, £600,000 for the Navy, and £1,000,000 for the Civil Service. You may have seen ingenious efforts to draw away the attention of the public from the real question at issue by such doctrines as this—that the services of the country, the military and naval services, were in an inefficient state, and that the money has been spent in order to make them efficient. You won't misunderstand me when I tell you that if you intend to have any limit at all put upon the expenditure of the country, it is high time that you should stand upon your guard against 'efficiency.'"

I do not propose to enliven this debate by a quotation of parallel passages from speeches delivered by the right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues, but there is one speech which I cannot pass over so lightly. It is a speech delivered by a Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman—by a right hon. Friend of mine who is no longer a Member of the Cabinet, and who, I rejoice to think, is no longer responsible for these Estimates, for if he were there would have passed a blight upon his reputation as a public man. [An hon. MEMBER: No, no!] An hon. Member says "No, no," but let him hear what my right hon. Friend said. I am about to quote from a speech delivered at Birmingham, when he had gone down to be re-elected after taking office under the right hon. Gentleman, and I beg my hon. Friend's attention to the exact words he used. My right hon. Friend said—

> "Now there comes one other, and it is the only other, great public question on which I shall say anything, and that is the question of our large and, as I think, our scandalous expenditure. It will be necessary for the Administration, to entitle itself to the support of the country, that it should from Session to Session exercise a rigid economy—lessen sensibly what I call our gross and scandalous expenditure, and lessen, in a corresponding degree, the oppressive and intolerable taxation which now sits upon the English people. Since the unfortunate event, the war with Russia in 1854, the cost of the military organization of the country has increased, as you know, enormously; and at the same time the people have come to the opinion that our ancient policy of interfering with the disputes and the confusion of the Continent ought to be abandoned. What can be more mad, what more worthy not of sensible men, but of lunacy itself, than that, when we are abandoning a policy of constant, and incessant, and costly, and sanguinary, interference, we should still find it necessary to add millions and millions to our military expenditure, as if, instead of becoming wiser in our foreign policy, we were every year becoming more foolish than our fathers had been? Rely upon it, that so long as Parliament exacts from the industry of this people £70,000,000 a-year, there is no power on earth that can raise your poor and suffering population from its present position. Let me tell you this—I say it as a Member of this Administration which is just formed, and I tell you nothing here that is a secret, as you know—that no Government is deserving of the confidence and of the support of the people of this country which cannot carry on the administration of the country in a manner consistent with the dignity and the security of the nation for a smaller sum than £70,000,000 a-year."

What a satire was that speech upon such Estimates as these! Before I sit down, I will deal with one or two of the excuses we shall probably hear for the retention of this Vote. We shall be told that we want these 20,000 men to protect us from foreign aggression. Aggression from whom? Never in the memory of the present generation has this country been so absolutely secure from foreign invasion as it is at this moment. Let the right hon. Gentleman sweep the whole horizon for danger. Let him bring to bear upon any portion of it he pleases the powerful telescope of his imagination, and where will he find it? On the side of France? We all regret what has happened in France. In the midst of that regret, there is only one little drop of selfish consolation, and it is this—that the bugbear of French invasion—a bugbear so costly and disastrous to this country—has absolutely disappeared. But mark with what promptitude one nightmare leaps into the place of another, the moment that that place is free. The danger is now from Germany. And, pray, how are the Germans to arrive in this country? Will they charter the British Fleet? I remember reading somewhere that the ants—which by-the-by are the Germans of the tropics, since they stick at nothing and eat up everything—when they are going upon one of their great devouring expeditions, so far condescend to imitate the human species as to march in column. This column extends for miles, and when the head of it reaches the brink of a river, such is the devotion of these little creatures to their sense of duty, or their love of glory, or their appetite for green vegetables, that they immediately plunge into it. Half a mile of ants perish in the process, but the column eventually emerges on the other side of the stream, marching sedately over a dam formed by the bodies of the pioneers. Are we asked to believe that the Germans, who already resemble the ants in so many particulars, will resemble them also in this, and that we shall see the Prussians arriving at Dover, walking and leaping and praising God over the corpses of defunct Saxons and Würtembergers, to whom on this occasion, as on so many others, they will, no doubt, surrender, at great personal sacrifice to themselves, the post of honour at the head of the column? But, jesting apart, I remember a speech of Lord Palmerston's upon invasion—and we all know to our sorrow how great an authority he was upon this subject—in which he said—

> "If France were a country separated from our own by an impassable barrier; if France had no Navy—I should say that all this was a matter in which we had no concern."

What was a matter in which we had no concern? The gigantic military preparations of France. Lord Palmerston's hypothetical case has been realized in the case of Germany—a vast Army—no means whatever of transport; yet this is a reason for adding £3,000,000 to your Military Estimates. But it might be said that we want these 20,000 men to protect us not from invasion, but from the possibility of panic. That is an old argument; we have heard it whenever we have been asked to take a great stride forwards in military extravagance. We heard it when the Militia were embodied; when the fortification scheme was broached; when it was proposed to enrol the Volunteers. We have our Militia, our fortifications, our Volunteers, and we have our panics. Panics occur, as experience proves, precisely at those periods when their occurrence is the most irrational. We have only to pile up preparations for defence, and we are sure to have a panic. But, perhaps, I shall be told that we want these 20,000 men in order that we may maintain our position of authority in Europe; have a finger in every pie, and get a scratch or a tumble in everybody else's quarrel. But with what measure of authority will 20,000 men entitle you to interfere in the disputes of the armed monarchies of Europe? And if they could, what then? This policy of perpetual interference is the ambition of nations which cannot be great at home. It is the resource of Governments which desire that the public eye may be fixed upon anything except themselves. It was the ambition and the resource of the nation and Government of France; and how did it all end? Yet, with the lesson of France still reeking before our eyes, we are asked to go and play at Frenchmen—and to play at Frenchmen with 20,000 men. Sir, I have formed quite another estimate of the duty and ambition of England. Providence has placed the sea for ever between us and that insatiable greed of dominion which distracts and torments some of the peoples and princes of the Continent, in order that while they fight and scramble for a treacherous pre-eminence we may obtain a real and lasting one—pre-eminence in civilization, in order, in prosperity, in freedom; pre-eminence in everything which the hopes and aspirations of just men may rest upon, or the smile of Heaven descend.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 115,047 Men (including an average number of 6,385 all Ranks to be employed with the Depôts in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland of Regiments serving in Her Majesty's Indian Possessions), be maintained for the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, from the 1st day of April 1871 to the 31st day of March 1872, inclusive." — (*Mr. Leatham.*)

Mr. CARDWELL: I do not intend to occupy, at any length, the time of the Committee in answer to my hon. Friend; but I beg to assure him that there is no ambitious policy on the part of the Government in this proposal, and that I am as sorry as any person possibly can be that there should be any necessity for an increase of the Estimates. But the question is, whether it be the pleasure of the House to accept the proposal of Her Majesty's Government or to diminish the Vote by 20,000 men. Let us just consider the position in which we are placed. My hon. Friend did me the honour to quote some remarks which I made last year in moving the Estimates. If the Estimates were to be moved again under the same circumstances, I should make the same remarks. But the question to-night is this, that it is expedient, owing to the occurrences of the last autumn, to add 20,000 men to the military force of the country, and my opinion is that it is part of an economical policy that you should have a force so constituted that when circumstances vary, and emergencies arise, you may vary the cost and increase the force rapidly. Now, that 20,000 men to which my hon. Friend objects have been distributed among the artillery, the cavalry, and the infantry, with one or two minor forces. With regard to the 5,000 men which had been added to the artillery, I will just ask my hon. Friend whether he thinks it would be wise, with the knowledge we have acquired from the events which have occurred in Europe, to return to the state in which our artillery was before those events occurred? As for the cavalry, it has been increased to a small amount, but is still as small a force as any nation of any importance possesses. Then we come to the 12,000 men added to the infantry. I have already explained in the earlier part of the evening that if you discharged any of those men you would inflict a blow both on efficiency and economy. I can only repeat what I have said earlier in the evening, that when these men are offered the option of joining the Reserve, and certain portions are borne on the books of the regiments, it will be a fair question for the consideration of the Government whether, under the circumstances of the time, it is necessary to fill their places or not. I believe the House of Commons is of the same mind now as it was when it voted the 20,000 men last Session, and that we should not receive the approval of the Committee if we accepted the Amendment of my hon. Friend.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, that he had resisted the Vote for increasing the Army by 20,000 men six months ago, and he believed that there were a great many Members who regretted that they had not given him their support. Circumstances were now changed. What had we to fear from Germany? Surely the Germans, after their late successes, were satiated with glory, and a nation with every other household in mourning was not likely to wish to renew war. Nothing was calculated upon, that had been previously done, and the discussion proceeded as if no preparations had been made. The Queen's Speech had assured them that they were on good terms with all nations, and yet they were now asked to sanction this expensive Vote. Sir Robert Peel, speaking in 1850, after retiring from office, said he believed that, as regarded our military forces in time of peace, we must be content to incur some risk. It was absolutely essential that, when Ministers came down to the House with such a proposal as this, they should tell the House distinctly of whom it was that they were afraid. The Government had conducted foreign affairs so as to secure almost universal approval. He asked the House not to trust to mere military force, but to seek to promote the interests of truth and justice. He asked the Government to re-consider these Estimates, and to act in the spirit of their own former professions.

MR. NEWDEGATE: I am not at all surprised at the Motion of the hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham), who, to use the language of his hon. Relative (Mr. Bright), has always been the strenuous opponent of what he describes as unnecessary armaments. Sir, I believe that Her Majesty's Government have done their duty by the country, and that such is the opinion of the House, in proposing an increase of our armaments; but let them consider for a moment what has occurred in the course of this Session. They have coupled the proposal of increased Estimates with another proposal for the expenditure of from £8,000,000 to £10,000,000 in order to abolish the purchase of commissions in the Army. They hold forth to the country the prospect of an increased retirement for the officers who serve in the Army, and the smallest amount at which I have heard that increased retirement stated is £500,000, and the capital which £500,000 a-year represents is £15,000,000 per annum. £10,000,000, then, for purchasing out the commissions in the Army, and £15,000,000, the capital required for the retired allowances, make £25,000,000; and that is the amount to be expended before we commence Army re-organization. Now, Sir, I have never agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham in his wholesale denunciation of armies; but I warn Her Majesty's Government that the opinions of the right hon. Gentleman, their late Colleague, have found a reflex in different parts of the country; and I question the policy of the Government in proposing an expenditure equal to £25,000,000 sterling, for the purpose of accomplishing a re-organization of the regimental system which is so unpopular on this side of the House, among Gentlemen who have generally furnished support to all necessary increase of our armaments, that we have had five nights of debate in opposition to the scheme. It is my belief, also, that the objections taken on this side of the House are perfectly well-founded; that they are founded, moreover, upon grounds which have never been touched upon during the debate, and that the change proposed is calculated to render the Army unpopular in the country. When the right hon. Gentleman the Controller-General of the Ordnance (Sir Henry Storks), spoke upon this subject, he adverted to the 1st clause of the Mutiny Act, by which Parliament has retained in its own hands the maintenance of a standing Army; and the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that the feeling which dictated that jealousy has passed away for ever. Fortunately, owing to the peculiar organization of our Army, owing to the great merit of the regimental system, there has been no manifestation of jealousy for many years; but it is my belief that, by this costly experiment which you contemplate making, by this change in the regimental system, by this depriving that system of its elements of independence—an independence consistent, as the Controller-General knows, with the most perfect discipline—you will so alter the constitution of the Army as possibly to produce an increase of efficiency, but, in my opinion, with the certainty of rendering the Army much less popular in the country than it was before. If we are to have an Army we must keep it in time of peace, in order to be prepared for war; and one of the great merits of the English Army has hitherto been that the purchase system—the fact that every officer is not only a volunteer, but pays for being a volunteer—has done more to reconcile the people of this country to the expense—the vast expense—of the existing Army, than any one circumstance with which I am acquainted. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Huddersfield has alluded to the views entertained by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, the late Colleague of the Government. I have been in a position to feel the power of that right hon. Gentleman's former appeals against the Army; and, therefore, I feel justified in warning the House that they must be very careful, when making any change in the constitution of the Army, not to sacrifice, in their anxious desire for securing efficiency, those elements which identify the Army with the feelings of the people by preserving prominently before their eyes the fact that every officer is not only a volunteer but a citizen identified with the great body of the people in every respect. The House will, perhaps, forgive me, if I take a glance for one moment at what is occurring on the other side of the water. Sir, no man can point to a period when the officers of the English Army have been murdered by their own soldiers. But that is one of the melancholy characteristics of the system which prevails in France, and it has lately received a fresh illustration. Well, upon what principle is the change now proposed by Her Majesty's Government in the regimental system of the English Army founded? Sir, it is founded upon the French system. Who is the chief promoter of that system in this House? The hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan). And from whence did he obtain the scheme? We have it in evidence; we have it in the evidence given before the Royal Commission of 1858 that he took the scheme from his own father. Here is the evidence that Sir Charles Trevelyan recommended the abolition of the system of purchase with a view to assimilating the regimental system under which officers are appointed in the English Army, to the system according to which they are appointed in the armies of France. I will not quote the particular passage in the evidence; but I beg to refer hon. Gentlemen to the Report—the first document issued by the Commissioners in the year 1858—where they will find in the evidence given by Sir Charles Trevelyan, that he recommended a change on the system of appointing officers in the English Army, and an approximation to the French system; and he gives his reasons, some of which have already been stated in this House. He assumed the existence of inefficiency among the officers of the English Army. He said that the French Army was superior to that of England in what is called the *Intendance*—that is to say, the civil departments of the Army; and he attributed the breakdown of our Commissariat and the medical and other branches of the Civil Service in the Crimea to deficiencies on the part of the regimental officers. Was ever anything more unjust? Sir Charles Trevelyan himself had been identified with those civil departments; but, stung by their failure, he sought to saddle on the regimental officers the failure of his own department. At this late hour of the night I will not quote; but I hold the evidence in my hand, and I say that, with all the warnings that we receive from hour to hour of the total breakdown of the French military system, not only as a system for resisting a foreign enemy, but as a system for the maintenance of order at home, I deprecate this expenditure of a sum equivalent to £25,000,000 sterling for a purpose which I firmly believe will render the English Army far less popular than it is at present with the English people. In the proposition which is now made to us by the hon. Member for Huddersfield, you see an evidence that the feeling expressed in the Preamble to the Mutiny Act may revive, and that we may again have to contend against objections to a standing Army. The more you adopt the system of selection, the more you render the officer the mere nominee and servant of some military chief, the less popular will that officer become. It has been said that, in the plan proposed by the Government, we are copying the Prussian system. Sir, it is not true. In the same Report to which I have referred you have this evidence—that in the Prussian service, instead of providing for the removal of officers from one corps to another, every single regiment is treated as a unit, and the officers appointed to a regiment must first serve as cadets in it, so that their qualities and disposition may be known to their brother officers after that trial. Are such men appointed officers by mere selection? No; they must be recommended by the colonel of the regiment, and even that is not of itself enough. [" Question !"] Sir, the question before the House is, whether the House is prepared to express the opinion adverse to the maintenance of the Army which is now proposed? [" Question !"] That, I say, is the question. And I am endeavouring to show the House that we are not copying the Prussian system; but that it is the French system, which is the system of organization suggested by Her Majesty's Government. Because, let it be remarked, that the Prussian Army is popular with the country. And why is it popular? Because no officer can be appointed to a regiment unless he has been first tried as a cadet, and when he has been tried as a cadet he has to be received by his brother officers, whose formal consent to his appointment to the regiment is a necessary preliminary. Now, in the purchase system of our own Army you have this to a certain extent. [" Question !"] I am not surprised that the hon. Members opposite should object to my producing facts, which have not before been referred to in the course of these debates. They are awkward facts; they are not to be disposed of by a cry of " Question," and they have never yet been touched upon in debate. No doubt it would be more agreeable for hon. Gentlemen to proceed with the Army Organization Bill, and to ignore these facts; but I feel it to be my duty, whilst prepared to resist the Motion under the consideration of the House, to warn Her Majesty's Government, and to warn this House, that by the system they are sanctioning they will impart a strength to such Motions as the one now made for the reduction of the Army, which hereafter they will find it very difficult to resist. I totally disagree with the proposal made by the hon. Member for Huddersfield. I believe that the convulsed state of France, preliminary as the revolutions in that country in former years have been to foreign aggression, points to the necessity of exercising caution in regard to England. I have no fear of aggression on the part of Germany, for the present at least; she must be pretty well exhausted; but we have had, and may continue to have, serious differences with other great Powers that are not exhausted in warfare. There are great Powers in Europe which may take advantage of existing circumstances. I believe that Her Majesty's Government are thoroughly justified in the increase they propose, and I hope they will not take it in bad part from me when, having felt the force of the appeals which have been made by the right hon. Gentleman their former Colleague against the maintenance of a standing Army, I warn them that by the new system which they are about to adopt they will strengthen the feeling upon which that right hon. Gentleman acted, and render it hereafter more difficult for us on this side of the House to support successive Governments in the maintenance of an adequate force, than we have ever found it before.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 74; Noes 304: Majority 230.

Original Question again proposed.

Lord ELCHO, who had a Notice on the Paper of a Motion to reduce the number by 10,000 men, said, he would defer proposing his Motion until the Report, which was to be brought up To-morrow. His object was to give 5,000 of the 10,000 men to the artillery, and to add 30,000 men to the Militia Reserve, which might be done for less expense than would be requisite for the maintenance of a very much smaller force of Regular troops.

Colonel BARTTELOT said, it had always been usual to go into detailed criticism on these Estimates, and complained that this Session no opportunity whatever had been afforded of doing so.

Mr. CARDWELL explained that the principal cause of the delay in entering upon the discussion of the Estimates was the length of time occupied by the debate on the Army Regulation Bill.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) 1,760 Native Indian Troops.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,411,900, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge of Pay, Allowances and other Charges of Her Majesty's Land Forces at Home and Abroad, exclusive of India, which will come in course of payment from the 1st day of April 1871 to the 31st day of March 1872, inclusive."

Mr. RYLANDS suggested that a Vote should be taken on account, as there were many matters to be discussed in relation to the charge.

Mr. CARDWELL observed that the money was actually wanted.

Mr. LEA moved to omit the item of £37,231 estimated for Army agency, which he maintained was part and parcel of the purchase system, and ought therefore to be abolished along with it. He considered the sum one which the country ought not to be called upon to pay, and in support of his opinion quoted the evidence given before the Committee of 1850, by Sir J. Anderson, Sir R. Kirby, and other witnesses. There was no such charge in the Navy Estimates, and he saw no ground for the charge in the case of the Army.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Item of £37,231, for 'Agency,' be omitted from the proposed Vote."—(*Mr. Lea.*)

Captain VIVIAN assured his hon. Friend that this subject had not escaped the notice of the Secretary at War. The Accountant General had been desired to inquire into the whole system of the employment of agents in the Army, and his Report was to the effect that there was no reason why arrangements should not be made to economize both time and money by the payment of the men at the War Office. So far as the men were concerned, agency would, therefore, cease. With respect to officers the case was different. Officers, particularly the junior officers, derived considerable benefit from agents. It might, indeed, be asked why the public should pay for that; but it should be recollected that subalterns were badly paid, and that private bankers would certainly not take their accounts. Part of the duties of agents had reference to effecting exchanges and sales, and it would be premature for the Secretary of State to take any action in that direction until the question of the abolition of purchase was finally settled by the House. But the immediate effect of abolition would be to take a very large sum off the Estimate, and eventually to reduce the charge to a very small sum indeed. Sir John Kirkland for a number of years had performed the duties of general agent, receiving a salary of £1,300, and since his death that was discontinued. This year it was excluded from the Estimates. The sum charged therefore had been very largely decreased, and eventually, with the abolition of purchase, it would probably entirely disappear. Of course, it would be improper that gentlemen having large establishments which had been created for the public benefit should be called upon to abolish them at once. With this explanation he hoped the hon. Member would not consider it necessary to press his Motion to a Division.

Colonel NORTH enumerated the duties of Army agents, and asked whether those duties would be discharged by the War Office. At all events, the agencies ought not to be deprived of their business without due notice.

Mr. TREVELYAN expressed his satisfaction with the explanation made on the part of the Government.

Colonel NORTH repeated his question, and insisted upon being told who was to attend to the interests of the orphans and widows of officers, and, if the agents, who was to pay them?

Captain VIVIAN replied that the War Department would undertake the duties of agency for the men without any addition to its staff, and that the interests of officers, of widows, and of orphans would continue, for the present, to be attended to by agents, who would be paid, as heretofore, by a Vote in the Estimates.

Lord ELCHO asked what would be the saving effected on the present Estimate from withdrawing the payment of the men from the agents?

Captain VIVIAN said, the saving effected, including the salary of the general agent, £1,350, would be £10,946.

Mr. TREVELYAN wished to know whether he was right in supposing that the Vote was to be reduced gradually until it disappeared?

Captain VIVIAN said, the agents would for the present continue to receive a small sum from the Votes for conducting the business of officers; but it remained with the Secretary for War to say how long that arrangement should continue.

Captain BEAUMONT said, he thought the agency system was of great benefit to the officers, and he believed that all officers were quite willing to pay the small tax which was imposed upon them on this account, in order to get the benefit of that system.

Mr. LEA said, he thought it necessary to press the Amendment, because it was proposed to save no more than £10,000 out of £37,000, and no reason had been given why Army officers should receive £27,000 a-year, when Navy officers did not receive a penny.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 87; Noes 160: Majority 73.

Original Question again proposed.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Mr. Dodson—I rise, Sir, to propose, not a reduction, but an increase of the Army—an increase, however, which will be acceptable even to my hon. Friend the Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham), as it is an increase that will not raise the number of men voted, and that will diminish the charge upon the nation by many thousands of pounds. The proposal, Sir, that I have to make is, that two regiments of decorative cavalry should be converted into the same number of men of useful cavalry of the Line. What the real saving to the country by this step would be I am unable to tell the Committee. On Vote 1 we should save £14,730; on Vote 11 the saving would be £3,120, or £17,850 upon these two Votes alone. But, on a multitude of other items, it is impossible for a private Member to discover the difference of cost between Household Cavalry and cavalry of the Line. Accordingly, Sir, I confine myself to that which I can prove, and move a reduction of this Vote by £14,730. If this reduction be carried, it will involve a reduction of Vote 11. Now, Sir, I will try and show the Committee in what manner I obtain the figures I have used; and first of this Vote. Of the Household Cavalry, in all ranks there are 1,302; of cavalry of the Line 11,065. The "pay and allowances" of the former are £81,054, and of the latter £501,052. This gives £62 5*s.* per man in the former, and £45 5*s.* 7*d.* in the latter, or a difference on this Vote alone of £16 19*s.* 5*d.* a man. The clothing of the Household Cavalry costs £10,470, and that of the cavalry of the Line £49,177, which gives £8 0*s.* 9*d.* a man for the former, and £4 8*s.* 10*d.* for the latter, or a difference of £3 11*s.* 11*d.* a man on Vote 11; making a difference on these two Votes together of £20 11*s.* 4*d.* per man. I must add that the Blue men cost less than the Red men by several shillings a-piece, so probably the latter are supposed to be the best for decorative purposes. This is a point of æsthetics I must leave to my noble Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho), or to the hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. B. Hope). We have, then, on Vote 1, £16 19*s.* 5*d.* a man, and on Vote 11, £3 11*s.* 11*d.* a man, or £20 11*s.* 4*d.* on these two Votes alone; a sum which, multiplied by 868—the number of all ranks in two regiments out of the three—gives £17,852, all but a few shillings, as the saving on these two Votes which would be effected by increasing the Army by two regiments of real cavalry. Now, Sir, a word or two as to the value of the Household Cavalry as they stand. What are they for? Are they troops? are they bodyguard? are they policemen? If they are troops, I deny their value. I will say nothing against heavy cavalry in general, although in the late war heavy cavalry was only used twice against good troops, and on both occasions were destroyed. I refer to the total destruction of M'Mahon's heavy cavalry at Woerth, and the almost complete ruin of the Prussian heavy cavalry at Mars la Tour on the 16th of August last. Still, I will not go into the merits of heavy cavalry, because my contention is that the Household Brigade are bad heavy cavalry, and I appeal to any officer of dragoons whether that is not so. In all the points where they cost more than cavalry of the Line, the extra cost causes loss, not gain. The men are too tall. The accoutrements are too heavy. With modern rifles the regiments would be destroyed before they could execute a charge. They have not been on foreign service since Waterloo—a battle at which they achieved distinction. But at that time they were not composed of such tall and weedy men as at the present day. A gentleman who knew Shaw, the Lifeguard's hero, has assured me that he, for instance, was a man of middle size, who would answer to our dragoon rather than to our guardsman. Their size is bad; their weight is bad; their arms are bad; and it has been justly said that if meant for soldiers they are as "obsolete as men-at-arms." The fact is that they are not picked for soldiers at all. They are picked for ornamental purposes, and for ornament they are good. Well, Sir, if they are not meant for troops, are they meant for guards? If so, I object to their number. One regiment would be ample for any purpose of this nature that can be conceived, and one regiment I would ask the Committee to have. There are no body-guards in Prussia; and under the costly Empire there were but 220 "cent" guards in France. The Household Brigade used to be guards once—in the time of William III., and even of George I.—but they are neither used nor needed now in this capacity. As guards of escort they are little used, for, as is well known, they cannot go the pace, and Lancers or Hussars are generally sent for to escort the Queen. Still, on this point I do not wish to press their total inutility, and I content myself with saying that one regiment is enough. The third ground on which the Household Cavalry are defended is, that they are good police. Well, where is the proof of this? They were employed to take Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower, when no need for their serious services arose. They were called out at the funeral of Queen Caroline, when their commander—I think Sir Thomas Wilson—refused to charge the mob, and so cause loss of life, and was, in consequence, dismissed the service. Their third campaign since Waterloo was on the 10th of April, 1848, when they rode about London behind the Duke of Wellington, and the Chartists did not come; and their fourth, and last, great victory was when they were engaged against Mr. Beales, near the Marble Arch, and were good-humouredly laughed at by the mob. In the old days of the Chartists they were needed in London to put down riots that would now be far better dealt with by our drilled police. They are gentle with the people, it is said; but so are, in general, English troops—as, witness the conduct of the Lancers in Ireland the other day. So, too, are the police. So are all well-disciplined men. But the difficulty of using heavy cavalry against a mob is that they will be nearly useless, or that they must ride down and destroy. As far as great riots are concerned, they would be liable to be cut off when they are placed in the heart of London. If you reduced them by two regiments, the cavalry of the Line, that would replace them, need not be kept in London, if you kept the one regiment in the outskirts. Why not at Greenwich Hospital, as my hon. Friend the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) once, I think, proposed? In this way you would gain the most valuable sites in London by the change. We hear talk of destroying Knightsbridge Barracks to put the Guards into a singular habitation—the Penitentiary at Millbank. By all means pull down Knightsbridge Barracks if you will; but to send Household Cavalry once more into the heart of London would be a sad mistake. I beg, Sir, without more ado, to move this reduction with the view, not of reducing the Army, but of increasing it by two regiments, with a saving of £20,000 a-year. I beg, Sir, to move the reduction of Vote 1 by £14,730.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,397,170, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge of Pay, Allowances, and other Charges of Her Majesty's Land Forces at Home and Abroad, exclusive of India, which will come in course of payment from the 1st day of April 1871 to the 31st day of March 1872, inclusive."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

Mr. CARDWELL said, there could be no doubt that the lessons of the late campaign were as important in respect of the composition and use of cavalry as in any other respect. The attention of the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief had been especially directed to this subject, with a view of considering what improvement in our cavalry that experience suggested—and in this consideration the Household Cavalry would not be overlooked. The proportion of our cavalry was extremely small, and it was not desirable to reduce it. No doubt great use had been made by the Prussians of light cavalry; but he believed it was the opinion of the Prussian officers that great value also attached to heavy cavalry. The proper course was to review our cavalry, both light and heavy, with the aid of the experience of the late campaign, so soon as the result of that experience should be fully known; and he trusted that whenever again the Household Cavalry should be called upon for active service, they would be found ready and able to render as efficient service as they had rendered at Waterloo.

CAPTAIN TALBOT said, he was sorry to trouble the Committee at that hour of the morning, but he could not allow the speech of the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke) to pass without reply. He had noticed one peculiarity amongst so-called Army reformers since they had sprung into notoriety, and that was, a great carelessness in their statements, great inaccuracy, often want of knowledge of their subject, and accompanied with great bitterness of expression. He trusted, nay, was sure, he should be able to show the Committee, that in everyone of these qualities, the speech of the hon. Member differed little from the speeches of those sitting immediately around him. In speaking of cavalry, he would suggest to those Gentlemen, whose only knowledge of horses was derived from the hunting field, and the usual uses they were put to in civil life, that they could make no comparison between a troop-horse and a hunter. They did not require the former to go at a great speed for mile after mile, jumping fences, probably the greatest strain that could be put upon the powers of a horse. A troop-horse had to carry a great weight often for many hours, but the speed was seldom beyond a good trot, except on occasions and for a comparatively short distance. The two were not comparable, and, therefore, the only means of instituting a relative test of our cavalry was by comparing it with that of other countries. Take the Prussian cavalry, which was acknowledged to have done such great service in the past war. He confessed he never was more astonished than when the hon. Member asserted that the heavy cavalry had done little in the late war, and though upon occasions they had shown great gallantry, great sacrifices had been the consequence and no great results. Prussian cavalry was essentially heavy; they had no really light cavalry. He would give one or two extracts from newspaper correspondents in the late war—

> "A comparison between the British cavalry and the Prussian is given as follows:—An opinion appears to prevail in England that a Uhlan is a light cavalry man, and that his ubiquity is owing to his lightness. The fact is, the Uhlans are heavy cavalry, coming next in ponderosity to the Cuirassiers. Roughly, the relations between the Prussian and British cavalry may be said to be as follows: the illustration may be useful to professional men:—Prussian Cuirassiers equal our household troops, but with an infusion of slightly shorter men; Uhlans equal to British heavy cavalry, that is, 1st and 2nd Dragoons, and 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards; Prussian Dragoons equal to British intermediate cavalry—namely, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, and 7th Dragoon Guards and Enniskillens—and the British Light Cavalry (Hussars and Lancers). The Prussians have no cavalry so light as our distinctively light cavalry regiments."

Again, from another paper—

> "The cavalry also was brilliant and solid. I see that, in opposition to the judgment of the best Prussian officers, an opinion has been expressed in certain journals against the employment of heavy cavalry. The heavy horse—Dragoons, Cuirassiers, and Uhlans—have been most useful, in fact, invaluable. Let me here correct a very general error at home. You seem to think that the Uhlan is a small active man on a small wiry horse. The horse may be small, but that is from necessity and not from choice. The Uhlan is a large man, armed with a heavy lance, sword, and side arm, larger upon the average than the men of the 9th Lancers, as I well remember them in India. It was cavalry—heavy cavalry principally—which saved the 18th Corps at Beaune la Rolande, and anyone who reads the despatches of the King and of his generals will see what an important part the cavalry, and generally the heavy cavalry, have played, and play in this campaign," &c.

He could give many extracts from papers, of what heavy cavalry had done, but thought it unnecessary. He would now give the comparative weights of Prussian and English cavalry. The former was upon the authority of Count Lehndorff, Master of the Horse to the Emperor of Germany, and the latter taken from an official book at the War Office by Captain Hozier—

> "Prussian Cuirassier, 22 stone 9 lbs; English Cuirassier, 21 stone 13 lbs; Prussian Uhlan, 20 stone 8 lbs; English Dragoon, 19 stone 6 lbs; Prussian Hussar, 19 stone 7 lbs; English Hussar, 19 stone or less."

So that in each instance the Prussians were heavier than the English. It had been said that our Household Cavalry never went upon escort, except upon State occasions; nothing could be more absurd or untrue; they constantly did so, and not later than yesterday the 2nd Life Guards formed a travelling escort.

It was only in going to and from the train in London that Her Majesty had been pleased to have escorts of the light cavalry, not because the Household Cavalry were unfitted, for surely if they could perform long escorts in the country the short distance in London would not affect them, but because already their work was very severe, and troops whose duties were not so severe were employed. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members below the Gangway might laugh. He was glad of it, as it would add force to what he had to say upon that subject. He should come to that laugh presently. If these regiments were so cumbrous, how was it that they went through exactly the same work at Aldershot as other regiments, and in a manner satisfactory to those in high command? Indeed, they were under a great disadvantage; for while, generally, drill-grounds were near barracks in London, their horses had 10 or 12 miles of road, in addition to their drill, and yet they were told that the horses wore better because they had less work. The principal other objection that had been made was on the ground of expense, and it was said that a considerable portion of this was owing to the more conspicuous uniforms. It was plainly shown in the Army Estimates that the expense of the dress of the Household Cavalry, including non-commissioned officers, was £8 15*s.* per annum, and out of this sum, saddlery and accoutrements had to be found, and repairs of every kind. It was difficult to make out the exact cost of a private in the Line cavalry from the Army Estimates; but he made his clothing and appointments amount to £5 2*s.* 6*d.*, to which should be added the cost of clothing establishments, share of non-commissioned officers' clothing, saddlery, &c., repairs of all kinds, and recruiting expenses, which he thought would be found to make a total not very far short of the Household Cavalry. There was a great difference in the cost, but it was almost entirely owing to the difference of pay. He calculated that a trooper in the Household Cavalry cost, in clothing, purchase of horses, forage, &c., fuel and light, £35 per annum. His pay at 2*s.* 0¼*d.* was £35, and dividing the extra pay, good-conduct pay, non-commissioned officers, officers, and honorary colonel among the troopers, made £30 more per man, or £100 altogether. Taking the cost of a dragoon, clothing, purchase of horses, &c., &c., as taken in other cases, at about £34, his pay at 1*s.* 5*d.* per day, amounted to nearly £26; extra pay, non-commissioned officers, officer, and honorary colonel £20, making a total of £80 per man, per annum. Thus, the difference between the two was almost entirely due to extra pay, and he should state, however, that a trooper in the Household Cavalry had to find his kit, amounting to some £5, upon joining, and that living in London was more expensive than in other quarters. What was obtained for this extra pay? He should call to his assistance the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) as his ally; for he that night had shown what soldiers ought not to be, and the change he hoped to effect. In the Household Cavalry crime was very rare, whether military or civil; drunkenness was exceptional, contagious disease in a smaller percentage. He could not give the figures of the three regiments; but they did not differ much. In the regiment in which he had the honour to serve, the average of courts-martial for 10 years was 1 per 1,000 per annum; cases of drunkenness, 2 per cent per annum; and of men suffering from contagious disease the average was 1 per cent always in hospital. The consequence was a larger proportion of men available for duty. Was this no small result to attain? A well-conducted, highly-disciplined body of men who, amidst the great temptations to which they were exposed, seemed to fulfil all the wishes of the hon. Member for Sheffield. He came now to the question of work. There was a laugh when he talked of their being hard-worked. He repeated it. He added that no troops except, perhaps, the Horse Artillery, had anything like the work of the troopers of the Household Cavalry. In London, one night in four, they were on night duty; one horse to clean daily, and every fourth day two horses. Their accoutrements required much more labour. The distance to drill already mentioned. Fatigue duties were heavier in proportion, owing to the smallness of the regiments, and besides all duties, escorts, &c., entailed upon them as Her Majesty's body guard. There was no miracle in the good behaviour of these troops. It was the result of good pay, which procured good men, and hard work and good discipline, to keep them out of mischief. There certainly was the power of discharging bad characters, but it was rarely exercised; and if it was a good principle, it was an excellent reason for extending it to other regiments, not for destroying regiments upon which the effect had been so good. And the House might be sure of one thing, that without fair pay it could not get the best men. The hon. Member had thought fit to criticize in bitter and bantering terms the efficiency of these regiments; but he thought the House would place greater confidence in the opinion of men in the position of Inspectors General, men who had real practical knowledge, and from their high position in their profession would be incapable of giving anything but candid reports. The hon. Member had appealed to the opinion of "the dragoons in this House." These inspecting officers had been officers from the Line cavalry, and he appealed to them. He wished these Reports could be made public; he could only say that year after year Reports had been made highly complimentary to the discipline and efficiency of these regiments. Even the hon. Member for the Border Burghs, in his unreasoning hatred for His Royal Highness Commanding-in-Chief, would not deny his qualifications as a cavalry officer to judge of cavalry. He trusted he should not do wrong in repeating what he said last year to two of these regiments. After testifying to their good condition and good drill, he concluded by saying—"In my opinion you are fit to go anywhere to do any duty you may be called upon to perform. Continue, as for many years past, your course of good military conduct, and you will be, as you have always been, the pride of the service" (these may not be the exact words, but they are very nearly so, and express exactly the sense intended), and then His Royal Highness again repeated his opinion as to the efficiency of the regiments for any duties. This was in August last, a somewhat critical moment. He would now conclude, but for one remark that fell the other night from the hon. Member for the Border Burghs, connecting the Household Cavalry with what he was pleased to call "the revels in Knightsbridge." Nothing could be more unfair than that. During the last 12 months he had, on the majority of nights, been along the street in question at all hours, sometimes early, sometimes late, and during that time he had only seen one trooper the worse for liquor, and very few men in the street at all; and it was well-known, and had often been remarked to him by gentlemen who lived in the neighbourhood, and who did know one soldier from another, that these men did not frequent these public-houses in large numbers, and those that did set an example of decent behaviour. [Mr. Trevelyan: I never said anything of the sort.] Of course, if the hon. Member denied it, he must apologize; but he certainly thought he made the remark. At all events, it fell from one of those near him. He protested against the unjustifiable attacks that had been made—attacks that could not be substantiated. The credit of a regiment was as dear to its members as the honour of a man should be to him; and it was most damaging to regiments and to the Army at large that hon. Members should cast a slur upon their efficiency and their good name. And he trusted the Committee by its vote that night, would show that these charges had not been in any way made out.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 51; Noes 168: Majority 117.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

POOR REMOVAL (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Downing, Bill to amend certain Acts of Parliament by which Boards of Guardians in England and of Supervision in Scotland, are empowered to remove to Ireland persons born in that country who may receive relief from the Poors Rate, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Downing, Sir Hervey Bruce, Colonel Knox, and Mr. Maguire.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 87.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 24th March, 1871.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Local Government Supplemental * (58).
Committee—Report—Stamp Act (1870) Amendment * (45); Income Tax Assessment * (48).
Third Reading—Prison Ministers * (53), and *passed.*

CHINA—THE TIEN-TSIN MASSACRE. TREATY OF 1858.

ADDRESS FOR PAPERS.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON, who had given notice to call the attention of the House to the Parliamentary Papers issued with reference to the Tien-tsin Massacre, and the relations of this country and China; and to move for Copies or Extracts of Correspondence relative to the revision of the Treaty of 1858, said, he would have been glad had any other noble Lord undertaken the task of calling the attention of the House to the Papers which had been published respecting the massacres at Tien-tsin; but since no other of their Lordships had undertaken to do so, and considering the importance of the subject and the mention of it in the Speech from the Throne at the commencement of the Session, he would crave the indulgence of their Lordships while he drew their attention to it. In doing so he would, in the first place, refer to some of the circumstances of the case, and then to the inferences naturally to be drawn from them. The former were probably so fresh in their Lordships' recollection that he need only briefly recapitulate them. Prior to the 21st of last June there had been rumours afloat of an unsatisfactory nature and some excitement prevailed. On the 21st, without warning, the gongs sounded, and a large number of Chinese, armed with weapons, rushed tumultuously to the French Consulate and afterwards attacked a religious establishment occupied by some Sisters of Mercy of French, English, Belgian, and Irish nationality. The French Consul was killed, as also his assistant and two French gentlemen and ladies, while the unfortunate Sisters of Mercy were murdered under circumstances of a revolting and fiendish nature. Not content with this, the mob wreaked their vengeance on the helpless bodies of the victims, and exhibited more of the passion of animals and devils than of men. Meanwhile, disciplined Chinese troops, with their officers, stood by, the local authorities were at least passive, and the Governor of the place, if not an actual participator in the crime, at all events attempted no kind of opposition. For some days afterwards the European community of Tien-tsin was left to itself, the local authorities being entirely quiescent, and it was probably owing only to their courage, and to the friendly assistance of an American captain, who showed the greatest humanity and courage, that the mischief spread no further. Such were the briefly stated facts of the case. The opinions as to the cause of these proceedings were very conflicting. Four theories had been started. It was attributed by some to a superstition on the part of the Chinese that the Sisters of Mercy were in the habit of kidnapping children for the purpose of using parts of their bodies in their *materia medica.* Others—and he thought the noble Earl opposite rather leant to this view, threw blame on the acts of the missionaries—whose general conduct was said to be such as to provoke the Natives to their deeds of violence. The third theory ascribed it to the general hatred of foreigners prevailing in China—some facts detailed in the Papers went to strengthen that suggestion—that the official classes were engaged in, and instigators of, the offence. The first of these suggested causes was obviously untrue—Mr. Wade, our *chargé d'affaires* at Pekin, who at first believed there might be some foundation for it, had entirely abandoned it. Moreover, the Chinese authorities admitted that no child had been kidnapped or purchased, or was missing. As to the second, he was quite aware that missionaries in China, like many other zealous people, sometimes acted imprudently; but it was only due to them to say that rather more blame had frequently been imputed to them than they deserved, and there was nothing in the Papers to warrant the belief that they were at all responsible in this case. As to the general hatred of foreigners, there were facts stated in the Papers which appeared to strengthen this theory. During the last year or two there had been outbreaks against foreigners at different places, sometimes successful, sometimes suppressed. In one instance the Governor of a Province issued a proclamation for the purpose of encouraging the belief that a drought had been caused by foreign trade in the rivers. Indeed, the decrees and proclamations put forth by authority had often been animated by feelings of the worst character. In the present case hatred of foreigners in general was manifested, for French and Russians both fell victims, and a day or two previously Dr. Fraser was mobbed, but being mounted escaped serious injury. In one of the few cases where the Chinese authorities had exercised a firm repression, one of them was assassinated in his public office. As to the fourth theory, it must be remembered that manifestations of animosity against foreigners had occurred both at Tien-tsin and in other parts of the Empire. For some time past placards had been put forth, with official connivance, if not authority, denouncing foreigners, and insinuating the grossest charges against them; pamphlets had been issued containing the vilest calumnies, and fans had been printed representing mandarins standing over the corpses of Europeans. There had, in fact, been that atmosphere of suspicion and animosity which generally preceded such outbreaks. Mr. Wade, who was certainly not prejudiced against the Chinese authorities, had himself stated that the Governor of Tien-tsin must have been aware that some such outbreak was in contemplation. Then the conduct of these officials was anything but satisfactory after the massacre had taken place. The officer appointed to conduct the inquiry arrived late at his post; the inquiry commenced late, 19 days, at least, being allowed to go by, and the first day's proceedings consisted of a charge against the Sisters of Mercy. What, meanwhile, was the action of the local authorities? The Mandarins immediately seized some native Chinese, and for 20 days subjected them to horrible tortures, in the hope, it must be assumed, of obtaining some exculpatory evidence. After this act of the drama had been completed, the magistrates themselves were called in question for their conduct, and were virtually allowed to escape with impunity. Mr. Wade anticipated that, when committed to prison, their sentence would be commuted to banishment, and that this would before long be remitted. What was the penalty inflicted on the undoubted murderers? Seven days were allowed to pass before any of the criminals were arrested. They were then brought to some kind of trial, and, finally, after a delay of three months, 15 were proposed to the representatives of the foreign Powers as fit and proper objects for execution. Mr. Wade protested against this as altogether inadequate, and the Chinese Government then proposed that four or five additional persons should be executed. Indeed, so unsatisfactory were the whole proceedings, that prior to the execution of the 15 criminals the representatives of England, the United States, Prussia, and Russia drew up a joint Protest, in which they said—

> "The undersigned think it their duty to say that this decision, taken after a delay of three months, is in no way satisfactory."

The execution was conducted in a manner at least suspicious. The criminals were not required to kneel, as was usual, and they were taken to the place of execution amid the plaudits of their friends, being considered as victims offering up their lives as public sacrifices to the hatred of foreigners. He was not surprised that Mr. Wade, in winding up the history of the case, should have commented on the final decree in these terms—

> "It is neither in substance nor form calculated to satisfy the representatives of foreign Powers, who, having acted throughout as the friendly counsellors of China, can hardly fail to consider themselves as having been trifled with."

These being the facts of the case, there arose the perhaps still more serious question—what was the present relation between ourselves and the Chinese? On the one hand we were struck with the important commercial position which we held, and the still vaster fortunes in store for us on the opening up of the Northern regions, which were wholly undeveloped and abounded in resources; and on the other with the limited spirit of enterprize of the Natives, and their readiness to carry on trade with Europeans, provided they were allowed by the official classes to do so. It was a remarkable fact that during our numerous wars with China our trade in tea had not been suspended; and why? Because the people were so anxious to maintain it that even though one-half of the Empire was at war with the foreigner the other half remained at peace. This justified the hope of a vast expansion of our trade if the existing obstructions were peacefully and gradually removed. Our position in China depended on our maintaining that spirit of enterprize among our commercial community which had had a footing for so many years, and had so largely extended our commercial relations. Lord Russell once stated that the fewer the points of contact between Europeans and Chinese, the safer and better it would be. With great deference to this opinion, he (the Earl of Carnarvon) believed that the converse was the fact, and that the more points of contact were multiplied, provided this was done fairly and discreetly, the better in all respects it would be. Our position also depended on our recognizing the fact that the community at Tien-tsin was not merely an English, but a European one. The American captain to whom he had referred as placing his ship at the disposal of the women and children entered with heart and soul into the cause, and though he found no fault with the noble Earl the Foreign Secretary, he could not help wishing that our co-operation with the French in this matter had been a little heartier. He was no advocate for a vehement or high-handed policy with regard to the Chinese. He thought that in former days that policy was strained too far; but during the last few years he could not help thinking that we had, to a certain extent, passed from one extreme to the other. It seemed as if we were now inclined to trust solely to diplomacy; but he feared that by keeping the idea of force wholly in the background we had deprived ourselves of a most useful instrument of influence in our relations with the Chinese. The people of that nation were good diplomatists—perhaps better than ourselves—and when they found that despatches such as some in the recent Blue Book, in which it was hinted pretty broadly that unless they reversed their line of action we should proceed to hostilities, had as a matter of fact no result, they soon became inclined to turn an indifferent ear to our remonstrances. The House was, perhaps, aware that a very able Englishman, Mr. Hart, was now Inspector General of Customs in China, and it was no exaggeration to say that he was the adviser of the Chinese Government in these matters. Mr. Hart had told him that when he had been called upon to read such despatches to the Chinese officials, the first thing they always asked was—Does it mean peace or war? Mr. Hart, acquainted as he was with European notions, would reply that it meant peace; whereapon the statements of the despatch were disregarded and its objects fell to the ground. There were several points in which there seemed a danger of our losing ground in our relations with the Chinese Government. There was the delicate and difficult question of enforcing audiences from the Emperor. To this we were entitled under Lord Elgin's Treaty; but the demand had hitherto been evaded. It might seem an idle form, but it was still the prevailing notion in China that there was only one sovereign ruler in the world, the Emperor of China, and that all other nations were tributaries and vassals, standing in the light of foreigners and savages. He did not press this point on the noble Earl, but it was one which required consideration. Another point, and that vitally affecting our position, related to the instructions given at various times to our naval officers on the China station. He was not prepared to say that those instructions bore the interpretations placed on them by the officers, but there appeared ample ground for misconception, and the sooner this was set right the better. Mr. Matheson, a name well-known in China, writing to the noble Earl in September last, stated that the naval officers, it was understood, were forbidden by the Admiralty to land their men under any circumstances, even when life was threatend, and were to confine their assistance to British subjects, to receiving on board their vessels those who might, when attacked, be compelled to seek an asylum. In answer to this Mr. Otway wrote—

> "The standing instruction to Her Majesty's Consuls and naval officers in China as to the employment of Her Majesty's ships of war are in cases of great emergency to protect the lives and properties of British subjects if placed in peril by wanton attacks directed against them, either on the part of the local authorities or by an uncontrolled popular movement." —[*Correspondence No.* 1 (1871), No. 26]

This answer was a very guarded one, and though the subject, he was aware, was a delicate one, he thought the expressions should have been a little plainer, for it was evident that great misapprehension on the subject existed in the minds of British residents in

China. Almost immediately afterwards the subject was again brought forward, and Mr. Medhurst, our Consul at Shanghai, undertook to give an interpretation of the instructons. He stated—

> "One of the special purposes for which Her Majesty's ships of war are stationed in Chinese ports is to afford protection in cases of great emergency to the lives and properties of British subjects when imperilled by wanton attacks, either on the part of the local authorities or of uncontrolled masses of people; but this general definition is qualified by the warning that the interference of a naval force in any emergency is alone likely to receive the subsequent approval of Her Majesty's Government, if it can be clearly shown that without such interference the lives and property of British subjects would in all probability have been sacrificed, and even in such a case Her Majesty's Government will expect to hear it established to their satisfaction that the alternative of rescuing the British subjects by receiving them on board was not available."

He still thought the instruction was so cautiously explained as to be calculated to mislead, and sometimes to discourage officers in the discharge of their duty. In another letter it was stated that although the instructions did not absolutely and under all circumstances interdict commanders of ships from protecting life and property on shore, the interpretation put on them by the officers was such that half a foreign settlement might be burnt down before they actively intervened. Mr. Hammond writing to the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce on the 28th of December, stated that if an attack on the British settlement at any of the ports was imminent, a body of marines might be landed, and if these were insufficient a detachment of troops from Hong Kong or Japan. He also wished to draw the attention of the noble Earl opposite to the Treaty of 1858. In spite of Lord Clarendon's efforts the revision of that Treaty had broken down in consequence of the hostility of our commercial interests in China; but the sooner it was revised the better it would be for all parties, and it would then be seen how far the restrictions on trade might be relaxed. The position of our Minister at Pekin should also receive consideration. At the present moment we had no Minister in China, the British interests in that country being looked after by a *chargé d'affaires*; but under ordinary circumstances our Minister was confined to Pekin, and never left that capital during the term of office, and he thought it advisable that this restriction should no longer exist. There were evidences, on all hands, that the unfriendly spirit towards foreigners was spreading in China; and it was worth noticing also that the Chinese military authorities not only possessed a large number of arms of precision of the best manufacture, but they had established manufactories of them for themselves. In justification of what he had stated, he wished to point out that throughout these Papers there was a remarkable concurrence of opinion among those who were best qualified to judge with reference to the attitude that we should adopt in China. Thus, Consul Lay, writing from Tientsin on the 20th of June, 1870, said—

> "We do want a man-of-war here. These troubles increase when one is absent."

Consul Medhurst, writing from Shanghai, on the 16th of July, said—

> In my despatch dated the 13th inst., I had the honour to report that a general uneasiness prevailed in the minds of the Natives of this port, brought about no doubt by the disturbing influence of the intelligence received from Tien-Tsin. I am happy to state that this feeling has to a great extent subsided during the last twenty-four hours, and that the bearing of the people has lost much of that aggressive character which it certainly showed a few days ago. I attribute the change to the prompt turn out and thoroughly prepared condition which the French exhibited on the occasion of the alarm on the night of the 12th to the active drilling of the volunteers on our side every day, and to the fact that two vessels of war, the "Barossa" (British) and "Ashurlot" (American), opportunely came into port."—[*Parl. P.*, p. 46.]

Admiral Sir Henry Kellett, the Admiral on the station, writing on the 21st of July, said—

> "Though the aspect of affairs has greatly improved since I last wrote, the condition of China is very critical, and requires a temperate but firm attitude of the great Powers."

And, lastly, Mr. Wade, who had consistently opposed any high-handed course being taken by us with reference to the Chinese, said, on the 13th of October—

> "Had there been a gunboat, English or French, at Tien-tsin on the 21st of June, I doubt greatly that the atrocity of that day would have been perpetrated."

He did not wish it to be supposed because he had laid stress upon the importance of the presence of a gunboat that he was in favour of this country taking a high-handed course with regard to China. He thought that we could not do the mercantile community interested in the Chinese trade a more cruel kindness than to adopt towards China an attitude likely to result in hostilities. But we must remember that since the

Treaty of 1858 the wall of separation that had hitherto existed between China and the outer world had been forcibly beaten down, and that we could not now escape from the difficulties of our new position. He believed it to be the duty of the British Government, in the first place, to insist—temperately, if you please, but at all events, firmly—upon the terms of the Treaty of 1858 being carried out in their integrity; and, in the next place, they should endeavour, whenever opportunity offered, to remove those artificial restrictions which had undoubtedly hindered, to a great extent, trade communication between China and other countries—that they should revise the instructions to the naval commanders on that coast; and that they should act towards the Chinese in a spirit of temperate firmness. He also trusted that, while keeping up our communications with the Central Government of China, we should not permit the local authorities, in the event of the occurrence of outrages of this kind, to shelter themselves behind the Central Government, but should hold them responsible to a certain extent for such breaches of the terms of the Treaty. In making these remarks, which were intended to draw attention to the critical—he would not say unsatisfactory—state of our relations with China, he trusted that he had not exceeded the bounds of fair criticism on Papers of this kind, regard being had to the importance of the subject.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Copies or Extracts of Correspondence relative to the revision of the Treaty of 1858 with China."—(*The Earl of Carnarvon.*)

Earl GRANVILLE said, the House was much obliged to the noble Earl for the interesting speech he had made, which had evidently involved a very careful study of the Blue Book on this subject, which was issued the other day. The noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) had called their attention, first, to the outrage at Tien-tsin, and, secondly, to the policy which he thought this country should adopt with regard to China. He entirely agreed with the noble Earl that that outrage was utterly inexcusable —and, in fact, nobody could think of saying a word in its defence. But at the same time, if he might offer any criticism on the speech of the noble Earl, it would be that it was conceived rather too much in a strain of feeling hostile to the Chinese generally—a tone which he was afraid characterized much of the opinion of this country, and certainly that of the English residents in China. With regard to the cause of the massacre, he should be sorry to give any decided opinion; but he should be disposed to agree with the noble Earl that there were four causes which had contributed to bring it about. The first of those causes was undoubtedly the superstitious feeling that existed among the lower orders of Chinese, who believed that their children were kidnapped into the convents for the purpose of their being put to death and their bodies made into drugs. He believed that some such feeling did exist; and they all knew how the wildest notions sprung up in the breasts of semi-civilized and uneducated nations respecting the practices of strangers whose religion they believed to be false. The second cause was the course adopted by the missionaries. He remembered that two years ago there was a discussion on the subject in that House, and they were nearly unanimous in bearing testimony to the high and noble motives which animated the men who incurred hardships and risked their lives for the sake of spreading the knowledge of Christianity. But he thought there was a very general opinion that any imprudent conduct on the part of the missionaries, particularly in an empire like China, was likely to produce not the progress of Christianity, but very unfortunate secular results. The Protestant missionaries in China stood on a different footing from the Roman Catholic missionaries established there; they were few in number; they had received no encouragement from the Government; there were no supposed treaty rights on which they relied—and, generally speaking, they were under the superintendence of some large missionary societies in this country who had given them very good and judicious advice, that they should not interfere in matters connected with commerce and manufacturing industry. Again, Great Britain had also important temporal interests in China in connection with her commerce and her manufactures, whereas, on the other hand, Roman Catholic countries had hardly any trade there, and their great object had been to propagate that form of the Christian creed which they themselves professed. There was no doubt that a great deal of harm had been done by the missionaries of foreign countries claiming treaty rights which other Europeans did not possess in China, and extending a sort of protection not merely from persecution, but of a special character over their Chinese converts, which naturally excited much disgust among their fellow-countrymen, and exposed them to insults and misunderstandings. Although the stories about their buying children, and encouraging others to kidnap children with a view to the salvation of their souls could not be substantiated, yet there was great danger in respect to the position of Europeans generally in China unless the French and other Roman Catholic Governments exercised some more direct control over the missionary and other religious bodies of their respective countries. Another cause adverted to by the noble Earl as one of the causes of the massacre was the hatred of foreigners. Now, that there should be some dislike to foreigners in China was almost an obvious truism. They all knew that an exclusive system had for hundreds of years prevailed there; and it was not very surprising if certain circumstances connected with the intercourse of Europeans with that country should be calculated to excite among its people fear rather than love. They knew the prejudice that existed among the literary class in China against foreigners, and especially among the lower orders, who had not the advantage of education to give them a better feeling in regard to them. But the moral he drew from that was that, it being our desire to maintain and extend our friendly relations with the Chinese, we ought not to be hostile in our language towards them, nor too intolerant of the habits and customs handed down to them from generation to generation, and which must necessarily take much time and patience totally to eradicate. Our true course would be to do all we could to conciliate them without departing from our own principles. Then came the question as to the supineness of the Chinese authorities. He was far from saying that there had been no such supineness, or that greater activity and vigour in taking precautions might not have prevented the massacre. But that sometimes happened, unfortunately, in other countries besides China; and all that we had a right to require was that compensation should be given, proper amends made, and the best measures adopted to avert the recurrence of such lamentable events. No doubt that event had filled the country with horror. It was a calamity which it was too painful to dwell upon; certainly it created a great panic in China last summer, which had its rebound in this country. And he must say that great credit was due to the official representatives of Her Majesty in China, who were quite alive to the gravity of the situation, and did all they could to calm the exaggerated alarm of their fellow-subjects. While pressing in the strongest manner on the Chinese Government the necessity of granting redress, they also endeavoured to inspire some feeling of courage and hopefulness among the Europeans. He quite admitted that the noble Earl's criticism had been offered in a very fair and conciliatory spirit with regard to the policy of both the present Government, and the Government which preceded it. Considering, however, that there was an armed vessel in every Chinese port of the least pretension, and that only 11 years ago we took Pekin and destroyed the Emperor's summer palace, he could not think there was any great reason to fear that the Chinese—a singularly shrewd nation—would think that we meant to trust absolutely to diplomacy alone, and would refuse to resort to force in any emergency whatever. The noble Earl had expressed a hope that the ambiguity in the instructions issued to our naval officers on the China station would be removed; but he (Earl Granville) could not see how he was to set about removing any such ambiguity, because he did not conceive that any really existed in the instructions sent to those officers and to our Consuls by Lord Clarendon. What could be clearer than instructions which, while allowing them to protect the lives and property of British subjects, stated that they were not to try by force to insist on reparation, but were to refer to the central power, and to the Minister at Pekin, for the redress that was necessary? The noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) talked as if that was a new policy suddenly inaugurated; but it was inaugurated by Lord Elgin and Sir Frederick Bruce, and had been followed ever since we had a Minister at Pekin. It was true—and the noble Earl had laid too much stress on the fact—that they had one letter from a Consul who would have liked to have a man-of-war in the port where he was stationed. Now, our Consuls were a most excellent class of men, who discharged their duties with great fidelity to their country; but if the British Consul had one weakness in the world, it was his wish for the presence of a British man-of-war in front of his official residence. It was exactly to prevent that accumulation of ships of war, and to prevent that authority being invested in all these local officers—acting sometimes under the pressure of panic, sometimes on the representations of a missionary body, or of a few merchants congregated together, and who desired to have the knot of some difficulty cut—that that policy was adopted, and Her Majesty's Government had no intention of departing from it—the policy that our Consuls were not to have in their hands what was practically the Queen's prerogative of declaring peace or war in every great port of the Chinese Empire. With respect to any misapprehension as to the possibillty of our naval officers landing men for the protection of the lives of British subjects, it rested entirely on two letters which gave no proof whatever of the fact. These officers were informed by Mr. Wade, before he got his instructions from this country, that he was in communication with Admiral Kellett as to the landing of marines for the protection of life and property. Now with regard to the Treaty, the noble Earl had alluded to our Embassy at Pekin. Now, our policy was to make the Chinese Government themselves understand that we looked to them, with whom we had made the Treaty, to see that its stipulations were carried out. That principle possessed every advantage both for ourselves and for China. It was for our interest to strengthen rather than to weaken the authority of the Central Government of that country; and it was also for the interest of the Chinese Government itself that we should adopt a course which would strengthen their control at the extremities of their Empire; and although this might sometimes involve a little delay, and there might be occasions on which we should be obliged to offer the assistance of our naval force to co-operate with the Chinese authorities in redressing what ought not to have existed, yet he thought that in the long run we should obtain any just demand we had to make, much better by that regular mode of proceeding than by pursuing the decentralizing policy of giving back to the local authorities some of that power which had been, as he believed, wisely taken from them by different Ministers. In December, 1868, Lord Derby, as Foreign Secretary, gave positive instructions to the effect that the complaints of missionaries were to be dealt with not upon the spot, but by a reference to our Minister at Pekin. The noble Earl opposite had adverted to the maintenance and revision of treaty rights. Sir Rutherford Alcock, acting under instructions from Lord Clarendon, succeeded in obtaining a revised treaty which he sent home from China, and which was thought by Lord Clarendon to be a great advance on the existing state of things. A different opinion, however, was entertained by the commercial classes in this country and in China; and Lord Clarendon, without changing his own opinion, felt that the opposition of those classes to the new treaty was so universal that one of his last official acts was to recommend to the Cabinet that it should not be ratified; and his advice was taken accordingly. But Mr. Wade, in the absence of Sir Rutherford Alcock, had shown almost every quality they could wish to see in the representative of this country in China; and their Lordships might count on Her Majesty's Government doing all that was in their power to obtain becoming conditions at the hands of the Chinese Government.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, he thought that, according to the statement of the noble Earl himself, there was some ambiguity at least in the view which the Government took of the instructions sent to our naval officers in China. He would not trouble the House more than a single moment by reading extracts to show that orders had been sent to China that guns and men should not be disembarked for the protection of British subjects in China. On page 174 of the Blue Book, Mr. Wade, writing of an application by Acting-Consul Lay for assistance in anticipation of an attack, said such an attack was, of course, a possibility, and he promised to call on the senior officer in the North "to relax or obtain relaxation of the Standing Orders so far as to admit of the debarkation of guns and men within the settlement." To what Standing Order did Mr. Wade refer? Whoever had issued them, they were obviously dangerous to the lives as well as the property of every English inhabitant of a Chinese port. The noble Earl had departed from his usual good taste in ridiculing the desire of the Consuls for protection by attributing their wish for gunboats to the common desire of officials to have an armed force at their command. But it should be remembered that these Consuls had been witnesses to, and almost sufferers from, what might be called one of the most frightful catastrophes ever heard of. Surely, then, it was no matter for ridicule if, after such a calamity, he saw indications of another attack, he applied for such assistance and protection for British subjects to which they were entitled, and which he in his official position had a right to expect. The Blue Book showed that the Consul was right in seeking protection from his Government. Acting-Consul Lay, in a letter to Mr. Wade, on page 175, gave a description of the state of Chinese feeling which justified the gravest apprehensions. He wrote—

> "You are aware that there is still a strong feeling against us in the city—I mean borne by the people themselves, and not confined to the rowdy class. It was stated that these troubles were caused by these rowdies, and that when they were punished all would be well. I trusted such might be the case, but it does not seem to be so. Upwards of 2,000 of these blackguards have run away from Tien-tsin; hundreds have been seized by the authorities; and yet, with the city clear of them, peace between foreigners and Chinese has not yet been established. Excitement still reigns and ill-feeling still exists."

It was hard, indeed, that a Consul, confronted by this state of things, should be censured for seeking assistance. He would not criticize the policy announced by the noble Earl; no doubt centralization would be a very good thing, and it would be eminently satisfactory if European Powers could induce the central authority in China to keep its people in order at the several ports; but, in the meantime, while the ideal policy was being carried out, horrible catastrophes might recur again and again. The state of things in China corresponded with the state of France at the present time. A Government existed in both countries unable to insure the lives of those committed to its care, while the foreigner protested against the breach of treaties, and threatened that if the breach were continued he would attack, not the central government, but the place in which these breaches had occurred. Count Bismarck had threatened to take the place of the Government in Paris, and this policy must always be pursued where society was thoroughly disorganized. The Government of China had not the power, if it had the will, to prevent the feeling against the foreigner culminating in outrage; and the only way of preventing such outrage was by inspiring fear in the very place where it occurred. It was right that missionary difficulties and all disputes not involving danger to life should be settled with the central Government; but the desire to fix responsibility upon the Chinese authorities should not hinder us from giving by our own acts the utmost possible protection to those European inhabitants who might otherwise be horribly slaughtered before the Chinese Government had awakened to a sense of its duty.

EARL GREY said, he would ask the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) whether he was prepared to say that the feeling of hostility on the part of the Chinese against our countrymen was altogether unnatural, or to be wondered at? No honest man could examine the history of our relations with China for the last five-and-thirty years without coming to the conclusion that China had very great wrongs to complain of. Wars of the most cruel kind, involving the infliction of the most frightful suffering, had been waged against them. It was not our own acts alone that had embittered the Chinese against us; the indirect mischief we had caused them was very great. The Taeping rebellion, which had desolated a large part of the Empire, and caused more deaths and suffering than any other rebellion in history, he had been assured by one of the most distinguished missionaries who ever served in China, could be directly traced to the disorganization of the Chinese Government in consequence of the wars with us. Their central authority was for a time completely destroyed. Besides the evil which they had suffered from the disorganization of the Government, which was the natural consequence of our acts, the compulsory opening of China to Europeans by our means had brought upon them other evils also — among them he would ask their Lordships to look at that most horrible traffic in Coolies, in which atrocities equal to those perpetrated in the African slave trade were committed, which was carried on by Europeans in spite of the efforts of the Chinese Government to prevent it. No doubt the British Government had given that new slave trade all the discouragement in their power; but it was not the less true that it owed its existence to what we had done, and it was justly regarded in China as one of the consequences of our having compelled them to depart from their traditionary policy of excluding foreigners from their country. We ought not to forget these things when we complained of the conduct of the Chinese, and he would ask could it be a matter of astonishment that, with such circumstances as these to justify it, a feeling of hostility to England should exist among the Chinese, who distinguished as little between foreigners as Englishmen distinguish between Chinamen? He did not favour the policy of keeping a large number of ships of war in the neighbourhood of the Chinese ports. He regretted to say that, in former years, their presence had led to much evil; for when our countrymen saw themselves supported by such a display of force they were apt to show a disregard for the feelings of the people among whom they lived, which they would not do if they felt they must rely upon their own good conduct for their safety. The far more prudent course would be to cultivate a good understanding with the Chinese Government and people, and dispense with the gunboats. And when the Chinese authorities were blamed for not having quelled disorder, he was inclined to ask whether they were singular in this? Was England perfectly successful in preventing violence against those who rashly and foolishly outraged the feelings and prejudices of the people? Had we been able to prevent serious outrages in Birmingham upon anti-Roman Catholic lecturers; and could it be supposed that if a Buddhist lecturer were to make his appearance in the streets of London, denouncing Our Saviour as an impostor, belying the Christian religion, and ridiculing all that we hold most sacred, that such a man would not receive summary punishment at the hands of an outraged people? Was it then a matter of surprise if the same thing happened in China? It was not right that we should induce Englishmen to suppose that they could so act with impunity in China, under the protection of the naval force in those waters. Before sitting down he desired to add a word or two on another matter—namely, the importance of not taking up matters locally, but of always going to the Imperial Government for redress for any wrongs that might be suffered. It appeared to him that the reasons for adhering to this policy had been very inadequately considered by his noble Friend behind him. If they took the redress into their own hands, as was too much the practice 30 years ago, they might possibly succeed for the moment; but in so doing they inflicted a blow of the most fatal character upon the Imperial Government. By persevering in that policy they would gradually break down the Imperial authority altogether, and by degrees reduce China to the state of anarchy which prevailed during the Taeping rebellion. If they destroyed the authority of the Chinese Government, when they considered how many millions of that people there were, were they prepared to set up any authority in its place? To destroy that authority, he believed, would be very easy for a small force sent from this country; but he believed, also, that the result of such a policy would be as great a misfortune to ourselves as it would be to the Chinese, who for ages had enjoyed under their existing system of government a very high measure of peace and happiness, and had been able to carry on with us a trade lucrative and beneficial to both parties. Destruction of the authority of the Government might be easy; but to place in its stead a Government capable of maintaining order would prove a more difficult undertaking. For these reasons he could not but confess that he viewed with sincere satisfaction the policy which the Government had pursued.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, he concurred with his noble Friend who had just sat down (Earl Grey) that the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government was wise and prudent, and one in which, as shown in the Blue Book, he, at all events, failed to see any ambiguity. At page 220, for instance, he found the following passage written from the Foreign Office to the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce:—

> "The general purport of those Instructions was that Her Majesty's naval forces are only actively to be employed in China for the protection of British life and property, when actually imperilled by acts directed against them by Chinese authorities, or by the violence of the Chinese populace, which those authorities might be unable or unwilling to control."

That he believed to be the right line to lay down as to the interference of Her Majesty's naval force; for, from his own connection with the Navy, he was perfectly aware that it was impossible to give any loose instructions to the officers commanding on the station. A young officer in command of a gunboat would, for instance, be ready enough to take a Chinese town, for he would only be too delighted at the idea of having something to do. It was therefore necessary to impress some moderation in the instructions which they gave. He also concurred in the remarks made by Consul Robertson, who, in answer to a letter from the Rev. J. Chalmers, giving an account of the destruction of a chapel at Fatshan, said—

> "In reply, I have to express my regret at the event, but am not at all surprised at its following so ill-judged an event as that of opening a chapel at a time when a strong anti-missionary feeling is agitating the minds of the Chinese, and at a place, too, which has always been turbulent and ill-disposed towards foreigners."

Again, Consul Robertson, in a letter to Mr. Wade, said—

> "Such outbreaks as at Tien-tsin, or elsewhere, may be settled for the time; but certainly the feeling of the Chinese, high and low, is strongly aroused in defence of their ancient institutions and religious tenets, which they consider in danger from foreign missionary intervention."

Was it surprising that the people should be easily excited when they saw their ancient customs and religion attacked by the missionaries? But the despatches showed how this chapel at Fatshan was destroyed, for the Consul said—

> "My own information leads me to believe that the outbreak was caused by the injudicious prominence given to the opening of this establishment at a time when the feelings of the people are strongly excited against missionaries."

If our countrymen in China would defy the feelings of the people, there would, of course, be outbreaks; but he thought the Consul had throughout given wise and prudent advice. He concurred in the opinion that the policy pursued by the Government was a sound one, and trusted that they would resolutely adhere to it in the future.

The Duke of Somerset

EARL GRANVILLE desired to say but one word in explanation. It had not in any way been his intention to cast any reflection on the conduct of our Consuls in China—on the contrary, no one who read these Papers could, he thought, fail to see that when they were in difficulty Her Majesty's Government had rendered them every assistance in their power, and had thoroughly approved their conduct. But he did not attach much weight to the pleas of those who, clamouring for men-of-war and gunboats, urged in support of that plea the opinion of our Consuls, who of course were, naturally enough, favourable to their presence. In saying this, he was not in any way attaching blame to the Consuls, for if he were himself a Consul he should probably do exactly the same thing.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON asked what the Standing Orders were that were referred to in the Correspondence, and if the noble Earl would lay them on the Table of this House?

EARL GRANVILLE said, his impression was there were no Standing Orders, but only Admiralty Instructions; and if they had not been already produced they should be laid on the Table of their Lordships' House.

In answer to the Earl of CARNARVON,

VISCOUNT HALIFAX read the following extract from the Blue Book relating to the massacre of Tien-tsin, observing that, as would be seen from a footnote, the instructions therein referred to had already been published in a Parliamentary Paper of 1869—

> "The general purport of those instructions and of that letter was, that Her Majesty's naval forces are only actively to be employed in China for the protection of British life and property when actually imperilled by acts directed against them by Chinese authorities, or by the violence of the Chinese populace which those authorities might be unable or unwilling to control; and although it is not expressly stated, yet it is clearly to be inferred, from the tenor of the instructions, that it would be consistent with their spirit, and with the policy of Her Majesty's Government, that the Senior Naval Officer on the spot, if satisfied that an attack on the British settlement at any of the ports, and specifically at Shanghai, was imminent, should disembark and maintain on shore, till the danger was passed, a body of Marines, which, however, it would be desirable, if possible, to relieve daily from the ships, so as to avoid the appearance of a foreign occupation."—[*Correspondence* No. 47.]

Motion *agreed to.*

VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY—ARMS.

QUESTION.

EARL VANE, in asking the Under Secretary for War the Question of which he had given Notice, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce an improvement in the Arms supplied to Volunteer Artillery, and, if so, when; and to call attention to the Arms now used by the Volunteer Artillery, said, he would not occupy much of their Lordships' time by going into any arguments which would doubtless be raised when the whole question of the Reserve Forces came before Parliament; but he was most anxious to ascertain from Her Majesty's Government how much longer the Artillery Volunteers were to be provided with antiquated and, when compared with modern improvements, almost useless weapons. As their Lordships were well aware the Rifle Volunteers had had as good an arm given to them as the country could produce; while, on the other hand, many of the Artillery Volunteers had now for 11 years been obliged to content themselves with the old muzzle-loading carbines and smooth-bore 32-pounder. He held in his hand a circular which had been sent to many commanding officers in the North of England, himself included, by one of our most efficient Volunteer Artillery officers, and he would, with their Lordships' permission, read one paragraph of it, as showing the feelings of many Northern Volunteers—feelings which, he felt sure, were shared by many others in many counties—

> "The united object of the Volunteers should now be to obtain—not from Her Majesty's Government, but from Parliament—a straightforward answer to this straightforward question—'Is the Volunteer force to be maintained in a state of efficiency or is it not?' Either let Parliament impose discipline, provide equipment, defray expenses, and reduce the nnmerical strength, if necessary, or let existing corps be disbanded at the earliest possible date. Temporizing measures would do more harm than good, because they would lull the public into an idea of false security, and cause improvements of vital importance to be deferred to a period commonly termed too late."

LORD NORTHBROOK asked whether his noble Friend had any objection to mention the name of the officer from whose circular he had quoted?

EARL VANE said, it proceeded from Colonel Allhusen, of the 1st Newcastle-upon-Tyne Volunteer Artillery. Colonel Allhusen said—

> "The question at issue is not one of politics, but of national common sense. It is essential we should all pull together so as to raise the Volunteer force from its present ridiculous position. Look at your men, after 11 years' outlay and trouble, armed with muzzle-loading carbines, and old smooth-bore 32-pounders. Many of us are quite tired of playing the fool and being compelled to pay for being laughed at by military men and civilians. One thing or the other; let us be prepared fairly to meet all comers, or strike us out of the defensive muster-roll."

LORD TRURO regretted that this matter had not been brought forward in the form simply of a Question. What he would desire to ask was whether it was the intention of the Government to arm the Volunteer Artillery with such weapons as would qualify them to perform their duties efficiently? An impression prevailed, some years ago, that the Volunteers generally were not fitted to serve with field Artillery. But the opinion having been taken, first of Sir George C. Lewis, then of Earl de Grey, and finally of Lord Palmerston himself, it was determined that a fair and reasonable proportion of light field Artillery should be conceded to the Volunteer forces. It was now rumoured that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to withdraw these guns, although, according to his experience, they were much better suited to the height and physique of Volunteers than the heavy guns to which the Royal Artillery were trained.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE said, that when his noble Friend opposite came down to distribute the prizes to the National Artillery Association, he encouraged the Volunteers by the announcement that, as soon as arrangements could be made, they would be armed with guns of precision. He therefore wished to take this opportunity of inquiring whether it was proposed to give rifled guns to the Artillery Volunteers; and, if so, of what description? In this country it would be almost impossible even to hope for a force of Regular Artillery proportionate to our wants; it therefore became necessary to look to the Reserve Artillery, to the Militia, and to the Volunteer Artillery to supplement the deficiency. He had been informed that it was intended to arm the fortifications with the discarded breech-loading Armstrongs; if that were so, he wished to know whether there were a sufficient number available for the different batteries of Volunteers and Militia along the sea-coast? It was of the utmost importance that those two branches of our Volunteer forces should be encouraged by giving them arms of precision, instead of the smooth-bore muzzle-loaders of days gone by, in the practice of which the men took no interest. As to a supply of breech-loading carbines, he, for one, was disposed to look upon the time spent in practising with them rather in the light of time lost; and to believe that the true weapons for Artillery Volunteers to work with was the big gun itself. He was compelled to differ from the noble Earl who had last spoken on the subject of Volunteer Field Artillery, for he believed that it entailed great expenditure both on officers and men in the line of horses, &c. At the same time, he was not by any means an advocate for putting down any Volunteer field batteries which might actually exist.

Lord NORTHBROOK said, it was proposed that the Volunteer Artillery should be armed with the 40-pounder breech-loading Armstrong gun, and the delay which had occurred had arisen in consequence of some proposed alterations in the organization of the force. It was proposed that in future the Volunteer Artillery should be placed under the command of officers of the Royal Artillery in the different districts; and by this means it, as well as the Militia Artillery, would be brought into closer connection with the Regular service. As to the armament of the Volunteer Artillery with breech-loading carbines, since a Question on this subject had been asked by his noble Friend near him (Lord Truro), he had ascertained, as the result of further inquiry, that it would be possible to issue them before the date he (Lord Northbrook) then mentioned. He was rather surprised at the strong expressions used by Colonel Allhusen in the circular quoted by the noble Earl, for the corps which that officer commanded had been supplied with 40-pounder Armstrongs, and large guns and not carbines must be admitted to be the proper arm of Artillery; so far, therefore, from having been neglected, Colonel Allhusen's corps had been treated with particular favour. As soon as the arrangements had been completed, guns of a similar kind would be apportioned to the various districts—the numbers being determined by the requirements of each district. He agreed entirely with what had fallen from the noble Viscount (Viscount Hardinge) with respect to Volunteer Field Artillery.

Earl GREY said, that what was really required was that there should be in the hands of the Volunteers a sufficient supply of rifled guns. He hoped there would soon be a sufficient number of large and powerful guns on all our coasts to afford our Volunteers opportunities of practising with those arms.

In answer to the Earl of Malmesbury,

Lord NORTHBROOK stated that the Militia Artillery had been by no means overlooked in the arrangements which had been made. The same attention would be paid to the Militia Artillery as to the Volunteer Artillery. Indeed, the former would even have to deal with larger guns, because they would, in time of war, be placed in garrisons where guns of great calibre were used.

House adjourned at a quarter before Eight o'clock, to Monday next, Eleven o'clock

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 24th March, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [March 23] *reported.*

Ways and Means—*considered in Committee—Resolution* [March 23] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Ordered*—Mutiny*.

First Reading—Consolidated Fund (£5,411,900)*.

Committee—Report—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Supplemental* [79]; Consolidated Fund (£462,580 9*s.* 11*d.*)*; Bank Holidays* [50-88].

Third Reading—West African Settlements* [57], and *passed.*

WALES—EDUCATION—BUILDING GRANTS.—QUESTION.

Mr. RAIKES asked the Vice President of the Council for Education, Whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House any Memorials or Communications addressed to him by which he has been induced to refuse Building Grants to Church of England Schools in Wales during the last six months; and whether, in the event of there being an objection to producing such Communications in extenso, he will state to the House generally the reasons urged therein for the refusal of such grants?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, in reply, said, he really could not lay on the Table the various memorials, communications, and addresses on the subject of those building grants. He had received a great many, both in favour of those grants and against them. The hon. Member was mistaken if he supposed that it was in consequence of these memorials the grants were refused. Every memorial or communication received by the Department he endeavoured fully to consider; but the grants were given upon established principles. No grant for a new school was given to applicants on behalf of any religious denomination unless the Department was satisfied that the majority of the parents of the children likely to attend that school belonged to that denomination. That was the principle which he found in action when he came into the Department, and which he had carried out very carefully and especially in Wales, on account of the denominational feeling which he was sorry to say prevailed there so much on both sides.

FRANCE AND GERMANY—THE WAR—CAPTURE OF BRITISH SHIPS.

QUESTION.

Mr. WHITE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House the Official Despatches from China and Saigon with reference to the capture by the French of two British vessels the "Sophia Rickmers" and the "Robert Rickmers?"

Viscount ENFIELD: Sir, the *Sophia Rickmers* and the *Robert Rickmers* were two German vessels, sold to a Mr. R. Rickmers, styling himself a British subject, and were captured by the French during the late war between France and Germany in the Eastern Seas. Mr. Rickmers, in complaining to the Foreign Office, stated that his parents belonged to Heligoland, but did not mention whether he had been born in British dominions; he had, however, disqualified himself from becoming the owner of a British ship by taking the oath of allegiance to the Free State of Bremen. These ships are now before the Prize Court at Saigon, and Her Majesty's Government would not consider themselves justified in asking for the release of these vessels from the French authorities, as their Prize Courts have long since decided that the sale of an enemy's ship to a neutral after the commencement of a war does not entitle it to exemption from capture on the high seas. There would be no objection to produce the Correspondence if the hon. Gentleman would move for it.

EDUCATION—BALANCE SHEETS OF SCHOOLS.—QUESTION.

Mr. CARTER asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether he is willing to direct that the Balance Sheets of all Elementary Schools receiving Government Grants should be published in the local newspapers, in order that the inhabitants of the district in which such schools are situated, and for whose benefit they are erected and maintained, may have a full knowledge of their financial position and resources?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, in reply, that no power was given to the Department by the Act of last year to require that those balance-sheets should be published, as the hon. Gentleman wished. He was not sure whether they had such a power or not; but, even if they had, he confessed he did not think it desirable to exercise it, for three reasons. First, because it would be a great inconvenience to make any further alteration in the Code this year; secondly, if the Department required such a thing to be done it would be necessary to see that it was done correctly, and that would impose great labour on the Office; and, thirdly, because it was not necessary. There were more than 8,000 of those schools in England and Wales, and no doubt it would be a very good thing for the local newspapers to have the advertisements; but it was an universal order to the Inspectors to see those accounts and ascertain that they were correct.

FRANCE AND GERMANY—THE WAR—COMPENSATION TO BRITISH SUBJECTS.—QUESTION.

Mr. CADOGAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there has been any Correspondence between British Subjects residing in France and the Foreign Office, or with Her Majesty's Ambassador in

France, in reference to the loss of, or damage done to their property since the entry into France of the German Army; and, if so, whether there is any objection to produce this Correspondence; and, whether the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown has been taken upon the liability of the French Government to compensate British Subjects resident in France for loss and damage to their property during the late war?

VISCOUNT ENFIELD: Sir, Correspondence of the nature referred to in the Questions of my hon. Friend has passed between certain British subjects residing in France and the Foreign Office, and a despatch has been addressed to Lord Lyons on the subject. There will be no objection to produce this Correspondence if moved for. The opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown has also been taken as to the liability of the French Government to compensate British subjects resident in France for their losses during the late war, and that opinion has been unfavourable as to the legal claims of such British subjects.

METROPOLIS—HYDE PARK.

QUESTION.

MR. BROGDEN asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is intended to provide for the safety of the public desiring access to Hyde Park from the neighbourhood of Brompton by constructing an underground communication from the south to the north of Rotten Row?

MR. AYRTON replied that the subject had been more than once under the consideration of the Office of Works. When the time arrived for examining the expenditure on account of Hyde Park, if it was the general wish of hon. Members that such a communication should be made, he should be happy to take the necessary steps.

ARMY—HOUSEHOLD TROOPS.

QUESTION.

MAJOR GAVIN asked the Secretary of State for War, If the principle of selection is to be adopted in the regimental promotion of the Foot Guards and the Household Cavalry?

MR. CARDWELL replied that the same rule would be applied to the Guards as to the Line.

MEAT SUPPLY—THE ORDER IN COUNCIL.—QUESTION.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE asked the Vice President of the Council of Education, Whether his attention has been directed to a statement made at a meeting of the Metropolitan Meat and Poultry Market Association on Tuesday last, That, in their opinion, the Order in Council of March 10th prohibiting the importation of fresh meat from France and Belgium is a measure of unnecessary precaution which is calculated to interfere injuriously with the supply of animal food to this country, and to materially enhance its price more especially to the poorer classes of the community?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, in reply, that he had seen the statement in the newspapers to which the hon. Gentleman referred; but he could not help thinking it was very exaggerated, and calculated to create unreasonable alarm. It was based on the supposition that the importation of all fresh meat had been prohibited by the recent Order in Council; but the directions given applied merely to beef and veal. He did not know whether it was thought to be an "unnecessary precaution" to limit the supply of meat in that way; but it was the opinion of the Privy Council, after careful consideration, that it was absolutely necessary to take that precaution with regard to the carcases of cattle. The cattle plague was still raging in France, and seemed to defy all the efforts which were being made there to put a stop to it. He was, however, convinced that there was no ground for apprehension that the price of meat in England would in consequence be raised. The number of cattle arriving from France and Belgium was very small; and while he was of opinion that it was absolutely necessary to take the precaution in question, he was glad to think that its result would not be at present to interfere with the price of food. There was no reason for supposing that more meat would come this year than last year, when only 136 cwt came from France to London, and 12 cwt from Belgium. The regulation was obliged also to be applied to fresh, though not to salt, hides.

INDIA—RAILWAYS.—QUESTION.

MR. WATERHOUSE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, What progress has been made in the construction of the Government lines of Railway in India towards giving effect to the announcement, made at the close of last Session, that it was the intention of the Government to commence laying down Railways to the extent of 800 miles; and, whether any and what lines have already been commenced; and, if not, what are the present intentions of the Government?

MR. GRANT DUFF: Sir, no such announcement was ever made. The statement alluded to by the hon. Member is, I presume, one made by me on the 3rd of August last, to the effect that Lord Mayo had announced in the Budget debate of April, 1870, at Calcutta, that he hoped to open—not to lay down—800 additional miles of railway in the present financial year. Of these, 645 only have been opened, so far as we are aware; but as the financial year is not quite concluded, it is possible that the hopes of the Viceroy may be even more completely fulfilled than they have been. On only one long State line—the Lahore-Peshawur line—have works been actually commenced; but several other lines have been, or are being, now surveyed, and with all of these it is the intention of the Government of India to proceed with all possible speed—the important question of the gauge, with regard to which some interesting Papers have been laid on the Table, being now settled.

ARMY—ORDNANCE MAPS.—QUESTION.

MR. H. B. SHERIDAN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Barracks and Stations for troops throughout the United Kingdom are supplied with Ordnance Maps of the locality in which they are situated and its surrounding districts, for the ready inspection and study both of officers and men?

MR. CARDWELL: A two-inch survey of the neighbourhood of Aldershot is being prepared by the Office of Works for the use of the officers at Aldershot. There is no general regulation for the supply of maps of the locality of stations in which troops are serving; but it has been the custom for the Horse Guards to recommend applications when forwarded by general officers, and the applications have been complied with.

LONDON REPUBLICANS.—QUESTION.

MR. G. BENTINCK asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the report in "The Times" of a meeting held on Wednesday at the Wellington Music Hall, at which the following Resolution is reported to have been put and carried by acclamation:—

> "That we, constituting the present meeting, having watched attentively the many fruitless attempts made in the House of Commons to economise the reckless expenditure of the people's money, which has always resulted in a more lavish outlay, and feeling convinced that any Government formed under the present system, is so much under the influence of the few privileged families now monopolizing place and honour in the nation, and is therefore incapable of the broad and comprehensive legislation urgently demanded in the interests of the industrial community, declare that a republican form of Government is the only one capable of developing the great resources of the Country, and worthy of the confidence and support of all true democrats;"

whether, if the report be correct, the First Lord of the Treasury will consult the Law Officers of the Crown as to whether, in their opinion, such language is of a treasonable or seditious character; and, whether, in the event of such being the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, the Government is prepared to take any steps for dealing by law with those who have held this language?

MR. GLADSTONE: My attention, Sir, has not been called to the report in *The Times* of a meeting held on Wednesday at the Wellington Music Hall. I was not aware of the existence of the Wellington Music Hall, and my knowledge of it is confined to the subject-matter of the resolution which is quoted by the hon. Member. He asks me whether, if the report be correct, certain steps will be taken by the Government. I cannot say whether the report is correct or not, nor do I apprehend that is a point it would be at all easy to ascertain. Looking, however, at the question as it stands, I have no hesitation in saying that it is not the intention of the Government to consult the Law Officers of the Crown, or "take any steps for dealing by law with those who have held this language." In this country there is a great and just unwillingness to interfere with the expression of any opinion that is not attended with danger to the public peace. Now, I do not see on the face of this case anything which need excite apprehension. We shall think it right, therefore, to proceed on the double principle, which it seems to me is founded on wisdom, that it is the best course to pursue, except where the public peace is endangered, to trust to the notorious good sense and loyalty of the great mass of the people for the repression of wrong and foolish opinions; and, secondly, that public notice taken of those opinions, except in cases of absolute necessity, has a tendency to give them an importance to which otherwise they would not attain, and to prevent them from sinking into that oblivion which is their destined and proper course.

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

IRELAND—LABOURERS' RESIDENCES.

RESOLUTION.

MR. W. H. GREGORY said, he wished to bring under the notice of the House and of the Government the condition of the most helpless and hopeless class in the United Kingdom — namely, the agricultural labourers of Ireland. Last year, during the passing of the Land Bill, he had been anxious to make some provision for the encouragement of the erection of suitable habitations for these unfortunate people, but he was unable to do so. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. C. Fortescue), who had charge of the Bill, opposed the proposals made by him (Mr. W. H. Gregory) not on the merits or demerits of the proposal, but that the subject was too large to be fully and fairly entered into in a Land Bill. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that it deserved the fullest consideration, and gave the House to understand that it was the intention of the Government to legislate in the coming Session for the evils which he fully acknowledged. He (Mr. W. H. Gregory) considered that no landlord-and-tenant legislation could be complete which left the misery of this large portion of the population of Ireland untouched, and he regarded a Bill for the improvement of the Irish labourers' condition as the corollary and complement of the Land Act. He, of course, did not look forward to Utopian schemes of finding constant employment and high wages for these people; all that he wished to do was, what legislation could without difficulty effect—namely, to encourage the erection of suitable habitations for labourers, and to discourage those habitations which at present were occupied by human beings, but which would not be considered in England as fit for brutes. There was a Report drawn up last year by the Irish Poor Law Inspectors, on the condition of the Irish labourers. Their testimony was almost unanimous, and it was to this effect—that discontent was general among that class, chiefly owing to the miserable habitations in which they were condemned to dwell; that the sense of their degraded condition and their constant privations made them hopeless, and, in some cases, reckless and desperate; and that, almost without exception, they despaired of rising to anything approaching to decent comfort in their own country; and, consequently, that all their thoughts were directed to America. On the other hand, it was stated that where they held directly from the landlord they were generally cheerful and contented. Now, let the House hear the numbers that were included in this class. There were 479,000 agricultural labourers in Ireland. Of these, 336,000 were occupiers of what are called cottages, but of what would in England be called hovels, and 80,000 were living with their families in one room. He (Mr. W. H. Gregory) would quote only one or two passages from these trustworthy Reports, to show the condition and feelings of this large portion of the population. Mr. Robinson, writing of Dublin, Wicklow, Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny, Meath, Queen's County, and Wexford, some of the most prosperous and civilized counties in Ireland, says—

> "Labourers are discontented, because of the manner in which they are housed. Those who work for owners cultivating their own lands are often provided with suitable well-built cottages. Labourers so circumstanced are contented."

Mr. O'Brien, writing of Louth, Armagh, Cavan, Dublin, Fermanagh, Monaghan, and Tyrone, says—"Discontent appears unquestionably to be the prevailing sentiment amongst the class in question." He shows that though wages have risen, prices have largely risen also—the cost of living in the workhouses for the year ending September, 1869, being double that of the year ending September, 1849. But his account not only from his own experience, but from the reliable statements of medical officers of different Unions of the condition of labourers' habitations is lamentable. Here is one testimony—

> "The house accommodation of the labourers is simply wretched. Their houses are seldom fit to keep out the rain; the floors are damp; the windows do not deserve the name—mere holes frequently stuffed with rags; they have very rarely built chimney braces, and in nine cases out of ten are filled with smoke every time a fire is put on. No matter how large the family, there is never more than one sleeping place off the kitchen, in which they are just huddled together. Nothing can be more miserable than the habitations of the agricultural labourers, for they cannot be called houses. They are a disgrace to the Christianity and civilization of the country. If the farmers have claims for an improvement of their status, the labourers have a hundred times stronger claims."

Another medical officer writes—

> "Their cabins are the most wretched in the world, being small and without ventilation or light—some not having chimneys, and all with damp clay floors. Some let in the rain. Their furniture and their bed-covering are on a par with their houses. The atmosphere of these cabins, combined with the other privations they are subjected to, has made this class particularly susceptible to low fever and pulmonary complaints."

Mr. Burke, writing of Galway, Clare, Kerry, King's County, Limerick, and Queen's County, says—

> "The labourers are discontented. . . . . . The labourer occupies a miserable cabin, for which he pays 1*s.* a-week to the farmer on whose land it happens to be. When repairs are wanted he must execute them himself, receiving an allowance only in rare instances. In the case of labourers employed by the gentry or higher classes, the service of the workman is lighter, and his relation to his employer more cordial. Moreover, he finds in his master and his master's family sure friends when sickness or misfortune overtakes him."

He (Mr. W. H. Gregory) wished this passage to be borne in mind, for it tallied with the reports received from all quarters, and determined him as far as possible in any legislation to place the labourer under the landlord rather than under the farmer; for this he well knew, in spite of all the hard things said of Irish landlords, that there was no discontent on the part of labourers living under them and working for them; and that if all the labourers in Ireland were polled, there would hardly be found a single man who would not pray to be under the landlord in preference to being under the farmer. He (Mr. W. H. Gregory), therefore, would recommend, in the first place, that every encouragement should be given to landlords to erect cottages for their labourers—and one of the first objects was to enable them to construct them with the minimum of expense. The terms offered by the Board of Works were extremely liberal; but, unfortunately, the conditions of that, in other respects, most excellent Act of Parliament, Sir William Somerville's Cottier Tenements Act, were so multifarious and onerous that landlords were unwilling to avail themselves of public loans. The consequence was that only £51,000 had been taken from the Board of Works for labourers' cottages. This was, however, no criterion of what was doing, as many landlords were erecting this class of house at their own expense, and putting other cottages into creditable condition. There was an interesting treatise written by Mr. Kebbel, on the condition of the English agricultural labourer, which throws some light on this subject. He says—

> "One of the difficulties, if not the main difficulty, connected with the building of cottages is that of rent—one-seventh of the labourer's income is computed at what would be a fair rent."

If a cottage could be built for £60 in Ireland—and his (Mr. W. H. Gregory's) experience proved that it could be so built—at 6 per cent, the labourer would have to pay £3 10*s.* a-year. Thus 1*s.* a-week would go near to give an owner a fair return for his money, though not to a speculator. Mr. Kebbel goes on to say—

> "If the cottager holds from the farmer, he cannot carry his labour to the best market—he must take the wages offered to him, and, perhaps, part of the year be without employment."

He quoted Mr. Boyle and Mr. Hunter, who, in their Report to the Privy Council, gave as their opinion, from their experience of that part of England which they inspected—

> "That the worst cottages were small freeholds, inhabited generally by persons too poor to make the necessary repairs. The next in the scale of badness were those of small proprietors and speculators, who invested in them as a money speculation, and who charged a high rent and spent little in repairs. The best were those belonging to large proprietors, who charged a rent without actually looking to repayment of the outlay."

And both these gentlemen conclude—

> "That a cottage ought to be considered in the light of farm buildings, from which the landlord expects no return, except in the shape of part of the rent of the farm."

All these reasons applied to Ireland; but there were other reasons, too. If the tenants on an estate were allowed to take the initiative in building cottages, you would have a widespread system of division and subletting, against which your legislation has been deservedly directed; and things would be even worse than before, for legislation would be giving encouragement to, and actually affording the means for the propagation of unmitigated evil. There was no doubt also that the labourer would become a mere serf to the farmer, dependent on him for employment, and obliged to accept whatever wages he might offer. The first provision, therefore, should be to encourage the landlord to build the labourers' houses necessary for the property. Cases, however, might arise where a landlord would do nothing. He had been furnished with an instance in the case of Kanturk. That town belonged to Lord Egmont. He had levelled a large number of houses; but he absolutely refused to grant a lease, or to allow cottages or buildings to be erected in the town, as being "contrary to the rules of the estate," and over 400 people evicted from their former habitations were now crowded together in misery and squalor, and to the great danger of the health of the locality. Such was the statement made to him. He (Mr. W. H. Gregory) was bound to add that he heard that the persons ejected were compensated by the agent. In that case it might be permitted to the tenant of a farm of a certain size to build the cottage, under restrictions as to the character of the building, and with clear provisions that it should not be made a vehicle for subdivision and subletting, and encouragement might also be given for the building of cottages in towns. Now, one word as regards subletting. A certain amount of agricultural land should be attached to the dwelling; but a limit should be placed upon it, or the worst state of things would arise by the labourer ceasing to be a labourer and becoming a small farmer; but it would be absolutely essential that this condition should be relaxed so far as a plot of grazing land was concerned, to enable him to keep a cow, the great object of desire to every labourer in Ireland, and which made the whole difference to him between comfort and misery as regarded his own nourishment and the health of his family. The annual value to the labourer in England of a cow is computed at £12. These, then, were his recommendations—that the labourer's cottage should, if possible, be built by the landlord; that the over-stringent regulations of the Cottier Tenements Act should be relaxed—though a check as to the character of the structure should be required; that only a small portion of agricultural land should be attached, but that the restriction may be relaxed in favour of grass for a cow; that the landlord may grant to an undoubted labourer a larger amount of land than that contemplated by the Land Act, without constituting him a tenant under the Act; that the tenant, in case of the landlord's refusal, may be allowed to build, but only on holdings of a certain size; and that he should be obliged to give ample proof that the transaction was of a *bonâ fide* character, and not with a view to evade the law, and subdivide the holding. There was, however, one more recommendation, even more important than all these, without which, in his (Mr. W. H. Gregory's) opinion, legislation would be absolutely hopeless, and that was this—that all rent-paying cottages should be subject to inspection, and that no rent should be recoverable from any habitation till it was fit for the housing of human beings. Who was to do this? The relieving and sanitary officer might be called on to report to the Board of Guardians of each Union on the condition of the houses in each townland, and a notice might be served on the landlord and receiver that, unless the habitation be placed within the shortest period in habitable condition, no demand for rent should be valid. It was impossible to reach the existing state of things without some such remedy. Good houses might be erected for many labourers; but it would be impossible to get at those horrible hovels which made a stranger's heart grow cold within him, and which were a disgrace to our Christianity and civilization, and which were, moreover, the propagators of pestilence throughout a district. He would detain the House a few minutes while giving an example of the horrible misery which was allowed to exist, against every remonstrance, on some estates in Ireland.

On a property in the Union to which he (Mr. W. H. Gregory) belonged in Ireland, there were two or three villages which were reported by the relieving officer to the Board of Guardians to be in a shocking condition of misery, and the hot-beds of fever. The medical officer, a most trustworthy, conscientious gentleman, sent in his report. He described the houses as devoid of thatch —that the rain poured in upon the floor —that the unfortunate inhabitants had not even a bed, but were lying on wet straw; and that in one village alone there were over 30 cases of typhoid fever and eight deaths during a short period of the commencement of last year. The estate was in Chancery, and the Guardians requested, in more than one communication, the receiver to do something to assist these poor people to put their houses in order; but no reply came. He (Mr. W. H. Gregory) did not blame the receiver, who had the character of being a kind, humane man. His hands were clearly tied. In last September the disease again broke out, and the medical officer again reported the condition of these villages to the Board. His report was forwarded to the Master in Chancery, and this was the answer—

> "Let the receiver call on the Guardians to state precisely what they require him to do, and state also the Act of Parliament under which they claim authority to interfere with the property of the minors in this matter, and with the receiver acting under the Court."

The Guardians sent the following reply:

> "A copy of the Master's ruling with reference to a letter forwarded by this Board to him having been brought before them, they have to state they did not ground their application on any Act of Parliament, under which they could claim authority to interfere with the property of the minors, their only desire being to alleviate the painful state of things brought under their notice by the medical and sanitary officers of the Union; and if the Master and receiver cannot be influenced by the feelings of humanity which have prompted this Board to appeal to them, things must, of course, remain in their present scandalous position."

The Master's reply was to return the resolution, with this comment—

> "I have to inform you that I do not consider it consistent with my official duty to exercise feelings of humanity at the expense of minors, whose property is, by the Court, placed under my official care, without any legal right or authority to incur such expense, and that my refusing to do so until a proper authority was first obtained, as expressed in my ruling, does not appear to me a justification for transmitting to me, what I am sorry to be obliged to regard as an impertinent communication, which I return."

It is well the House should know the name of this official, "who does not consider it consistent with his duty to exercise feelings of humanity," who says he has no legal right to incur any expense in the case of these unfortunate tenants. His name was Master Fitzgibbon. This was the same Master who recently, in his management of the property of Fagan's Minors, insisted on the tenant signing agreements that he would not avail himself of the provisions of the Land Act; and he (Mr. W. H. Gregory) considered his conduct as disgraceful to his private character as to the high and responsible position which he occupied. It was notorious that this correspondence was the result of obstinacy and ill-humour; for he (Mr. W. H. Gregory) never knew of a case in which a Master did not order necessary works to be done on a property; and he wished most cordially that Master Fitzgibbon might be forced to occupy, for one rainy night, one of these hovels to which he had condemned so many of his fellow-creatures to abide in till fever and ague removed them to a better and a happier world. Now, bear in mind that these poor wretches were not squatters, but payers of rent. Here is an authentic account of them—

> "There are 14 houses in the village where fever existed, and of these 13 paid rent, one only being occupied by a squatter. There were 36 cases of fever altogether in Shehanagh village, and of these 11 are dead. The great majority of the houses are in wretched repair, and, to my own knowledge, rain falling down on the bed of a fever patient was not uncommon."

This was from the medical officer of the district. If his proposals for inspection, and that no rent should be exacted in such cases as these, which were too common, alas! such men as Master Fitzgibbon would not be entreated in vain to indulge in feelings of humanity—they would be compelled to do their duty. They were now holding an inquiry as to the state of Westmeath and Meath. The Reports of the Poor Law Inspectors had informed the House that the miserable condition of the labourers of Meath was one of the causes of discontent and outrage in that district; and he was determined, for one, to ascertain from every competent witness whether this statement was not correct, and whether remedies for, as well as repression of, crime were not still essential. Were the legislation which he now advocated to involve a great consumption of time, he would not feel justified, after the kindness of English and Scotch Members in permitting Irish business to occupy the whole of two Sessions, to press this subject amid so many other claims on the attention of the Government. But a Bill embodying all the provisions he had alluded to would involve no protracted deliberations. He was sure that if the hon. Baronet the Member for Londonderry (Sir Frederick W. Heygate), and the hon. Member for Kendal (Mr. Whitwell), and the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Maguire), were to meet together with the noble Lord, they could in half an hour frame the heading of a Bill. It was urgently required. These poor men, so helpless and so hopeless, had no particular power; they commanded no votes; they had not the self assertion, the means of co-operation, or the education of a town population. All the more reason, then, for Parliament to listen to their cry. The old saying of "*Qui laborat orat*" was, indeed, true with them. They pray you to do something to raise their condition, and their habitations above—aye, or even equal to—that of the cattle of the field; they pray you to be allowed a seat at Nature's table in their own land, and that their gaze may not ever be turned from Ireland to America as the only chance of changing that which is now but existence into life and hope; and if you grant that prayer, you may rely on it that their prayer in return will be not for anarchy and confusion, but for peace, plenty, and employment; and that, in return for good treatment, they will give you the best return in their power—namely, good conduct and honest work. The hon. Member concluded by moving the Resolution.

Sir FREDERICK W. HEYGATE said, he had great pleasure in seconding the Resolution. He could not agree with everything the hon. Gentleman had said; but, still, his object must commend itself to the common sense of everyone interested in the welfare of Ireland. The question was not, in any degree, a political one; for, as the hon. Gentleman had stated, that part of the population who would be benefited by a measure of this kind had no votes. They numbered, however, 400,000, so that this proposal involved the happiness, with those connected with them, of more than 2,000,000 persons, or about two-fifths of the whole population. Their condition was in no way improved by the legislation of last year; but he understood that a positive promise had been given by the late Chief Secretary that a measure would be brought before Parliament to ameliorate their condition. When he (Sir Frederick Heygate) last year had given Notice of a clause in the Irish Land Bill, which he was convinced would have had a most beneficial effect, he was met by the Government by a point blank refusal to consider it, and the Prime Minister said that the question had nothing to do with the Land Bill, and that it was not the duty of the Government to provide a nostrum for agricultural labourers. If this were a nostrum it was an important one, for much of the disaffection in Ireland was due to the miserable houses in which a large portion of the population lived. Improvement had been made in their education, their food, their wages, and their clothing; but in their habitations there had been little or no improvement. According to the Census Returns of 1861—which, it was true, were somewhat old—there were 377,742 families living in first and second-class houses; 593,496 in third-class houses; and 197,062 in fourth-class houses, or nearly double the number of those dwelling in first and second-class houses. The description given in the Census of these dwellings was that a third-class house was a mud cabin of one, two, three, or four rooms, with a door and windows; a fourth-class house was a mud cabin with a door, but without a window; and there was a total of 750,558 families living in these two classes of houses. It might be that the number had slightly diminished since these Returns were made, but still it was not materially reduced; and it was almost useless to try to raise the condition of the country while the people occupied hovels of so miserable a character. The matter was a most difficult one to deal with. He could not go so far as the hon. Member for Galway in proposing direct legislative action against this evil, because there was danger lest they should reverse the natural order of things, and make the habitation of the labourer better than that of the farmer who employed him. He (Sir Frederick Heygate) was never able to obtain anything like a return from these cottages; because when he had paid rates, repairs, and taxes, and exercised humane considerations, there was very little, or none, of the rent left. It was said that loans for cottage improvement were advanced on very reasonable terms under Sir William Somerville's Act; but there were many objections to applications for them. The total amount wanted must be applied for all at once; it must be stated where the cottages were all to be built; the application must be accompanied by complete plans; and the cottages must be built within a certain time and under certain conditions; and when all the conditions had been complied with, you would probably have cottages out of all proportion to the means of the labourers, and, perhaps, better than the house occupied by the farmers. Easy as the terms were, it was difficult to find labourers at all anxious to pay additional rent for additional accommodation. In fact, old people did not like to live in better houses than they had been used to; but their children generally appreciated improved dwellings; and this was an illustration of the gradual way in which the condition of the country in this respect could be ameliorated. People could not be forced to adopt a mode of living foreign to their habits; but, at all events, they might be tempted to make improvements, and in order that they might be encouraged to do so, he would suggest that loans should be offered in such a manner as to make it to the interest of both landlord and tenant to obtain them. The Amendment which he proposed last year in the Land Bill would have enabled the landlord and tenant together, or the tenant with the consent of the landlord, to borrow small sums from the Board of Works for purposes of improvement of farms, draining, and building; the interest being charged upon the farm and repaid by the landlord or the tenant, or both jointly. Such loans he recommended should be accompanied by a condition that a certain proportion of cottages must be built out of the money advanced. It was with this object that he attempted unsuccessfully to introduce provisions for the building of cottages into the Irish Land Act. However much landlords were responsible for the condition of labourers, he would remind the House that their position was very much altered by the Act of last year. In taking from landlords much of the power over their property, Government had, to a certain extent, assumed responsibility, which formerly devolved on the landlords, with reference to the habitations of labourers. A measure of the kind now advocated was a matter which exceeded all political measures—he had almost said all religious measures—in its effect upon the loyalty and contentment of the people, for nothing could have a greater tendency to make a people contented and loyal than an improvement of their comfort and condition. He hoped the Government would not regard this as a question interesting one party more than another; and if they took it up with the view of devising a remedy, he would gladly afford them all the assistance in his power.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that measures should be taken, in the present Session of Parliament, to improve the condition of agricultural labourers' habitations in Ireland,"—(*Mr. William Henry Gregory,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. SYNAN said, he concurred generally in the views of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Gregory); but it was important to avoid doing anything which should destroy identity of interest and feeling at present existing between tenants and labourers; to separate them would be to sow the seeds of discontent, particularly upon the estates of absentee landlords, who could not do justice as between labourers and tenants when differences arose, and which an agent might not be able to settle to their satisfaction. The conditions of Sir William Somerville's Act were such that few proprietors availed themselves of it. Reference had been made to the rents which might be imposed upon the occupiers of cottages, and it was said that, to induce the building of cottages, they must return a rent of from £2 10*s*. or £3 10*s*. a-year; but he knew of no class of agricultural labourers in Ireland who could afford to pay out of their wages of from 5*s*. to

10*s.* per week such an amount of rent as was paid by the like class in England. If the Government lent sums of money for 35 years at a low rate of interest, farmers who desired that labourers should live on their farms would borrow the money, and be able to give cottages to their labourers rent free. The labouring class in Ireland had been divorced from the land, and driven into the towns and villages, where four families might be found living in a small cottage of only one or two rooms. He did not concur in the opinion of the hon. Baronet (Sir Frederick Heygate), who seemed to think that the Land Act of last year had relieved landlords from all responsibility, nor did he think that the landlords themselves took that view, for he believed they felt as strongly as ever the duty they owed towards their tenants. The question of labourers' cottages was before the Devon Commission; and they recommended a system of out-door relief and increased employment to raise the condition of labourers. The agricultural population of Ireland numbered 988,529, and the number of those who were interested in the subject now before the House was 479,000. He therefore asked the Government to legislate for those who were unaffected by the Act of last year. The right hon. Gentleman, now President of the Board of Trade, but then Chief Secretary for Ireland, said last Session that—

> "Legislation on this subject ought to be positive, and there were several ways by which the condition of labourers in Ireland might be improved."

What the right hon. Gentleman then said was taken as an assurance of legislation on the subject at the earliest possible opportunity, and he asked the noble Lord, who was now Chief Secretary for Ireland, to redeem the pledge of his predecessor. Let hon. Members consider how the want of cottages affected the agricultural interest. He knew instances where agricultural labourers lived four or five miles away from their work, and he knew one instance where a farmer had to go with a horse and cart six or seven miles to fetch his labourers. Now, such a state of things must seriously retard the development of agriculture in Ireland. He gave the Motion his heartiest support, and hoped the Government would immediately bring in a Bill to protect the interests of the labourers.

Mr. MAGUIRE said, that though it might be necessary for the Government directly to interfere in the matter, still indirect legislation was also a matter of the greatest importance. It was necessary to hold out inducements to the owners of property to build labourers' cottages. There was a large factory five miles from Cork, the proprietors of which being desirous of preventing their operatives having that distance to walk morning and evening, desired to obtain some land near the mill on which to build cottages for those whom they employed; but the owner of the land, though a most amiable man, for a long time refused, fearing that if the mill should fall out of work, and the occupiers of the proposed cottages should become paupers, he would have to pay for their support. The obvious remedy for this was, that they should follow the example of England, and have Union rating. In Ireland they had electoral divisions of rating, and this system had inflicted upon the people great evils. He looked upon the Land Act of last Session as one of enormous advantage; for the tenants now felt a new security that the law would protect their industry and their outlay, and this would inevitably cause more energy in cultivation, and more speculation in outlay, and furnish increased employment for labour.

Mr. BRUEN protested against the statement of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Gregory), that the cottier tenants had no advocate in that House; and, indeed, the hon. Member's own speech disproved his statement. The debate on the Land Bill of last year also showed that hon. Members on that side of the House were most anxious that the condition of the labourer, and the means for his improvement, should be most fully considered. The hon. Member for Galway recommended that the labouring classes should hold their cottages direct from the landlords and not from the farmers; but that was a question of the greatest difficulty. If the labourers were made to hold direct from the landlords, that would frequently saddle upon the latter the disputes which might arise between the farmer and his labourers. He quite admitted that labourers preferred to hold direct from landlords; but, still, he thought that farmers were entitled to retain some control over their own labourers. He was happy to say that the condition of labourers in Ireland had very much improved of late years; for the rate of wages had been considerably raised, and the cost of living had not increased in the same proportion. He hoped that the restrictions in reference to giving facilities to tenants to build would be strictly enforced; for otherwise a state of things would probably arise in which the labourer would be worse off than he was at present. He generally concurred in the recommendations of the hon. Member for Galway, and he hoped that the Government would speedily direct their attention to the subject.

Mr. O'REILLY joined the hon. Member for Carlow in hoping that, although there was much difficulty in the case, the Government would take into consideration the best means of fulfilling the hopes that were held out last year. He fully agreed with the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Maguire) that the limited area of Poor Law rating had tended to prevent the erection of labourers' cottages, and that an increase of the area of taxation would greatly tend to promote them. For the last 10 or 15 years there had been a steady improvement in labourers' cottages in some parts of Ireland, and he did not think that there was now any large proportion of fourth-class houses occupied by families in Ireland, though in the South and West there would be found most miserable abodes. In the county of Louth there were in 1861 large numbers of these wretched fourth-class hovels; but now, in the whole district in which he lived, he only knew of three or four such, and they were in the centre of a bog, and were occupied by squatters. He discovered them with some difficulty, and he now showed them to visitors as a specimen of a past state of things. There were active causes at work throughout the country to which we might with confidence look forward for improvement. He believed the legislation of the last year, which had done so much to improve the position of farmers, and given them greater wealth and greater interest in the improved cultivation of their farms, would induce them to give better wages and to provide better cottages for their labourers; while, as the labourers became more independent, they would be in a better position to insist upon that accommodation being supplied them. He wished to correct an impression conveyed by the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Frederick Heygate) that it was impossible to get rent out of an Irish labourer for anything like a decent habitation. He knew Irish labourers could not be expected to pay rent on an expenditure of £60 or £70 or £100 for building a house. They were able to pay a rent from 9*d.* to 1*s.* a week; which, taking into account the taxes on the land, was sufficient to allow of something like a reasonable habitation being provided for them without any loss to the farmer. He and many others thought that the solution of the difficulty of getting rent from the labourer in Ireland lay in adding to each cottage a small portion of land. The only further suggestion he would make was that in any loans to be given for the improvement of labourers' cottages too high a standard of accommodation should not be put up as the condition of their erection. It might be that this standard was very desirable; but the practical question for the Irish labourer was, whether it would not be better for him to have a second-class house, something like a human habitation, than to leave him in one of those wretched fourth-class habitations in which he resided at present. And the assistance to be given should not be confined exclusively to the erection of new dwellings, for it was often better to renovate an old than to erect a new one.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. W. H. Gregory) had done good service in calling attention to this subject. He had listened—as, indeed, the House had done—with great interest to the discussion which followed, and were it not for technical reasons he did not know that he should think it necessary to ask his hon. Friend to withdraw the Motion. However, as it had taken the form of an Amendment to the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair, he hoped, in the event of his being able to give a satisfactory assurance on the subject, his hon. Friend would withdraw the Amendment and be content to leave the matter in the hands of the Government. He had no difficulty whatever in promising on the part of the Government that legislation on this question should be undertaken in the course of the present Session. The measure which was known as Sir William Somerville's Act, which had been frequently referred to in the course of the debate, would expire this year, and it would be absolutely necessary that it should be renewed; but, instead of asking simply for its renewal, it would give him the greatest pleasure to take advantage of the offers which had been made to him that evening by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. W. H. Gregory), and the hon. Member for Londonderry (Sir Frederick Heygate), and consider what Amendments might be introduced into the Act in order to make it more useful than it had hitherto been. Not that he wished to suggest that the Act had not been of considerable advantage. He found from the Report of the Commissioners of Public Works that loans amounting to £66,000 for the purpose of building labourers' dwellings had been advanced. On that sum loans to the amount of £23,355 had been closed, and of the remainder, over £31,000 had been authorized and was in course of expenditure. There was no doubt, however, that, owing to certain causes which had been pointed out by the hon. Member for Londonderry, the Act had not been taken advantage of to the extent that was desirable, and it would give him the greatest possible pleasure to receive any suggestions in order to make the Act more valuable. His hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. W. H. Gregory) had recommended, in the first place, that assistance should be given to landlords for the erection of cottages; and, in the next place, in case the landlord was not willing to come forward, that assistance should be extended to the tenant. Here they had probably come on some difficult ground. His hon. Friend himself had given several reasons why it was not very desirable that the question of housing the labourers should be left in the hands of the tenants; and, certainly, it was very doubtful whether, where the landlord did not consider himself bound to provide proper habitations for the labourer, the tenant would be in such a prosperous state, or would feel such confidence in the relations subsisting between himself and his landlord, as to make him willing to do so. Still, if any practical suggestions should be made for the advance of money to the tenant as well as the landlord, or to the landlord and tenant jointly, with a view to provide labourers' dwellings, he should be glad to consider it. His hon. Friend had next suggested that there should be an inspection by certain local authorities, such as the sanitary or relieving officers of the Poor Law Unions of all the labourers' dwellings, and that where such dwellings were not certified fit for human habitation there should be no power of recovering any rent. He (the Marquess of Hartington) was sorry he could not agree as to the desirableness of that suggestion. If it came to be worked out in practice he did not think it possible to intrust to any local authority such a responsibility as that of deciding whether a tenant should pay rent for his cottage or not. Although he would be unwilling to pledge himself on the subject, he thought it possible that some inspection should be made; that there should be a power in the country districts, as there was now in the towns under the Local Government Act, of summoning the owners of houses which were unfit for human habitation, and that there should be some authority for inflicting certain fines upon them. As had been well remarked, the process of improvement must be gradual, and would be more effectually carried on by tempting landlords and tenants to improve these cottages than by any coercive measures whatever. Before sitting down he wished to say that, though he attached as much importance to this question—as much importance as had been attached to it by any previous speakers—he did not think it would be right for the House to look to any legislation or any Government assistance which could be given for permanent and extensive improvement in the condition of the labourers. He quite agreed with what had been said by the hon. Member who had just spoken, that in this, as in other respects, we must look to the general improvement in the condition of the labourers. Let their wages be raised, their education improved; let the social standard among them generally be elevated, and improvement in their dwellings would ultimately follow. But as long as labourers in Ireland received—as they were told they sometimes received—only 4*s*. or 5*s*. a-week, as long as they were in such a state of dependence and wretchedness that they were unable to transfer themselves from a district where they were unable to obtain work to another, at a short distance, where there might be a demand for labour, no real and permanent improvement would be effected, even if legislation should secure that they should be lodged in very much better cottages. It would be nothing but a mockery to build good and substantial cottages for labourers who had scarcely the simplest article of furniture to put into them. Let the improvement of the labourer be a general one. He believed that the legislation of the past year would have a certain effect in improving the condition of the labourers, as well as in improving the condition of the tenant-farmers themselves. He would not believe that the distrust and dislike which were said to exist between the tenant-farmers and the labourers in Ireland could be anything but temporary. After all, their interests were the same, and as the condition of the farmer improved, so would he be able to spend more capital in promoting the welfare of those in his employ. That must be an advantage to the labourer. There was one other observation which he wished to make, and it was this. He did not think that the remarks which had been made by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Maguire), and by another hon. Member (Mr. M'Mahon), upon what the hon. Member for Cork called indirect legislation on this subject, were altogether out of place. As to the merits of the proposal for Union rating, he did not wish to say a word, but whatever opinion might be entertained on the subject, whether Union rating or electoral division was the better system, it was very closely connected with the question at present under the consideration of the House. In the Report from which the hon. Member for Galway had quoted relating to the county of Waterford, it was stated that labour had not as yet found its level in that quarter, and that the labourers were obliged to resort for shelter to the towns. If that was so, it was extremely likely that the system would have the effect of depreciating the quality of the labourers' dwellings remaining in the country. He had simply to add that he would have great pleasure in consulting with Irish Members on the subject before the Bill, which must be brought in, would be laid on the Table.

MR. M'MAHON said, he was anxious as anybody could be that the labourers should have proper dwellings, but he very much doubted whether the adoption of such a proposal as that of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. W. H. Gregory) would lead to any great improvement in that respect. We had been lending money for years to landlords to enable them to improve the labourers' dwellings, and as yet not the slightest improvement was visible. He hoped it would be different in the future. Farmers were allowed to build cottages on their holdings under the operation of the law of last year, and when they found that their interests were protected against the landland they would not fail to do so. The Westmeath Committee and its results were, he was afraid, likely to occupy no small portion of the time of the House during the present Session, to the exclusion of such questions as that of Union rating; but he wished to take that opportunity of giving Notice that he would, on the 26th of April, take the sense of the House on the subject.

COLONEL FRENCH said, that his hon. Friend the Member for Galway had made a most eloquent speech depicting the misery of the habitations of the class who were generally termed squatters, more than even the circumstances of the case would justify. He deprecated these constant attempts, in and out of Parliament, to render the peasantry of Ireland discontented with their present position; they were daily rising in the social scale, and if let alone their progress would be a rapid one. He himself had built slated houses, and had assisted in building thatched houses; but it had never entered into his imagination to charge house-rent from a tenant for a cottage, nor did he, in all his experience, know any person who had done so. He protested against the unfounded attack made by the Mover on so able a lawyer and so distinguished a man as Master Fitzgibbon, and must declare his opinion that his hon. Friend, and the Board of Guardians over which he presided, richly merited the reproof they received from the learned Judge. He was, however, quite satisfied with the statement of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and was content to wait with patience for the measure he intended to propose; but he must decline to enter on the subject of Union rating, which was not before the House.

MR. WHITWELL said, the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. W. H. Gregory) had not in the least exaggerated the condition of these dwellings in Ireland, and the necessity of improving them. There was scarcely any subject which excited more interest throughout Ireland than that of the dwellings in which the poorer classes of the population were compelled to live. There had been a decided advance in the character of labourers' dwellings, and an improvement in their general condition, but much remained still to be done in the way of improvement. Sir William Somerville's Act had confessedly been, to some extent, a failure — it would expire this year; what was to replace it? As the Act of last year had given to the tenant a right of occupation of merchantable value (the tenant-right having been in one case recently sold for 28 years' purchase), why should not the tenant have the same privilege in receiving advances as the landlord himself, seeing that he could now give the same security as the landlord? He congratulated the House, and especially the Members representing Ireland, that a subject so important had been so well discussed, and he hoped the noble Lord the Secretary for Ireland would find a mode by which the object in view would be carried out more satisfactorily. He thought it was an object to be kept in view to see if a more real use could not be made of the tenants' right of occupation. A number of works upon which money was advanced were at a standstill because labour could not be found, there being no fit dwellings for the labourers to occupy. It appeared from the Returns that the recent emigration from Ireland reached 73,000, of whom not less than 53,000 were able-bodied labourers; and he had no doubt that much of this large emigration was owing to the sad condition of the labourers' dwellings in that country.

Mr. M'CARTHY DOWNING thought that if the clause which was in the Land Bill when introduced last year, enabling a tenant-farmer to give his labourer a cottage and half-an-acre of land, was retained, there would have been little if any need for further legislation. Such an enactment would be more satisfactory than any other that could be proposed. He did not see why, if a labourer's cottage were unfit for habitation, the occupier should not be able to cite the tenant-farmer before the magistrates at Petty Sessions, the Court being empowered to order the cottage to be put into proper condition, and, in default, deprive the tenant-farmer of the power to recover any rent. Taking an interest in the condition of the labouring population of Ireland, he should feel bound to give all the assistance in his power to enable the Government to give satisfaction to the country on the subject.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

EDUCATION—NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND).

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. RAIKES, who had given Notice of a Motion for a Copy of the Memorial presented by the Teachers of Irish National Schools to Her Majesty's Government during the present year, said, he rose to call attention to the hardship inflicted upon the Masters of National Schools in Ireland by their liability to capricious or arbitrary dismissal by the patrons or managers of the schools. It might appear as if some apology were needed on his part for bringing forward a question which might have seemed more properly to belong to one of the special representatives of the sister country; but he would observe that this was a difficult question for Irish Members to treat, inasmuch as it was not easy to avoid mingling with it some sectarian feeling, and he desired, in dealing with it, to observe that moderation of tone which was desirable in treating a subject which required very delicate handling. He disclaimed the desire to make any party or religious capital out of the question before the House. It had been stated in a leading Irish journal that he had taken up this question as a means of damaging the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland. Nothing could be further from his wish. He recognized most fully and most gratefully the persistent endeavours made by the Roman Catholic clergy to improve the education of the people under their charge; and he thought it would come with an ill grace from one not of their communion to slight what they had done, when many Protestant landlords, possessing equal opportunities, had not availed themselves of them. In considering this question it became important to remember the difference existing between the systems of education in Ireland and in England. In England schools were supported by large subscriptions, from school fees, and from Government grants, whereas in Ireland national education was supported almost wholly by grants from the Imperial Government. He believed he might state upon authority that the amount contributed towards education in Ireland by the State was £340,000 a-year, while the school fees were £42,000 a-year, the amount received from subscriptions and endowments not exceeding £12,000 a-year. In this country we were familiar with a denominational system and a committee of management. In Ireland, on the contrary, the management of the schools was vested, in almost every case, in a patron, who had constituted himself patron simply by an application to the National Board for a school to be established in his parish. The patrons, as a rule, rarely contributed to the support of the schools they managed; but they exercised over them an authority which, when vested in a single individual, if it did not lead to acts of despotism, induced, at all events, a suspicion that such acts might be committed: and those who were placed under an irresponsible patron felt that a sword was continually hanging over them and ready to fall. Out of 6,240 schools in Ireland about two-thirds were under the patronage of the Roman Catholic clergy, and of the remaining third about 1,700 were under Protestant patrons, and 300 in the hands of lay Roman Catholic patrons. It was creditable to Protestant patrons that they had been much actuated by a wish to consider the religious predilections of those for whom the schools were built. Since he had given Notice of this Motion, however, he had been in daily, and almost hourly, receipt of letters calling attention to the arbitrary exercise of power on the part of patrons; and he believed that in many cases the charge might be established. The great majority of the Irish school teachers felt it as a grievance that they might at a moment's notice be turned out of the schools they occupied, and cast adrift upon the world. The information which he had received left no doubt that the feeling of the teachers was very strong against the continuance of this arbitrary power of sudden dismissal. They did not wish to set themselves up as judges of the course of conduct to be observed in the schools; but all they asked was that they might, as schoolmasters, have that security which the Government gave to the cottiers and peasantry whom they saw around them. The wishes of these teachers had been already expressed by themselves; and, therefore, he was not under the necessity of detaining the House by any statement of his own. The Congress of National Teachers in 1869 and 1870 had passed resolutions, laying the greatest stress on something being done to abate the arbitrary power of dismissal. A deputation then waited on the Prime Minister, and placed in his hands a memorial signed by 2,140 Irish teachers, urging that steps might be taken by the Government to make their tenure of office more secure. But it was said that the teachers were no longer anxious to agitate the question of managerial grievance. It was quite true that the Central Executive had passed a resolution advising the provincial associations to suspend their agitation of this grievance; and the Dublin Association of Teachers passed a resolution, laying stress on the fact that some of the best friends of the teachers had expressed their disapprobation of the agitation, and their hope that it would not be pressed at the present moment. The hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Maguire)—a great authority on all matters relating to the class from which the teachers were drawn—said, in 1869, that fair notice should be given of complaint to the teachers, and they should not suddenly be thrown helpless and desolate on the world. That was a sentiment which would find many supporters on both sides of the House. *The Freeman's Journal*, so recently as the 1st of January last, had a strong article on the subject expressing the views of a very influential section of Catholic opinion in regard to it, saying that this was an intolerable grievance, and that measures should be taken immediately to put an end to it. In a short time, however, *The Freeman's Journal* changed its tone. A letter was written on the 18th of January, 1871, by the Right Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Clogher, to a parish priest in his diocese, calling attention to the fact that a Mr. Cassidy had attended the meeting of national teachers recently held in Dublin, and supported a resolution which was subversive of the fundamental principle of Catholic teaching; and that if this had not been Mr. Cassidy's first offence he should have called for his dismissal from any school in the parish; but he should be severely admonished, and must give a guarantee that he would avoid participation in such agitation for the future. [The hon. Member, having read the letter, proceeded to say]—Now, the resolution this condemned was the one to which he had referred, requiring some protection against arbitrary dismissal. Surely after such a letter it was no wonder if Irish teachers were shy, and had in some instances receded from the attitude they had generally taken up on this question. The teachers had a right to demand that they should be treated fairly, justly, and openly, and not become the victims of a tyranny which might assume a most obnoxious character. One of the Assistant Commissioners, Mr. Patrick Cummin, in his Report made a most remarkable observation, that it was dangerous to neglect the education of a people, but at the present time it was not less dangerous to call into existence a multitude of schools, and to place in them teachers with inadequate salaries, uncomfortable homes, and precarious tenure of office; they would be filled with discontent and even tempted to disloyalty; and so long as the school teachers were dissatisfied, the pupils would imbibe the bitterness of their instructors. A similar opinion was given by another Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Jack. Nor was there proof wanting of the state of things which was thus referred to and described, for 47 national schoolmasters had been arrested on suspicion of Fenianism. He was convinced that as long as we dealt with Irish difficulties bit by bit, we were likely to undo a great deal of what we were doing, and we were likely to have to supplement our work by other work which might cause trouble. Here was a simple matter, easily within reach, and yet at the root of much trouble, and he hoped the Government would take steps as early as possible to deal with it. It had been said that the present Government was "charged with a message of peace to Ireland," and he did not think anything would conduce more to peace than the placing of scholars under contented and secure schoolmasters. He was quite aware that there were other matters which were important as affecting the schoolmaster—such as the possession of a house and a garden—but this point was one which urgently required the immediate attention of the Government. He did not wish to deprive managers of the control they now had, for it was above all things important that the system of education in Ireland should possess the confidence of the Roman Catholics, who believed that education and religion must go together; but he wished to commend to the attention of the Government the recommendation of the Primary Education Commissioners, which was that teachers should receive three months' notice of dismissal—he (Mr. Raikes) would be content with one month—and that a teacher should not be treated worse than an ordinary footman, or, say, a Controller of the Admiralty. The teacher ought to receive notice of dismissal, and a copy of it ought to be sent to the Board; and, if the causes alleged were found insufficient or unreasonable, the person who had given that notice ought to be bound to pay some compensation—say three or six months' salary—something, at all events, which it would not be impossible for a man to pay if he conscientiously wished to get rid of a teacher, and at the same time something which would make a man careful how he gratified an outburst of temper. Of one thing he was confident, and that was, that so long as the Irish schoolmasters were disaffected so long would the people of Ireland be disaffected too. We might disestablish churches and interfere with landlords, but no good could be done in a country the educated classes of which smarted under a sense of oppression, which it was the duty of Parliament to remedy. As the Resolution of which he had given notice referred to a Return which the noble Lord the Chief Secretary had kindly given him, he did not now propose to move it.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that after carefully listening to the speech of the hon. Member for Chester, he was unable to discover upon what grounds he had thought it necessary to call attention to the subject on the present occasion. The hon. Member deprecated dealing with Irish difficulties bit by bit, yet he had taken up a part only of one subject affecting Ireland; and as it was certain that attention must be called to the Report of the Royal Commission on Primary Education, and also to the grievances which had been urged by schoolmasters, he was at a loss to discover why the hon. Member should have seized this opportunity to urge one grievance only, and that a grievance respecting which a considerable number of the schoolmasters were anxious to withdraw their complaints. He (the Marquess of Hartington) declined to be drawn into a partial discussion of this question. As he had stated in reply to a Question some time ago, the Government had under their consideration the memorial presented by the teachers, and the suggestions which had been made upon it by the Board of National Education in Ireland; it would be his duty either in moving the Education Vote, or upon some other and earlier occasion, to state the views of the Government upon the subject; and he did not think there would be any convenience, but rather the contrary, in anticipating now what it would be his duty to state hereafter. Certainly the conclusion at which the hon. Member arrived was far more moderate than the tone of his speech had led him to anticipate. Having spoken of the power of dismissal by managers having been used in a harsh and improper manner, and of the existence and exercise of such power being inconsistent with the independence of school teachers, the hon. Gentleman ended by supporting the recommendation of the Commissioners, who, on the whole, thought it best that effective control over schoolmasters should remain in the hands of the managers. There was very little difference of opinion among the Commissioners, who all thought that the powers of managers should remain very much what they were now, and also that national school teachers should not be treated harshly any more than any other classes of Her Majesty's subjects. The question was, were they so treated? He (the Marquess of Hartington) was astonished at the extreme absence of evidence on this point. The hon. Member said that since he gave notice of his Motion he had received numerous complaints from schoolmasters. Well, he should like to know what class of public servants could have notice given of an intention to ventilate their grievances without the hon. Member who had given the notice being inundated with their complaints. The whole subject of primary education had been inquired into by a Commission; and one would have supposed the hon. Member would have been able to strengthen his case by reference to a mass of evidence taken by that Commission. But the hon. Member had been obliged to confine himself to the Reports of one or two of the Assistant Commissioners; Mr. Jack, one of the witnesses of the hon. Member, did not go any great length in speaking of the hardships of teachers; and of the other Commissioners, most of them alleged no case of capricious treatment; and all concurred in the opinion that power should remain substantially in the hands of managers. He should be ready to consider any suggestions for improving the position of the teachers without materially impairing the control exercised by the managers; but he must express his strong opinion that any measure which would weaken the interest and the effective control of the managers, upon which the efficiency of the national system must depend, would be an unmixed evil, and would, therefore, be one to which the Government could give no countenance or support.

Sir FREDERICK W. HEYGATE rose because he feared, from the remarks of the Chief Secretary, that another year might pass without any substantial improvement having been made in the position of teachers, although, in his opinion their case was one which required immediate consideration. The hon. Member for Chester had merely touched upon the fringe of an immense subject, and had ministered in homœopathic doses to patients who were suffering severely. There could be no worse policy than to give these teachers insufficient salaries, and to take no steps for their comfort and for their ultimate superannuation. He hoped the managers of these schools would have some limitation placed on their power of dismissal, and that at any rate three months' notice should be given. At the same time he could not approve of any scheme by which the managers would be forced to give up all control over the teachers. It was important that something of a substantial character should be done in this question, and that it should be done during the present year.

Mr. SYNAN said, the hon. Member for Chester (Mr. Raikes) seemed to have discovered a mare's nest, for he had made the grand discovery that the principal grievance of the Irish schoolmasters was that the 47 who were arrested for Fenianism did not receive a month's notice. It seemed to him that the principal object of the hon. Member was to read to the House the letter of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Clogher, asking the managers of a school to call to account a teacher, and the article of *The Freeman's Journal* supporting the Bishop. He wished to ask the hon. Gentleman whether the Bishop would not be justified in writing that letter in case the teacher had moved a resolution in opposition to the Report of the Commissioners. The evidence contained in that Report showed that the authority of school managers over teachers was exercised in a fair and just spirit. It did not disclose a single case of hardship; and he thought that the school managers, who had very frequently themselves founded and maintained their schools, and who were deeply interested in defending the public from misconduct on the part of the masters, ought not to be deprived of their rights as managers.

POST OFFICE—MAILS BETWEEN BRISTOL AND CORNWALL.—QUESTION.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER rose to ask the Postmaster General, Whether he was prepared to expedite the night mails between Bristol and Cornwall. The present state of the postal communication in that district formed a great practical grievance, and an amount of delay and inconvenience was occasioned which ought to be put a stop to. At present letters leaving Bristol at 6.30 a.m. reached Plymouth at 12.25 p.m., and then they were detained there until 2 o'clock, occasioning a loss of an hour and 35 minutes in the very middle of the day. But the most important point was found in the arrangements with reference to the night mail. The limited mail, which left London at 9.0 p.m., arrived in Bristol at 12.20 a.m., but it did not carry the letters any further on the road to Penzance; they were left to be carried on by an ordinary passenger train, which lost 50 minutes in the journey between London and Bristol, 35 minutes between Bristol and Exeter, 25 minutes between Exeter and Plymouth, 20 minutes at Plymouth, and half-an-hour between Plymouth and Falmouth, when compared with the journeys made by an express train. The up train from Falmouth lost an additional 20 minutes before it arrived in London. This caused great inconvenience in Cornwall. In Penzance, for instance, letters were delivered between 10 and 12 o'clock in the day, and as the mail went out at 2.30 p.m. there was only a very short time left for sending replies; while as to the night mail, the letters came in at 7 in the evening, and had to be answered by 5 next morning, so that people had either to sit up all night to get their replies in the post or else lose more than 24 hours. In a large shipping port it was particularly important that letters should be delivered early, because a packet might arrive with letters late in the day—too late for letters to be posted the same day, and the consequence might be that 24, or, in the case of a Friday, 48 hours might be lost—a matter that might be of the greatest moment to commercial men. He would venture to ask the right hon. Gentleman carefully to look into this subject, and to consider whether he could not, with due regard to the interests of his Department, facilitate the delivery of letters in the West of England, and by so doing confer a great boon on commercial men.

Mr. A. W. YOUNG said, he could fully corroborate the statement of the hon. Member. It was most desirable that the present state of the postal communication in Cornwall should be improved.

Mr. MONTAGUE CHAMBERS protested—not for the first time—against the Post Office being regarded as a department for raising revenue rather than as one established for the purpose of providing for the delivery of letters, not only in the large towns, but in the small villages and remote districts.

Mr. MONSELL said, he need scarcely assure the hon. Member for Penryn that any wish he might express would receive his most careful attention. The hon. Member would, however, feel the difficulty of the position in which he was placed, having to decide between conflicting claims for additional postal accommodation, urged by a number of districts, not only in this country, but in Scotland and Ireland. As regarded the observations of the hon. and learned Member for Devonport (Mr. M. Chambers), he thought that his conduct since he had succeeded to his present office had shown in the most practical manner that he entirely agreed with him that the Post Office should not be regarded merely as an institution for raising revenue, and that the convenience of the public was the main object which that Department sought to carry out. He must observe that it was not true that the whole postal revenue was spent in this country, for, unfortunately, no less a sum than £466,000 per annum of it was expended in providing postal communication with the Colonies and foreign countries. With regard to the question of this particular district, the speed at which the mails travelled from London to Bristol was 35 miles an hour, from Bristol to Exeter 32 miles an hour, from Exeter to Plymouth 24 miles an hour, and below Plymouth 21½ miles an hour. In fact, the speed of the mail train was in accordance with the amount of the trade and population of the different districts through which it passed. The same was the case in the remoter districts of Ireland and Scotland. He was afraid it would be impossible to carry out exactly the project of his hon. Friend—namely, to have a limited mail travelling the whole way from London to Penzance at the same speed as it went from London to Bristol. [MR. R. N. FOWLER: The mail travelled at express speed from London to Bristol. He wanted it to go all the way at express speed.] At any rate, his hon. Friend wished the mail to travel at a considerably increased speed. The hon. Member complained of a detention of one hour and 35 minutes at Plymouth; but the reason for that was that it did not suit the people of those places to have their trains running at the same time as would best suit the mail; and an additional train for the mail would involve a considerable extra expense. Moreover, between Plymouth and Falmouth there was only a single line of rail, and that in no small degree increased their difficulty. However, the attention of the Post Office had already been directed to that matter, and would continue to be so; negotiations on the subject had been opened with the railway companies, and if they could enter into fair arrangements with those companies they would be happy to meet to a certain extent the views of his hon. Friend. They recognized the importance of the town represented by his hon. Friend, and also of the great mining population of Cornwall—a county the postal revenue of which was considerable, and which had a right to increased postal advantages.

MR. EASTWICK desired to express towards the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down that gratitude which mainly consisted of a lively sense of favours to come. As regarded the past and the present, the people of Cornwall had no reason to be grateful to the Post Office authorities, who seemed to have looked upon them as "remote, unfriended." The rest of the line—"melancholy, slow"—would apply rather to the Post Office authorities than to Cornishmen. The mails travelled between London and Edinburgh—a distance of full 400 miles—in 11 hours and 10 minutes; whereas they took 11 hours and 25 minutes in the journey from London to Falmouth—a distance little over 300 miles. The present unsatisfactory state of things was entirely owing to the Post Office, which had shown constant hostility to Falmouth, in depriving that port of the mails, and in other respects. Now that they had a new Postmaster General he hoped a better state of things would arise.

METROPOLIS—COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ST. JAMES'S AND WESTMINSTER.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

VISCOUNT ROYSTON called the attention of the House to the unsatisfactory state of communication between St. James's and Westminster, and to move a Resolution. In the first place, he desired to remind them of the Question which a few weeks ago he had asked of the First Commissioner of Works with reference to a communication between St. James's and Westminster by the east-end of St. James's Park. The First Commissioner of Works said that unless it was absolutely necessary to enable hon. Members to come to the House he could not entertain the question; but he (Viscount Royston) had thought that the Government would have had the generosity to concede the right of way by the east-end of St. James's Park. The hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) brought the subject forward when Mr. Layard was First Commissioner; and the question was then not only deprecated by the First Commissioner, but also by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Hants (Mr. Cowper-Temple), who had previously held that office, and who said the road would lead to nowhere, and that he considered the proposition a monstrous one. He (Viscount Royston) did not agree that the road would lead to nowhere, for it would form a communication between two important spots in the West of the metropolis. The strongest reason, however, that was urged against granting the request was that it would cost £25,000. Last year the hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) called attention to the subject, and was promised by the present First Commissioner that his proposal of a roadway round the east-end of the park out by Storey's Gate should be considered; a promise which was renewed later in the Session in a more definite manner, when the First Commissioner said that, although he could not promise to make a permanent thoroughfare through St. James's Park, yet, as King Street was about to be closed, the proposal to make a temporary road round the east-end of the park was a fair subject for consideration. This was in May last year; but from that time to the present nearly 12 months had passed, and the plan had not been carried out. Later last year the hon. Member for Cricklade (Mr. Cadogan) asked the right hon. Member whether he intended to carry out the statement that he had made to the House; and the reply was that he intended to construct a temporary road. This was in July; but later in the Session the hon. Member for Christchurch (Mr. Haviland - Burke) brought the subject again forward, when the answer of the First Commissioner was that it was too late in the Session to do any good, as it would be too late to get an Answer from Her Majesty to an Address. He knew what inconvenience it was in Mayfair to have to go round to Westminster either by Whitehall or by Grosvenor Place. The proposal he made would involve little more than the unlocking of a gate, while it would not in any way interfere wlth the rights of private persons. Under these circumstances he did not think it would be out of place to move that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she would be graciously pleased to direct that the road by the east-end of St. James's Park might be opened for carriage traffic from Marlborough House Gate to Storey's Gate.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to direct that the road by the East end of Saint James's Park may be opened for carriage traffic from Marlborough House Gate to Storey's Gate," —(*Viscount Royston*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. AYRTON trusted the House would agree with him in thinking that it was not desirable to trench upon the present privacy of the Parks without ample necessity. Every new road necessarily deprived the Parks of some of the privacy and quietness which was their main attraction to those who wished to escape from the crowded and noisy streets, and therefore it was right to approach this subject with hesitation and caution. He could only judge of the necessity of any such invasion from the expression of opinion of hon. Members representing the public feeling in the matter. When, in the first instance, it was proposed to run a road through the ornamental portion of St. James's Park, and so admit a great London traffic, he deprecated the suggestion as being inconsistent with the reasonable enjoyment of the Park on the part of the public; but, at the same time, he had thought it his duty to point out that though the Government could not recognize any urgent necessity for converting St. James's Park into a public thoroughfare, the question might have to be considered owing to the changes which were being made in one of the thoroughfares by which hon. Members were in the habit of coming down to the House. On that occasion he had suggested the possibility of making a temporary arrangement as long as the inconvenience lasted, and he had pointed out that the arrangement might depend upon two contingencies — the blocking up of King Street on the one hand, and the opening of the Thames Embankment on the other. Up to the end of last Session, however, nothing had occurred to cause any serious obstruction in the traffic, and they were, therefore, unable to form any practical opinion on the subject before the breaking up of Parliament. During the Recess he had probably had greater experience of the state of the thoroughfares than any other hon. Member, and he had failed to perceive that any such difficulties had arisen in the way of obstruction to traffic as should necessitate a change. There was, therefore, no present necessity for making a road through the Park. When the Session met and the noble Lord (Viscount Royston) asked him a Question on the subject, he had stated to the noble Lord that he had received no communication upon the subject. But now that King Street was shut up he believed that the contingency he had referred to last Session had arrived, and as far as he could gather from the expression of the opinion of hon. Members the opening of such a road would be a convenience. He, therefore, proposed to make the road, and might state that Her Majesty had already given her sanction contingently on its being required. But he was anxious that it should be understood that he proposed to carry out this arrangement on the conditions he had mentioned last year. He ventured to suggest that the noble Lord should rely upon this statement, and refrain from pressing his Motion for an Address, because some of its terms were ambiguous and might be misunderstood as referring to general traffic. The road would only be open to special traffic for the convenience of hon. Members.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION—COURT OF HUSTINGS (LONDON) ABOLITION BILL.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. W. H. SMITH rose to call attention to the Court of Hustings (London) Abolition Bill, and to move—

> "That it be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders to consider and report whether any further Standing Orders are necessary to protect the public against abuse of the Private Bill system."

The hon. Member said, that in calling the attention of the House to the circumstances attending the introduction of the Court of Hustings Abolition Bill, and its withdrawal a few nights ago, and in pointing out a great abuse of our system of Private Bill legislation, he had no desire, in any remarks he might make, to reflect on the conduct of any officer of the House, or, indeed, of any person outside the House. But the circumstances themselves were such as to demand the consideration of the House, and especially of those hon. Members who constituted the Standing Order Committee. The Bill in question, which was introduced upon Petition presented in the ordinary way by the Sheriffs at the Bar of the House, was entitled the Court of Hustings Abolition Bill, and from its title any hon. Member might naturally have conceived that it was a Bill proposing merely to abolish the Court of Hustings of the City of London. But, upon examination, the Bill turned out to be one for the accomplishment of several objects, one of them being the establishment of a new Court, with powers extending over the whole of the metropolitan district, having concurrent jurisdiction with the superior Courts of Law, and, further, having like powers of foreign attachment to those which, at present, were exercised exclusively by the Lord Mayor's Court, and which in practice had of late years been very much questioned. Under the guise, therefore, of a Private Bill, powers of the most extensive and exceptional character were sought to be acquired over the whole of the metropolis—powers which even in a Public Bill would be open to very grave doubt and questioning, and which in a Private Bill he regarded as wholly out of place. The most singular part of the transaction, however, was that when, in the first instance, he drew attention to this Bill he was informed by the gentlemen concerned in its preparation that they were as greatly amazed and as much alarmed at the powers sought under its provisions as the Attorney General himself had been when he put a Question to him upon the subject. Not a single person, directly or indirectly, connected with the Bill, would avow or acknowledge that these proposals were in any way sanctioned or proceeded with under his direction. It was a Bill which had grown up, so to speak, without any one being responsible for its paternity, and had arrived at the stage of Committee as an "unopposed Bill," simply from the fact, that being introduced as a Private Bill, no notice had been given of its contents, or of the strange powers which it contained, and no opportunity, accordingly, had been afforded to those who would be interested in opposing it to come forward. There was no doubt, he presumed, that the customary notice in the case of a Private Bill had been given, under which, in an ordinary case, individuals interested in opposing would be warned of what was in contemplation and entitled to appear; but the peculiar feature of the Bill was that there was no single person who could be served with the notice of the powers which it was sought under these provisions to obtain. The whole public of London were interested in the Bill. Every individual throughout the metropolis owing money, or who might at any time become liable to be sued in a Court of Law, was affected by the provisions of this Bill; and yet, as often happened, what was everbody's interest in general was nobody's duty in particular; and accordingly nobody appeared in opposition. He believed he was right in saying that no notice had been given to any local jurisdiction in the metropolis, to any Vestry, to any Board of Guardians, or to any authority of any kind of the intentions of the promoters of the Bill. He refrained from speaking of the City as the promoters, for they, he believed, disclaimed all intention of asking for the powers which were sought in their name. He did not wish to make matters unpleasant to anybody—he accepted in perfect good faith the disclaimer of the City; but he put it to the House—was it expedient that Bills containing such extraordinary powers should, in the ordinary course, come on for second reading without notice of their contents, and be sent down to Committee as "unopposed Bills." He had no doubt the Chairman of Committees would ultimately have stopped the Bill, or drawn attention to its provisions in Committee; but it was too great a task to impose upon any Member of that House, without the aid of counsel, to discover and point out the danger and impropriety of proposals like these in private Bills, and it would be imposing on the Chairman of Committees too great a responsibility to expect that he could check matters of principle, or of abuse of principle, such as those disclosed in the present case, without the advantage of that opposition which might have pointed out to him the danger or impropriety of granting the powers asked for. Yet this Bill was matter of serious concern to a very large population equal in number to the population of the whole of Scotland. The mere abolition of the Court of Hustings might be a very judicious measure in itself; upon that he pronounced no opinion; but what affected the public was that, under a title calculated to mislead, an entirely new Court might be established, with powers so novel, so extreme, and he ventured to think so unwise, as those contemplated by this measure. An impression appeared to exist on the part of Gentlemen promoting Private Bills that it was perfectly immaterial what was put into those Bills in the first instance; for that when they came into Committee they could put them into such a shape as would meet the views of the Gentleman acting as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. ["Hear!" "No!"] That was the statement made to him, and he was assured that a similar impression prevailed in the mind of the general public. If there were any such impression, it was most desirable that it should be removed at once. The House, he thought, would be disposed to concur in this general principle—that a Bill, when it reached its final stage, should, at least, resemble the shape in which it was originally introduced; that there should be no great or material alterations in its framework, and that the promoters should be bound to introduce and conduct the Bill in good faith from beginning to end. It would be a great disadvantage if the public were compelled to go to "another place" to obtain alterations in a Bill of the real nature of which they had been kept in ignorance while the Bill remained in the House of Commons. Something plainly was requisite to prevent the possibility in future of proposals being made in a Private Bill, which, if carried into effect, would work a silent, but no less radical change in the character of our legal system and of the powers of the existing Law Courts.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders to consider and report whether any further Standing Orders are necessary to protect the public against abuse of the Private Bill system,"—(*Mr. William Henry Smith,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said, he was much obliged to his hon. Friend for having brought this matter before the House. The Bill was surrounded by a mystery which he had vainly endeavoured to penetrate. Here was a Bill which, under the guise of a measure simply for the abolition of the Court of Hustings, would practically create a superior court with unlimited jurisdiction in the City of London, while it further proposed to extend the law of foreign attachment beyond its original and existing limits — a provision which appeared somewhat to derogate from the prerogative of the Crown. His efforts to ascertain how these clauses found their way into the Bill had been wholly unsuccessful. At the back of the Bills were the names of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Crawford) and several worthy Aldermen; but not one of them had the remotest idea how the Bill came to be framed thus. He thought that perhaps the City Remembrancer would be in a position to give some information on the subject; but that learned gentleman also declared he had not the slightest idea how the clauses had crept into the Bill. This Bill, which in its germinal form was a small measure for the abolition of the Court of Hustings, had illustrated the Darwinian theory, and spontaneously developed itself into a Bill for the creation of a superior court of law. Its further progress had been stopped; and he hoped no such attempt would be made again. Whoever drew the clauses he had just referred to made a very gross attempt to abuse the Private Bill legislation of this House. With respect to the suggestion made by his hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith), as to the amendment of the Standing Orders, that must, of course, be dealt with by the Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee; but he certainly thought that some safeguard should be devised to prevent proceedings of this sort. It might be desirable, for instance, to make a provision to the effect that Bills of this sort should be submitted to the consideration of the Home Office. Formerly, no doubt, the courts which were established by Private Bills were courts with very limited jurisdiction; but now it had come to be regarded as a maxim of legal reform that the administration of justice should be regarded as a whole, and that every court should be in harmony with all the other courts in the kingdom. He could not help thinking, therefore, that the establishment of any court of justice, however small, was a matter of public concern, and that precautions should be taken in order to prevent great innovations being introduced under cover of a Private Bill.

MR. DODSON agreed with his hon. and learned Friend that the hon. Member for Westminster had rendered good service by calling attention to the circumstances connected with this Bill. Had the hon. Member been in a position to offer to the House on a second reading the remarks he had addressed to it now, in all probability the measure would not have passed that stage. Speaking for himself, he might say that if at that time he had been acquainted with the provisions of the Bill he should certainly have voted against the second reading. The hon. Member for Westminster had stated that a belief was prevalent among some persons that anything might be deposited as a Private Bill, and that Amendments to any extent might be introduced in Committee. This, however, was not the case, even with an unopposed Bill. Indeed, the present Bill was a proof of his assertion; for as soon as he became aware of its provisions he sent for the gentlemen who were acting for the promoters, and having informed them that, in his opinion, it would not have passed the second reading if the House had been aware of its nature, he intimated that it ought to be withdrawn. In answer to their proposal that the Bill should be amended in Committee, he said it could not be so amended without being practically transformed into another Bill. The hon. Member for Westminster proceeded in his remarks on the supposition that a Private Bill had an easier passage through this House than a Public Bill; but this was just the reverse of the fact. A Private Bill had to go through as many stages in the House as a Public one, and was subjected besides to peculiar ordeals of its own. Notices must be given by advertisements in the local newspapers in the months of October and November as to its intended provisions; and it had to go before the Examiners in order that they might ascertain whether the Standing Orders had been complied with. Even if it were an "unopposed Bill," it must go, after the second reading, before a Committee, which would examine it clause by clause; and, while under the consideration of the House, it was subject to examination by officers appointed for that purpose, whose duty it was to inform the House of any provisions in the Bill that might appear objectionable. In the Lords, the Bill would have to pass through the same stages, and undergo the same scrutiny. It would, besides, be sent to the Judges to be examined. It was, then, next to impossible to introduce objectionable clauses in a Bill without discovery. The hon. Member had stated that a Bill of this character could not possibly, as a Private Bill, meet with opponents. This, however, was not the case. It was true that Private Bills for the amendment of local courts were not of very frequent occurrence; but several had been introduced in the course of the last few years, and had been opposed either by communities or bodies of practitioners who had interest in the proceedings of the courts sufficient to give them a *locus standi*. The circumstances connected with this Bill had drawn his attention to a *casus omissus* in the Standing Orders of the House, which, if supplied, would meet the objections of the hon. Member. By Standing Order No. 41, it was provided that printed copies of certain Bills should be deposited before the meeting of Parliament, not only in the Private Bill Office, but also in the Department of the Government with which their scope and character most naturally connected them; but, curiously enough, there was no provision that Bills relating to local courts should be deposited with any Department. He would, therefore, venture to suggest that, as an Amendment to this Standing Order, it should be provided that every Bill for the establishment or the amendment of the procedure of local courts should, at the time it was deposited in the Private Bill Office, be also deposited in the Home Office. If the hon. Member for Westminster would withdraw his Motion, and confer with him and the Chairman of the Committee on Standing Orders, he believed they would be able to amend the Standing Order No. 41, so as to remove the blot which the hon. Gentleman had pointed out.

Mr. SCOURFIELD, as the only Member of the Standing Orders Committee present, would say that they would be perfectly willing, by amendment of the Standing Orders, to get rid of any blot that existed in the way thought most expedient. He was not at all surprised at cases of this kind occurring, when he considered the solicitation that was used to induce hon. Members to allow their names to be put upon the back of Bills. Backing Bills, however, was a dangerous operation in any way, and the danger seemed to extend to Bills in that House. He thought it would be affording a necessary protection to hon. Members themselves if the House were to put a stop to the efforts being continually made to induce Members to put their names on the back of a Bill on the statement that it was a mere formal matter involving no responsibility whatever.

Mr. JAMES said, that it seemed to be supposed that this was an inferior court seeking to attain the powers of a superior court with extensive jurisdiction. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Lord Mayor's Court was, without doubt, the oldest court in this country. It existed before the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, and he believed even before the time of the Saxon Heptarchy. It existed when there was only a Port-Reeve in London, before there was a Mayor. It possessed the peculiar power of foreign attachment, and had now the advantage of being presided over by so distinguished a Judge as his right hon. Friend the Recorder. Some years ago, before the judgment of the House of Lords very much curtailed the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor's Court, a Bill was prepared to be submitted to the House as a Public Bill upon this subject, and he believed the present one had been introduced as a Private Bill by mistake instead of as a Public one, and there was no one connected with the City of London who was not glad that the mistake had been discovered.

Mr. CRAWFORD said, that as his name was on the back of the Bill, he wished to state that he knew nothing whatever about it. He was applied to with the other Members for the City, including the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty, to put his name upon the back of it, and he said—"Certainly," as he had done on former occasions. He had not, however, been bored to do so in the Lobby.

Mr. STEPHEN CAVE was surprised that his hon. Friend the Governor of the Bank should put his valuable name upon any paper without knowing what was inside it. That was a very dangerous practice. He rose, however, for the purpose of suggesting that Private Bills should be revised after they had passed through Committee for the purpose of ascertaining whether any provisions affecting the public interests had been slipped in. There were many instances, especially in such Bills as Gas and Water Bills, in which clauses very adverse to public policy were almost surreptitiously introduced. He thought such Bills should receive official examination before being read a third time.

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS said, that this Bill was nothing less than a gross scandal to the legislation of the country. The attempt to bring it forward as a Private Bill arose from the conviction that if it were brought forward as a Public Bill it would be scouted at once. The Bill attempted to confer on this Court a jurisdiction far exceeding any that existed in this country or in any country in the world. There had been for many years past an attempt to extend the process of foreign attachment against the opinions both of lawyers and politicians, until the attempt was put an end to by the judgment of the House of Lords in "Cox *v.* the Lord Mayor of London." Further, this jurisdiction, until it was stopped, was continually drawing this country into serious complications with foreign Powers. Foreign potentates were sued in this Court—the Pacha of Egypt was recently sued there under a process of foreign attachment. This Bill would reverse the decision in "Cox *v.* the Lord Mayor of London," and it would give a jurisdiction extending over the whole world wherever they could bring in foreign attachment. There was also this extraordinary provision, such as no civilized country in the world had ever adopted—that no defendant should be allowed to plead to the jurisdiction of the Court. He might observe that attempts such as these were not confined to Private Bills—there were some things in connection with the passing of Public Bills which were scandalous and astonishing. In 1869 a Public Bill was brought forward which he was requested to oppose, and having intimated that intention to those in charge of the Bill it was withdrawn. Yet, towards the end of the Session, in July, whilst the parties opposed to the Bill were passing a resolution congratulating themselves upon its withdrawal, at that very time the Royal Assent was being given to a Bill in another form, which carried out the objects of the original Bill. Something really should be done to prevent Bills slipping through the House at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, in such a way that the most vigilant persons might be deceived.

Mr. JESSEL said, that during the short time he had been a Member of the House he had been instrumental in stopping more than one Public Bill which had been brought in by private Members to alter, or, as it was called by the promoters, to amend, the law. He was astonished to find that no means were provided by the Government to examine Bills brought in by private Members affecting the law and jurisprudence of the country. Any private Member might, without check, introduce a Bill, however absurd, making the largest alterations in the law. He had drawn the attention of the Law Officers of the Crown to several Bills of that character, and in consequence they interfered and stopped the Bills. But the Law Officers of the Crown were not appointed for that purpose. He thought that every Bill brought in by a private Member which would alter the law ought to be examined by a competent person, and that a Report upon it should be made to the Government, so that the Law Officers might be able to advise the Government on the propriety of allowing the Bill to proceed. Such a course would stop these amateur attempts at legislation. He could mention an instance similar to that just stated by the hon. and learned Member (Mr. W. Williams). A Bill was brought in, the result of which would have been to effect a revolution with regard to the law of mortgages. He mentioned the matter to the Solicitor General, who stopped the Bill. A very short time afterwards a Bill was brought in under another name, and in the same Session, to effect an object similar to that aimed at by the Bill which had been stopped; and that Bill also had to be stopped. Such matters should not be left to mere accident.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he would withdraw his Resolution, on the understanding that the course suggested by the Chairman of Ways and Means should be adopted.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," by leave, *withdrawn.*

Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES.

REPORT.

Resolutions [March 23] *reported.*

First Resolution read a second time.

LORD ELCHO rose to move that the number of men be reduced by 10,000. The Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), to reduce the Estimates by the lump sum of £3,000,000, followed the rule of thumb, and thus left it open to the Prime Minister to reply that the hon. Gentleman had failed to show how the proposed reduction could be effected, and though 91 Members voted with him the Motion came to nothing. The hon. Member's proposals were threefold:—in the first place, that we should cut off the honorary colonels; in the next place, that by doing away with Army agency and making paymasters do much of the work of quartermasters we should save £60,000; and, thirdly, that we should remove from the Army all men who were either morally or physically unsound. The Resolution of the hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham) appeared to be of a more practical character; it was that a reduction of 20,000 men should be made. It was more practical, because, as the hon. Gentleman observed, 20,000 men more or less mattered very little; in other words, it was not a point which affected our position in Europe or our security at home. In that he (Lord Elcho) was very much disposed to agree. But what he himself proposed was that we should reduce our Army by 10,000 men in order, paradoxical as it might seem, to improve it and give it greater efficiency. Last year his right hon. Friend (Mr. Cardwell) had proposed to add 20,000 men to the Army, and the artillery had already received 5,200 of that addition. But his right hon. Friend the other night complained that he (Lord Elcho) had accused him of giving erroneous information to the House. What, however, he (Lord Elcho) said was that erroneous figures had been put into his mouth, inasmuch as he had stated that which was not borne out by the facts. His right hon. Friend said last Session that we had artillery enough for 60,000 men; and so we had if we took the proportion of three guns for every 1,000 men, for the number of guns was 180. He denied, however, that the right hon. Gentleman was justified in taking that proportion. According to our Field Equipment Book we had not guns last year, according to the English proportion, for 40,000 men. We could not at the time have found the proper proportion of artillerymen for 180 guns on a war establishment. His right hon. Friend stated to the House this Session that we had 336 field guns, capable of expansion to 408 guns, equivalent to artillery for 150,000 men, and he gave as his ground for making that statement that Colonel Hamley, in some work or other, had given certain proportions of guns to armies, and that the Prussian proportion was of a certain standard. But his right hon. Friend was not justified in basing his argument upon such data; for since last year a Committee had been appointed by the War Office, which had laid down certain proportions of guns to men, and that was not the Prussian proportion of 2·7 to every 1,000 men, but three guns to every 1,000; so that his right hon. Friend, tested by the proportion laid down by his own Committee, had guns not for 150,000 but only for 136,000 men. His right hon. Friend, however, said that he had the means of expanding his 336 guns into 408; but he (Lord Elcho) held in his hand figures to show that we had not men to man these guns. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had, the evening before, stated that hitherto a bad custom had prevailed of reckoning guns for which there were no carriages. [Mr. GLADSTONE: For which carriages were only made the year after.] That was to say that we had no means of using those guns at the moment, inasmuch that the carriages for them were not made until the following year. But what was the Government doing now? It should be borne in mind that, although we could manufacture carriages to almost any extent, we could not deal with soldiers and artillerymen in the way we could manufacture carriages. And had we, he would ask, artillerymen at the present, even taking the depôt garrisons into account, to man 408 guns on the war establishment, even on home service, if necessity should arise for doing so? His impression was that that could not be done even though we were to take the whole of our depôts—which, it should be borne in mind, were required for the purposes of India and of our Colonies. Were we even to starve every other service we should still be under the requisite complement. As he (Lord Elcho) had stated, he thought it would be well, when they heard so many complaints made about the increase of something like £1,000,000 for supplying material of war to our Army, that the House should understand the sort and amount of stores in the way of guns and men which were necessary. We had not in this country artillery for more than 136,000 Regular troops according to our English proportion of men to guns; to man those guns was the utmost we could do, and that by starving other services. But then we had made no provision in the way of field artillery for the Militia — none for the Volunteers. He wished, therefore, to know from the Government whether they were taking even the simplest steps to provide field artillery for our Reserve Forces? Now, there was a very valuable system in existence in this country which he would recommend to the attention of his right hon. Friend the Secretary for War. He alluded to a system which had been devised by Mr. Darby, who was formerly Member for Sussex, by means of which agricultural horses and waggoners in their smock frocks were organized to draw 18-pounder guns 30 miles in the course of a day, besides manœuvring over steep ground such as that at Brighton, in a manner which was the admiration of all artillery officers who witnessed the manœuvres at that place. Now, that was a description of force which would cost the country nothing except the guns and ammunition, and if the farmers were willing to use their horses for the purpose, there was no reason why the system should not be established throughout the whole country with the greatest facility. Information on that point might easily be obtained by means of letters addressed to Lords Lieutenant of counties. Now, the number of guns which we should require if we were to have anything like the proportion of guns to men which existed in foreign countries would be about 1,400 or 1,500 guns, and a proportionate number of artillerymen. He held in his hand an extract from a work which had been recently published by the Archduke Albrecht of Austria, who was Generalissimo of the Austrian Army, in which he stated that Germany, including North and South, had for its first line 1,794 guns, and for its second line 54 guns, which gave a total for Germany of 1,848 field guns. In this country we had only 408, all told, and these, he maintained, we were unable to man; and if we were to lose men or guns, we had no means of replacing them. The late war, he would add, had clearly shown that the force which it was most effective and most desirable to keep up was the artillery; and we should, he contended, do all in our power to recover our lost position in that respect, or rather to establish a position which we had never held by keeping an ample supply of artillery to meet an invasion, or in case we should want to send a force abroad. He was anxious that, of the 20,000 men voted by this House last August as an increase of force, 10,000, instead of 5,000, should be given to the artillery. This would add infinitely more to the strength and efficiency of the Army than by giving the 5,000 to the cavalry or infantry; and he would remind the House that 4,800 men were equivalent to manning, on a war establishment, 170 additional guns. He hoped the House would look mainly to the artillery in this re-organization of the Army, and would insist that the field batteries were properly kept up; and that some provision was made, of course in the cheapest form, for the Reserve Forces. His other proposal was to knock off 10,000 from the cavalry and infantry, and strengthen our military system upon something like a principle which should be enduring, and really ensure for us a greater number of men in the end. This proposal might appear paradoxical; but all who were interested in military matters knew that the number of men voted by this House varied from year to year. From below the Gangway constant Motions were made to reduce the number of men, and, if the Division were a close one, or a strong feeling were expressed by the usual supporters of the Government, though it might not affect the Votes of that year, a material influence was exercised over the Estimates of the following year. For example, unless there was reason to believe in 1872 that the peace of Europe would be disturbed, he should be greatly surprised if these 20,000 men found a place in the Estimates after last night's minority of 91. His Parliamentary experience told him that the mere addition of men to the Army rested on no solid foundation; the men put on this year were, if political convenience or necessity required, taken off again next year. We had, therefore, no certain system upon which we could rely. A Return, moved for by the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Sykes), showed the variations in the Estimates from 1815, and the ranges of figures looked like the tables of the heights of mountains, sometimes very low and sometimes very high, proving that successive Governments were guided by no principle in framing their Estimates, except what was supposed to be public opinion for the time being. The Surveyor General would not have the face to stand up and say that 10,000 more men on the year's Estimates would settle the question whether England was or was not safe from invasion. He dared the Surveyor General to say that these 10,000 men, who were neither here nor there, would enable us to fulfil treaty engagements, or go to war with France, or Prussia, or Russia. It would be nonsense to say so. Therefore, it was necessary to have something like a system for the strengthening of the Army. The Secretary of State dwelt much upon the system of short service, and seemed to think that the Government had taken out a patent for the short-service system as an invention which no one had ever heard of before. Well, everybody felt that short service would be a good thing if you could only get the men. The whole question turned upon whether the men would enlist under the short-service system, and then go into the Reserve. He hoped they might; but at present the results were not very satisfactory. The prospect which the right hon. Gentleman had held out of having 178,000 men in 12 years depended entirely on an ugly but very small word in the English language—"if." His right hon. Friend said we would have that number "if the recruits were willing to come." But an hon. Gentleman who last night spoke from behind the Treasury Bench, and who spoke more *ad rem* than those in front of him, alluding to the First Army Reserve, who alone were liable to foreign service, said he would be inclined to wipe out the Second Class Reserve altogether, and that the men were not coming forward as we might reasonably expect. He (Lord Elcho) would state to the House what the result of the short service had been between 1st July and 1st February. In July, 1870, we had a first-class Army Reserve—it was of it only he spoke—they were the only men that could be used for foreign service; and we had a Second Class Reserve, which was mostly composed of pensioners. What was the state of that Reserve? Now, on July 1st the number of men was 2,397 of the First Class, on the 1st August it was 2,632, and on the 1st February last it was 3,695; so that, according to this Return, instead of their having 9,000 men, as was calculated upon, they would only have about 5,000. Now, why did not men enter the Reserves? Because the inducement was insufficient. The right hon. Gentleman said that Scotchmen, who were generally cautious and knew what was for their own interest, were entering readily upon the short-service system. He had reason to believe, however, upon the best authority, that a large proportion of the men who had thus entered did so under the belief that their service was counting towards pensions, and that in a Highland regiment enlistments were made under this misconception. The Recruiting Inspector said the reason why recruiting was so slow, was that inducements were not held out to men to enter the Army. His right hon. Friend and the Financial Secretary (Captain Vivian) had made merry over something which he (Lord Elcho) had not said in this House, but had written in some letters, reprinted, not by himself, but by a publisher in London. They taunted him with the length of time during which he had intruded upon the House. They did not touch upon anything he had said in that House, but referred to something written in a newspaper in the winter, and sneered at some plan which they called his, and which they had submitted to some actuaries at some office. Now, if the calculations of their actuaries on the plan were no more trustworthy than the calculations on the purchase system, he did not think much of them.

Captain VIVIAN said, he had told the noble Lord that his scheme had been referred to Mr. Finlaison, whom the noble Lord would admit to be an actuary of some reputation.

Lord ELCHO hoped, then, that the calculation with respect to the purchase system would be referred to the same actuary. But the plan was not his own, but was that of Sir Hope Grant, the Quartermaster General, and with the view of getting men to join it appeared to him a most reasonable plan. The plan rested on the principle than in order to get men by voluntary enlistment, inducements must be hold out, either in the shape of sufficient pay or something like a pension or benefit for the service they went through. A great deal had been said to the effect that under the system of short service a much better class of men would be obtained for 14*d.* a day, and that they would be glad to give three years' service and then be liable for nine years more to be called on for £6 a-year; but the Recruiting Officer said that it did not appear that the men obtained for short service were of a different class from those enlisted for long service; the men taken appeared indifferent as to the term of service, but the majority of recruits looked forward to eventually obtaining a pension, and enlisted with that prospect before them. That was the case on the showing of the Recruiting Officer, and, therefore, the prospect of getting an Army of Reserve by short enlistments was very uncertain. There was one system of Reserve, and only one, which had been successful—that initiated by General Peel—and that was the Militia Reserve, or, as it should be more properly called, the Army Militia Reserve. That was a system under which men who enlisted into the Reserve received a bounty of £1 a-year, and during the five years of their engagement they were liable, in the event of war, to be mobilized, and sent to join the Army. That system, as regards the number of men, had been a success when everything else had failed. It was limited to 20,000 men, and they had been got. There was in that Reserve something like a system of economy—something like a way of making one shilling go three times further than by any other means. The fault of this Militia Reserve was that the men were too young possibly and too old, and in order to get them the medical examination was reduced; and the doctor who passed recruits into the Reserve got 2*s.* 6*d.* for rejecting a man, but 4*s.* for passing one. That seemed to be offering the doctor a premium for passing into the Army men who were physically unfitted for the service. It appeared to him that the House would do well to consider this question of the Militia Reserve, for he believed the Militia to be the backbone of the military system. This Militia Reserve was first suggested by General Peel, and no man stood higher in the opinion of the House and the country. That gallant Officer went out of office on the Household Suffrage question, and the right hon. Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington) afterwards passed the measure, which originated in the brain of General Peel. It was, however, General Peel's intention that for every man who volunteered for the Army Militia Reserve the officers commanding Militia regiments should be entitled to raise another man, so that the actual strength of the home Militia should not be diminished. The object was to insure a ready supply of men for the Militia Reserve, by not setting the Militia colonels against it, for no officer would like to lose his men. They were told that they had at this moment 139,000 Militia. They had nothing of the kind. Deducting the permanent Staff and the Army Militia Reserve, the Militia would number only about 100,000 men. Now, he ventured to think that, instead of raising these 10,000 additional men for the Regular Army, who might be here in this year and not in the next, let them establish General Peel's measure on an extended basis as he intended it to be, and then let them apply such rules and regulations to the Militia, that they might be sure of having trained and physically trustworthy soldiers. He would not have men in the Militia Reserve under 20 years of age, nor allow them to remain after 34 years of age. If they were admitted after a proper medical examination, 4*s.* being given for passing them and a like sum for rejecting them, and if they were then properly drilled, a useful body of men would be obtained. While keeping their *cadres* they would have 30,000, instead of 10,000, to fill up their attenuated regiments. The cost would be less. They would get 30,000 of the Militia Reserve for £100,000 less than 10,000 men of the Regular Army cost. The one would cost £278,000, the other £153,000. That was his paradox, and he hoped he had explained it satisfactorily to the House. Instead of reducing our strength, it would increase our strength. He wanted to add 5,000 men to the Artillery, and would establish something like a system of Reserve which would be found to work well. His object was totally different from that of the hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham), who spoke last night. He wished to see the country strong. He wished to see the military system of this country properly organized on a sound and economical system, that would give the means of filling up the Army in the cheapest way. The Gentleman who spoke last night took a totally different view. The remedy of the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) was to spend £3,000,000 not in breech-loaders, but in technical education. The hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) naturally sneered at everyone opposed to him—he furbished up the old rusty family sword, the swish of which had so often before been heard in this House when it was wielded by a more powerful hand. He said these panics were got up; that the outcry for larger armies was raised by a class in its own interest. ["Hear, hear!"] He wondered hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway were not ashamed of countenancing such statements; in their conscience they could not believe them. These Gentlemen, however, made a profession of sneering at what they called panic-mongers, and were always, both on the hustings and in the House, showing their superior courage by crying—"Who's afraid?" As to the eloquent peroration of the hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham), in which he told them that if England were to disarm "wise men," by whom he supposed he meant Prince Bismarck—

> "Would smile, and angels would descend,"

by which he concluded he meant a Prussian Army, he (Lord Elcho) could not derive much comfort from it. But as regarded panics, he thought they had most ground of complaint against the Prime Minister himself? What did he say in the speech which he delivered last night? He began by saying that these increased Estimates were owing to two causes—one the state of the world, the other the desire of the country for extensive change of its military system. He must say if that desire existed they had failed to meet it in any satisfactory manner. But he went on to say that these panics were a discredit to this country, little worthy of the masculine character of the people. Now, he (Lord Elcho) maintained that the discredit did not belong to the country, but to those who governed it. We had a military organization, with this frightful expenditure going on for years, which was in such a miserable state that it was a discredit, and rendered panic unavoidable when one looked narrowly into matters. His right hon. Friend the Minister for War made a speech on the 1st of August, in which he said that England never was so strong as she then was; yet, at the same time, he added 20,000 men to the Army; and he also boasted about the artillery, and said we had artillery for 60,000 men—not knowing, although there were those who ought to have informed him, that there was such a thing as the Field Equipment Book, and according to that he should have known there was not field artillery for 60,000 men. But, after saying England never was so strong, he not only added 20,000 men to the Army, but between August and the 1st of February he doubled our artillery. His calculation might have done for Lord Castlereagh's time; but it was out of date now. He repeated, such was the state of our military organization that it was an absolute discredit to those who governed the country, he did not care on what side of the House they sat; and the Prime Minister was not justified in saying that the people of this country were to be blamed for these periodical panics. He begged to move that this Vote be reduced by 10,000 men.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "135,047," in order to insert "125,047,"—(*Lord Elcho*,)—instead thereof.

MR. CARDWELL said, the noble Lord (Lord Elcho) had taken great, but he thought unnecessary, pains to convince his hon. Friends on this side of the House that his object was very different from theirs. If those hon. Members would follow out the noble Lord's arithmetic, the result would be that they would arrive at very different conclusions from his. The noble Lord had no objection to quote very freely the speeches of those whose conduct he attacked ; but he was not always very well pleased himself when his own speeches and letters were quoted against him. Now, he (Mr. Cardwell) thought he remembered passages in those speeches and letters which were quite inconsistent with the proposition with which the noble Lord concluded his speech. The noble Lord now proposed to reduce the numbers of the standing Army; but his great complaint in the autumn and winter was that—"Nothing had occurred within the last two years that could justify the reduction of our Regular Army;" that "the Secretary of State had begun at the wrong end, and the way in which he dealt with our small standing Army cannot be viewed as other than a very great, dangerous, and practical error in the application of a sound principle." That is, because in profound peace they had reduced Colonial regiments, and established the principle of larger numbers of *cadres* with a smaller number of men in each *cadre*, and, consequently, had not recruited up to the numbers of the regiments, thereby effecting a great reduction of men, they had begun at the wrong end, and adopted a very dangerous application of a sound principle. Then, speaking of the Regular Army, the noble Lord said—"It should be borne in mind that a force should not be lightly parted with which it takes so much time to raise." Now, the object of the noble Lord was not to save expenditure. It might be very well to say that 30,000 Militiamen would cost a little less than 10,000 of the Regular Army; but when the object of making the change was to effect a large addition to field artillery, and to introduce a large expenditure in the matter of horses, adding that cost, the balance would not be found on the right side. In the framing of the Estimates for this year, in obedience to the wish of the country and of the House, the considerable addition of £524,000 had been made to the expenditure upon the Reserve Forces, as compared with the Estimates for 1868-9; and as compared with the same Estimates, there was a diminution in the cost of the Regulars of £293,000. He (Mr. Cardwell) had made a mistake the other evening in overstating the latter amount. The decrease on the whole Army was 3,449 men, while the increase on the Militia was 53,000, and provision was made for an addition to the Militia Reserve of 10,000 men. He thought that 30,000 men out of the Militia, intended for the Militia Reserve, was as large an amount as it would be judicious to have; it was the amount provided for by the Act of Parliament—namely, one-fourth part of the whole Militia. [Lord ELCHO: Why not alter the law?] No doubt, it was quite easy for the House, if it wished, to alter the law; but it was not desirable to do it. He assumed that the House thought so when it passed the Bill limiting the Militia Reserve to the present number of men. If we add 30,000 men to our present Militia, we must do one of two things—we must either have many of our battalions so numerous that they would be too large to be commanded when the Reserve was with them, or they must be so much diminished when the Reserve was withdrawn from them, as to be too small. The truth was that the House, in adopting the present proposition of Militia Reserve, were guided by a conviction of what was expedient, and not by haphazard suggestions. With great deference to the noble Lord, the men of the Militia Reserve were not the best men it was possible to have; and what we wanted, and what the Government desired to obtain, were men who had had the advantage of a training in the Regular Army. The noble Lord complained of the Financial Secretary (Captain Vivian) criticizing a proposal contained in a published book, and not in any speech; but that was not the first time it had been heard of, for it had been made in the House a year before. It was proposed to him (Mr. Cardwell) to adopt the plan; and he ventured to say, on the spur of the moment, that the plan must necessarily be so costly that it would be impossible to entertain it. When it came to be examined by actuaries, according to the data furnished by the authors of the plan, it was found that the Reserve would have cost half as much again as all the Votes for the pay and provisions of the men in the present Estimates. The proposal, then, was expensive and not very efficient, for it would not give us a single

Reserve man for seven years. When such plans as these were proposed, it was well to submit them to criticism, in order to show that they were undesirable as means of adding to the defence of the country. To his great surprise, he had been challenged again on the subject of artillery. Being a civilian, he did not pretend to give the House his opinions on the subject; but what he said he stated on the highest artillery authority. It was quite true there was a Field Equipment Book in print, that these figures did not correspond with them; but the noble Lord, in one of his letters, had criticized the field equipment laid down, and had said that its proportions were excessive. He (Mr. Cardwell) was himself of that opinion, and had appointed a Committee to revise the book; they were revising it, and arriving at different proportions, and the proportions, which he stated on authority, were literally true.

Lord ELCHO said, his criticism was based entirely on the "English Field Equipment Book."

Mr. CARDWELL said, he declined to be judged by the book; he must be judged by the general practice of our Army, which had continued from the commencement of this century down to the present time. Colonel Hamley, a high military authority, said that a surplus of artillery was worse than useless; that it hampered the movements of a column, destroyed roads, perplexed a general, and embarrassed a retreat; and that an army of 60,000 might well be content with 180 guns. Now, the statement for which he had been subjected to so much criticism was that 180 guns was artillery enough for 60,000 men. The proposed addition of 5,224 men to the artillery and of 2,834 horses was based on the very best military advice, and with it we should have a full artillery equipment for 150,000 men. That was the highest number we could at any time expect to put into the field, and with an effective organization of our artillery Reserves we did not want artillery for garrison duty. To adopt the proposal of the noble Lord would be to defer passing men through the infantry in order to place them in the Reserves; it would not be an economical nor an efficient plan, and he trusted, therefore, that the House would adhere to the Resolution of the Committee, and would not pass the Amendment of the noble Lord.

Mr. MUNTZ said, he regretted that a question of so much importance should be discussed with any semblance of party spirit. The noble Lord (Lord Elcho) had attributed no blame to the Government, but had only stated what was well known, that during the last 15 years £220,000,000 had been spent on the defences of the country for the Army, and yet we were in almost a defenceless position. He agreed that the Estimates were too large for peace and not enough for war. Before going into the question of panic, which was mentioned the other night, he would ask, what had been the cause of the extraordinary change that had taken place in the public mind during the last 12 months? They appeared to have been existing in a fool's paradise, for in reality they had not that means of defence which they imagined. He regretted that the panics which from time to time arose should have been attributed to the Clubs. They seemed to him rather to have arisen from a kind of instinctive feeling that came over the people that they were defenceless—it was a sort of phantom begotten by panic out of misrule. They were distinctly informed in July last, on good authority, when on the point of sending 20,000 men to Belgium—and it was the whole we could have sent—that we had guns for 30,000 men in an efficient state; but the question was, how many guns could have been actually embarked for Antwerp on 48 hours' notice? On every recurrence of these panics we voted men and voted money, and thrown it into the sea in fortifications, and then sank back into our original condition. Then another panic arose, and we went again through the same process. We wanted more and complete organization, and until we had it this country would be subject to constant panics and excessive expenditure. He did not find fault with the Government, but rather with the system at the War Office, which, without increasing our efficiency or our power, had increased our expenditure from £6,000,000 in 1835 to £16,000,000 at the present time; while in 1835 we had 129,000 men, and in 1871 134,000 men. He had no desire to find fault with the increase in the cavalry and artillery; but he did object to the increase in the infantry. Why did we require the 12,650 more infantry that appeared on the Estimates? It was said we had guns for 150,000 men; but, besides them, we had 139,000 Militia and 170,000 Volunteers, who were paraded as a part of the national force. They either meant something or nothing. —if they meant something, they ought to be properly equipped; and if they meant nothing, they ought to be wiped out as useless. If they were to be made available in case of difficulty, how were they to get their guns? 1,000 guns would be wanted if the whole enumerated were called out for service. This being the case, why should more men be enlisted? If the 7,000 who were still required were obtained they would be found good for nothing, because they would be raw recruits. If his right hon. Friend were short of infantry, would it not be more economically, as well as more constitutionally, to embody 15 or 20 battalions of Militia, and send them to Aldershot for six months to be made into soldiers? He was not sure whether the existing law would sanction the right hon. Gentleman in doing that; but in case it did not, he felt convinced that the House would not hesitate to give him power to do so in case of necessity, for there was a great and wise objection on the part of the country to a constant increase of our standing Army. The First Lord of the Treasury said last night that one year we bought guns, and the next year horses. He presumed that in the following year the right hon. Gentleman would get the harness, and in another year the men; but the proper way would be to get the men and the horses first, and then the guns, yet the present system had existed ever since he had watched the course of public affairs. He, however, saw no reason why we should increase our armed force, and thereby incur an unnecessary expenditure, and he should, therefore, support the Motion of his noble Friend.

SIR HENRY STORKS said, the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) had made a vigorous and dramatic speech which he looked upon as a revised and corrected repetition of his contributions to current literature, and of his addresses on other occasions. Everyone must recognize the industry and energy with which the noble Lord had applied himself to obtaining information on the important subject to which he had devoted his attention. The noble Lord had told the House that what he called his "facts" were acquired from sources that did not admit of being denied, explained away, or controverted. [Lord ELCHO said, he spoke of the facts, and not of the sources.] He accepted the noble Lord's explanation. With respect to the sources from which the facts were obtained he (Sir Henry Storks) confessed to having had some conversation with the noble Lord on military matters; but evidently the noble Lord had either derived very little information from him, or at all events he had misunderstood that which he wished to convey. Last September the noble Lord stated that in the Prussian Army the proportion of field artillery was 4·5 per 1,000 men, and on that assertion he based his arguments as to the necessities of this country, holding that these figures could not be denied or controverted. The statement, however, was not correct; but in a recent speech the noble Lord accurately stated the proportion at 2·7 per 1,000 men. Then what became of the argument based on the former assertion?

LORD ELCHO was sorry to interrupt, but all this discussion was made to turn, not upon what he said in the House, but upon quotations from letters which he had written to the newspapers.

SIR HENRY STORKS said, he naturally referred to what his noble Friend had written to the newspapers, because it was in those letters that he had persistently held up the War Department to so much reprobation, and he therefore thought himself justified in referring to them. With reference to what had fallen from his hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz), no doubt last autumn the Secretary for War stated that we had field artillery sufficient for a force of 60,000 men, giving three guns for every 1,000 men, or rather more than the proportion allowed in Continental armies, and he (Sir Henry Storks) had no hesitation in saying that if it had been necessary to send a force to Belgium that force would have gone perfectly equipped in every respect. With respect to the Royal Artillery of the United Kingdom we had at the beginning of 1870, 10 batteries of horse artillery, 20 field batteries, 12 depôt garrison batteries, 52 garrison batteries, and a Coast Brigade, making 94 batteries, 180 guns, manned and horsed, 13,885 officers and men, and 2,966 horses. It was proposed that the Royal Artillery in the United Kingdom should in the present year consist of 16 batteries of Horse Artillery, 40 field batteries, 12 depôt batteries (two of which were Horse Artillery, three field artillery, and seven garrison artillery), 35 garrison batteries, and the Coast Brigade; making 103 batteries, consisting of 366 field guns, 18,392 officers and men, and 5,800 horses. It would therefore be observed that, instead of a total of 180 field guns, there would be 336 field guns, manned and horsed, exclusive of 30 guns in the depôt; and that the total number of men in the garrison brigades would be somewhat increased and the depôt largely so. The noble Lord remarked, a few nights since, that the alteration made by the Secretary for War in the field artillery consisted of bringing home horses and men from India and converting a certain number of garrison batteries into field batteries, at which, in one of the most sensational parts of his speech, the noble Lord said the House would "shudder." The noble Lord, had he investigated the subject thoroughly, would have found that the gunners of the Royal Artillery, except the Horse Artillery, were interchangeable, that the drivers were trained drivers, and that the gunners, who were dismounted gunners, had nothing to mount but the limbers. His right hon. Friend the Secretary for War had pointed out that when more field guns were wanted the men could be obtained from the garrison batteries, and the garrison batteries could be re-inforced by the Militia and the Volunteer Artillerymen. In view of the large augmentation of the field artillery the *cadres* had been reduced; but the right hon. Gentleman in reducing those *cadres* had acted upon the best advice—that of the Director of Artillery and the Adjutant General of Artillery. The present battery establishments of this country were in excess of those maintained in time of peace by the Continental Powers. For instance, the peace establishment of a French field battery was 137 officers and men, 83 horses, and 6 guns, and of a Prussian field battery 112 officers and men, 40 horses, and 4 guns; while that of an English field battery was 149 officers and men, 88 horses, and 6 guns, being only 3 men less that that of a Prussian battery in time of war. But it was said—"You have a force of 300,000 or 400,000 men, and, therefore, taking the proportion of 3 guns per 1,000 men, you ought to have 1,200 guns." He should like to know, however, whether any Continental Power kept such a force of guns on foot on a peace establishment. Every Power, and certainly England above all, should keep on foot a force of artillery sufficient for a manœuvring Army; but a large portion of our forces would necessarily have to be placed in our fortresses, and, therefore, could not be regarded as being in any way a manœuvring Army. The House would agree with him that under these circumstances the right hon. Gentleman had acted wisely in proposing to place our Artillery force on the footing mentioned in the Estimate. He (Sir Henry Storks) had also heard it said that we should have no guns in reserve; but the fact was that we should have equipped, and in store no less than 692 guns. In addition to those guns actually in existence it must be remembered that the gun and carriage factories at Woolwich could turn out field batteries at the rate of two per week, and that, in case of emergency, recourse could be had to the trade. Sir William Armstrong had informed him that at his works one, if not two batteries per week could be produced. If, therefore, four batteries of guns could be turned out every week, looking to the nature of guns, and to the expense incurred in looking after them and keeping them in order, it would simply be extravagance to keep more of them in store than was actually necessary. At the present time we had 80 guns of position which, with their harness, were ready to take the field—40 being at Woolwich and the others being distributed about the country at different places. It had been asked where was the harness and equipment for all these guns? In reply he begged to state that there were in store no less than 5,000 saddles, besides 10,000 sets of harness. Looking at the facility of producing these articles in any quantity, and to their perishable nature, he did not think it would be wise to keep a larger quantity in store. He must say, therefore, that he did not think that the Secretary of State, or the Department with which he was connected, deserved the criticism—should he say the hostile criticism—of the noble Lord—[Lord ELCHO: No.]—then he would say the advice of his candid Friend. He hoped that he had satisfied the House that neither the one nor the other had been as negligent as the noble Lord had represented them to have been.

MAJOR ARBUTHNOT said, there were differences of opinion as to the manner in which the Army should be rendered efficient, but there was one point on which they all agreed, and that was that this country ought to have a formidable force of artillery. The Government had shown their desire to render the artillery formidable by the augmentations which had already been made. But his complaint was that the augmentations had not been made in the right direction. They wished to effect their purpose by three means. They had withdrawn a certain number of batteries of Horse Artillery from India, and reduced a brigade of garrison artillery—by whose advice it was difficult to say—certainly it was against the advice of the present Commander-in-Chief in India. He had heard it stated that it was by the advice of a distinguished General who had recently been elevated to the Peerage. But if that was the case, it was contrary to the spirit of the Memorandum which he issued immediately before his departure from the office of Commander-in-Chief in India. However, the thing was done, and the batteries were on their way home. Then, they had created a number of dummy batteries by taking garrison artillerymen and sending them into the field with recruit drivers and non-commissioned officers, who were utterly inexperienced with regard to mounted duties. The garrison gunners and officers were good in their way; they consisted of men who had selected that branch of the service because they had a partiality for it—they were highly intelligent men, who had undergone a great amount of training, but they knew nothing of the duty of mounted soldiers. He wished also to refer to the way in which the batteries of Horse Artillery were reduced. It was most mortifying to the officers of that branch of the service to be so starved for men as they were; and the measure was also breaking the hearts and ruining the *morale* of the non-commissioned officers and men. He ventured to state that the reductions which had been made in the Royal Artillery with the very best intentions on the part of the Government were very injurious indeed to the interests of the service, and they would be conferring a very great benefit on the officers of the Royal Artillery, and the service generally, if they took some steps to increase the numbers of those branches of the Army, the field batteries and the Royal Horse Artillery.

Question, "That '135,047' stand part of the Resolution," put, and *agreed to.*

Resolution *agreed to.*

Subsequent Resolutions *agreed to.*

TRADES UNIONS BILL—[BILL 28.]

(*Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. BRUCE said, he did not intend to proceed with the measure at that hour; but he wished to acquaint the House with the resolution he had come to as to the conduct of it; and that was to give notice that it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Bill that they have power to make the said Bill into two Bills, the effect of which would be to carry on concurrently the two Bills, separating the criminal from the civil provisions. The Bill, however, would still be precisely to the same effect as it now was, subject, of course, to any Amendments that might be introduced in Committee. He desired to fix the Bill for Tuesday.

Committee *deferred* till *Tuesday* next.

MUTINY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DODSON, Bill for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DODSON, Mr. Secretary CARDWELL, and The JUDGE ADVOCATE.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolution *reported;*

"That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty, for the service of the year ending the 31st day of March 1872, the sum of £5,411,900 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom."

Resolution *agreed to:* — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DODSON, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Mr. BAXTER.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time.

House adjourned at a quarter after
Twelve o'clock till
Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 27th March, 1871.

MINUTES.] — *Took the Oath* — The Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Judgments (Ireland)* (59); (£462,580 9*s.* 11*d.*) Consolidated Fund*.

Second Reading — Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister (38), *negatived.*

Third Reading—Stamp Act (1870) Amendment* (45); Income Tax Assessment* (48), and *passed.*

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL—(No. 38.)

(*The Lord Penzance.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD PENZANCE, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said —My Lords, the task I have before me is in some respects an unprofitable one, for so many discussions have taken place on this question, both in this and the other House of Parliament, that nothing new can be said upon it. At the same time, I take comfort in this—that it is not a question in which men act in bodies, but rather one respecting which they held their individual opinions; and therefore it may well be hoped that, in the progress of time, and as noble Lords perceive that the people have long since made up their minds upon the subject, and that the longer it is considered the more they desire a change of the law, they will—if not alter their own opinions, at least so far bow to that of the majority as to cease from that opposition to this measure which has hitherto, unfortunately, been only too successful. This is the sixth time that a Bill on this subject has been presented to your Lordships; but it is some comfort to be able to state that the majority against the proposed change has been steadily decreasing, so that whereas the majority against it in 1851 was 34, it was 19 in 1856, 24 in 1858, 10 in 1859, and only 4 last year. We were told, in the course of the debate last Session, that we were able to show no such evidences of public opinion on this question as would justify the passing of the Bill, and we were asked where were our public meetings, and other symptoms of popular sympathy with the Bill? I must be allowed to observe that this measure occupies a peculiar position. I admit that the matter does not affect the community at large—that the restriction imposed by the present law is confined to a small number of persons. These persons, however, feel it to be a grievous burden, and are intensely opposed to it; but the large mass of the population, whose personal interest is not concerned, are indifferent whether the law be repealed or not. Large meetings, therefore, are not to be expected. At the same time, evidences are not wanting of the growth of a decided public opinion on the subject. Petitions are one of the constitutional channels of that opinion; and I find that this year the number of Petitions in favour of the Bill have enormously increased as compared with last year. Petitions, bearing 47,000 signatures, have been presented to the House of Commons, while last Session the number of signatures was only 26,000. Moreover, the Petitions this year to your Lordships' House have numbered 1,518, signed by 74,000 males and 44,258 females. Nearly 5,000 Dissenting ministers, and many clergymen of the Church of England, have petitioned in favour of a repeal of the present law, besides 39 corporations under their seal, and about 50 other corporations, whose members have signed individually, though not as a corporation. This day I have also laid on the Table a Petition signed by 4,000 Dissenting ministers in favour of the Bill. Another mode of ascertaining the current of public opinion is by the action of the representatives of the people in the House of Commons; and it is a fact that cannot be got rid of that both under the former and under the present suffrage the House of Commons have come to an affirmative conclusion respecting the Bill in no less than 40 Divisions. It has been said that these victories are the result of organization. Well, on this, as on all other questions in this country, people are not induced to petition without an organization of some kind; and it must be remembered that a society on the other side, to which the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack referred last year, has exerted its energies in the opposite direction; and the fact that, as the result of the efforts on both sides, the House of Commons have repeatedly affirmed the principle of the Bill, bespeaks for it dispassionate consideration on the part of your Lordships. The object of this Bill is to undo what was done in 1835, by what is commonly known as Lord Lyndhurst's Act. I believe it to be the common impression that we desire to get rid of a legislative restriction that has existed for an almost indefinite period. That is not so. I do not mean to enter into any antiquarian dissertation on the subject; but briefly I will remind your Lordships that, up to 1835, the prohibition of these marriages was canonical only, not civil, and that marriage with a deceased wife's sister was recognized by the temporal or King's Courts of the kingdom. If a man married his deceased wife's sister, and had a child, it was legitimate, and had the power of inheriting property. The Ecclesiastical Courts, however, dealt with these marriages, pronouncing them to be null and void, notwithstanding one or both of the parties might be dead when the suit was commenced. But in the time of James I. the Courts of Common Law interfered, and prohibited the Spiritual Courts from proceeding to pronounce them null and void after the death of one of the parties. Hence all these marriages came to be called "voidable" marriages, in contradistinction to those that were absolutely "void"—they were not void *ab initio*, but voidable only by sentence of separation, and were valid for all civil purposes, unless the separation was actually made during the life-time of the parties. The law, therefore, stood in this way—that from the time when the marriage took place until a suit was instituted in the Ecclesiastical Court, and until the Ecclesiastical Court declared the marriage to be void these marriages were valid; and that after the Ecclesiastical Courts had delivered their decision, the temporal Courts would respect the decision; but if no such proceeding took place during the life-time of both parties in the Ecclesiastical Court the temporal Courts treated the marriage as valid, and the issue of the marriage as legitimate. A suit in the Ecclesiastical Court was, owing to the expense, a proceeding not within the reach of the mass of the people. Suits to set aside such marriages as these between persons in humble circumstances were therefore absolutely unknown; and even among persons of the higher classes of society such suits were infrequent. So that, practically, as regards the mass of the people, these marriages took place and were as effectual and valid as other marriages, and the children that issued from them were legitimate. This is an important question, because when we are asked to consider the effect of the change we propose, we find that it is not a change from a state of things which existed from all time. We are asking only for the reversal of the law of 1835, which created then for the first time the practical grievance under which we now suffer. Now, how came that law of 1835 on the Statute Book? It is generally supposed that when Lord Lyndhurst introduced that Bill he introduced it for the purpose of rendering some of those marriages valid, and of rendering the rest invalid; but, on turning to his speech—the only one of which I can find on record—your Lordships will find that he did nothing of the kind. Lord Lyndhurst, after referring to the then existing state of the law with regard to "marriages voidable, but not void," said—

> "It was well worthy of consideration whether the law in that respect might not be altered with great advantage to the public. He should not presume to propose the alteration of the whole law, but should take a more humble course. His proposition was to legislate upon one of the points he had alluded to. At present, as he had before stated, if a suit was not brought calling in question the lawfulness of the marriage during the life-time of the parties, it could not afterwards be questioned. He proposed that if the marriage within the prohibited degrees was not, in marriages hereafter to be celebrated, called in question within two years after the marriage had taken place, or for marriages already performed within six months from the date of the Bill, the legitimacy of the children should never afterwards on that account be endangered."—[3 *Hansard*, xxviii. 203.]

Lord Lyndhurst then proceeded to urge on their Lordships the hardships that might arise from the existing laws. He said—

> "Parties might marry and have children born to them; the eldest son might come to the age of 25, and on the supposition, as no proceedings had ever been taken, he was legitimate, he might marry; he might have children; and between 10 and 15 years afterwards there might be a suit in the Ecclesiastical Court; he might be bastardized, and his children deprived of the means and the hopes of that future which they had been accustomed to consider as their own—deprived of the estate and of all claims whatever upon it. It was for the purpose of obviating this evil that he should now propose to introduce a Bill."

The Bill went down in this shape to the

[☞ *To follow page* 640.

House of Commons, and passed the second reading; but at a subsequent stage Mr. Poulter announced his intention of opposing the 2nd clause of the Bill—that which prohibited for the future all marriages of this kind, and declared them absolutely null and void; and, after discussion, the clause was struck out. But, in the course of the discussion, it was suggested that the Bill should be passed in its original shape (with the prohibitory clause), and that in the following Session a Bill should be introduced, in which the exceptional cases of affinity in which marriages should be permitted should be dealt with, and the whole law ascertained. On the Report, Sir William Follett strongly objected to the Amendment to which the Committee had agreed by striking out the clause; he pointed out the inconveniences which arose from the uncertain state in which the law was left by the Amendment, and he suggested that the prohibition should be made absolute, but that it should be considered whether it might not be advisable that the degrees of affinity should be revised—but he argued that it was at any rate desirable that the anomalous state of the law then existing, by which such marriages were one day legal and another declared void, should be put an end to; and that thereafter any hon. Member could make his proposition for making such exceptions as might seem desirable. Dr. Lushington also strongly opposed the leaving the law in uncertainty. The Amendment made by the Committee was negatived by a majority of 75 to 17, and the clause consequently remained part of the Bill. That was the history of the prohibitory clause of the Marriage Act. That Act, however, so far from putting an end to the troubles arising from these marriages, seemed to be but the commencement of new. Many curious and intricate questions arose, such as whether a marriage between persons thus connected celebrated abroad in a country where such marriages are lawful would be valid here?—whether a *bonâ fide* domicile would make any distinction?—or what would be the effect if one of the parties were the subject of a foreign State, and particularly of the State where the marriage was solemnized? In consequence of these difficulties a Royal Commission was issued, in 1847, to—

> "Inquire into the state and operation of the Law of Marriages as relating to the prohibited degrees of affinity, and to marriages solemnized abroad or in the British Colonies."

The Commissioners were men of great distinction and high character — Dr. Lonsdale, the then Bishop of Lichfield, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Dr. Stephen Lushington, Mr. Anthony Richard Blake, Sir Edward Vaughan Williams, and Mr. A. Rutherford. Their first Report, presented the following year, stated that, on a review of the subject in all its different bearings and effects, they were constrained, not only to express their belief that the Act of 1835 had failed to attain its object, but also to express their doubt whether any measure of a prohibitory character would be effectual. This fact should be borne in mind by those who fear that the passing of this Bill will be followed by agitation for further changes in the law. The Commissioners declare their opinion to be that the Statute of 1835 was a wise amendment of the former law, in so far as it abolished the distinction between void and voidable marriages—for nothing, they say, could be more opposed to all just principles of jurisprudence than the permitting of uncertainty to attend the marriage state. But with regard to the question how far the prospective effect of that statute had attained its object, the Commissioners thought it was open to doubt. They state that, in 1846, a limited inquiry had been instituted, at the instigation and expense of persons interested, but conducted by gentlemen of intelligence, station, and character, and with discretion, as well as with perfect integrity and good faith. The inquiry extended over a short period only, and over a comparatively small portion of England; and the summary of the information obtained was briefly this—Of the marriages which had taken place within the districts inquired into between parties within the prohibited degrees, 1,364 had been contracted since the passing of Lord Lyndhurst's Act, and upwards of nine-tenths of these were contracted with a deceased wife's sister. In 88 cases only, so far as could be discovered, had the Act prevented an intended marriage; and of these, 32 had resulted in open cohabitation, without the sanction of any form or ceremony. My Lords, I have heard this described as a rich man's question. I have also heard it declared to be a poor man's question. I believe it is a question that affects all classes pretty equally, according to their number; and I do not desire to attract your Lordships' attention by representing it as especially a question affecting the poorer classes of the community; but I believe it may be regarded in the latter light in this sense—that the larger part of the population is poor, and has not the same means as the rich of procuring assistance in their troubles. Be this as it may, the Commissioners report that—

> "Of the marriages thus ascertained to have been contracted, very few are between persons in the lower classes. For though they had reason to conclude that such marriages are at least as frequent in those classes as in any other, and perhaps even much more so, the conditions and circumstances of the parties render their affinity less observed, and consequently difficult to be traced without more elaborate investigation. On the other hand, among the parties contracting these marriages since as well as before the Act of 1835, there are to be found many persons of station and property, and of unimpeachable character and religious habits."

For these, and other reasons, the Commissioners report—

> "We cannot avoid the conclusion that the Statute 5 & 6 *Will.* IV., c. 54, has failed to attain the object sought to be effected by its prospective enactments. It has not prevented marriage with the sister or niece of a deceased wife from taking place in numerous instances; whether more or less numerous than before the passing of the statute, we have not, as was before observed, sufficient data to enable us to form an opinion. But, without reference to any comparison of this description, the number of those marriages is so great as to justify us in saying that the provisions of the statute, rendering them null and void, have not generally deterred parties from forming such connections."

Neither did it appear to the Commissioners, as the result of their inquiries, that persons who contracted these marriages were persons who neglected the observance of moral obligations. They say—

> "We do not find that the persons who contract these marriages, and the relations and friends who approve them, have a less strong sense than others of religious and moral obligations, or are marked by laxity of conduct. Among the poorer classes of society we believe that, in a great majority of cases, where the sister of the deceased wife becomes an inmate of the house, and the parties are not advanced in age, the end of such a state of things is marriage, or concubinage. The constant and familiar intercourse, the want of separate accommodation, and the entire privacy, give rise to feelings which, in the ordinary course of things, naturally will produce the consequences which we have stated. When a poor man with a family has the misfortune to lose his wife, some assistance for his domestic concerns becomes indispensable; assistance, too, for which he cannot afford to pay, and which must be rendered immediately. All circumstances and all feelings point to the sister of the deceased wife; and when once she becomes a permanent inmate, the result, in this class, is almost inevitable—cohabitation with, or without, the form of marriage."

And they sum up their conclusion in these words—

> "On a review of the subject, in all its different bearings and effects, we are constrained not only to express our belief that the Statute 5 & 6 *Will.* IV. has failed to attain its object, but also to express our doubt whether any measure of a prohibitory character would be effectual. These marriages will take place when a concurrence of circumstances give rise to mutual attachment; they are not dependent on legislation."

Now, my Lords, I think this does lay a fair case for suggesting to your Lordships that this Act has not succeeded in repressing these marriages, if it is desirable that they should be repressed; and therefore we confine ourselves to asking for the legalizing of those marriages, and thus abolishing the punishment which at present rests on the children of those who commit the offence, if offence there be. I will venture now to ask what are the objections to those marriages? I shall be told, in the first place, that they are contrary to the Divine law. Now, I will relieve your Lordships at once by saying that I do not propose to discuss that point. There are many present in your Lordships' House fully competent to do that. I heard the question discussed last year by the right rev. Bench on the one side, and with great ability by many of your Lordships on the other. I do not propose to discuss that question on the present occasion, or to attempt to satisfy your Lordships that this is or is not contrary to the Divine law; but what I do propose to do is to quote the opinions of those of your Lordships who are more competent than myself to form a judgment on the matter; and I propose to show your Lordships that this much is clear—that men of the greatest piety, and men holding the highest position in our National Church, have expressed opinions not unfavourable to the Bill. The late Archbishop of York said he could not bring himself to believe that the Divine law prohibited marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Archbishop Whately, the late Archbishop of Dublin,

[☞ *To follow page* 640 *d.*

was not only of opinion that whatever scandal might arise from the sister-in-law keeping a widower's house was rather promoted than prevented by the prohibition, because "charitable" people would infer that if they could marry they would, and that as they could not they were exposed to the temptation of illicit intercourse; and he added—

> "I shall be ready to support the measure if brought forward when I am in Parliament; but I sit only alternate Sessions."

The present Primate of all England has also expressed an opinion in favour of legalizing these marriages, and had signed a petition, which affirmed that, whether considered in a religious, moral, or social point of view, they were unobjectionable, while in many circumstances they contributed to the happiness of the parties, to the welfare of motherless children, and among the poor tended to prevent immorality. Dr. Chalmers, in his *Commentary on Leviticus*, gives it as his opinion that the law is not binding on Christians. Among the Dissenting body there is testimony of the same kind. Adam Clarke and Dr. Bunting expressed their opinion that the law of God did not clearly prohibit the marriage of the man with the sister of his deceased wife, and that it would have therefore been better if the prohibition of human law had never been introduced; and Dr. Bunting added that Mr. Wesley, the founder of his society, was of opinion that the enactments of the Levitical law, when applied to this case, had been entirely misinterpreted. There is also a resolution of the body of Dissenting ministers that such marriages are perfectly allowable, and strictly lawful, and that they ought not to be prohibited. The book I hold in my hand contains numerous statements of the same kind from men of religion and high morality. When I take a wider view, and look to the opinion of the world, and to the opinion of other Christian communities, the result is still more startling. I believe that I am correct in saying that, with the exception of some of the cantons of Switzerland, the whole Christian community in the world, except our own country, permits these marriages to take place. So that we have not only individuals of our own Church, not only the opinion of the Dissenting body in this country, but the whole of the Christian community in favour. In Germany, the law depends upon whether it is in Protestant Germany or in Catholic Germany. The Roman Catholic is, of course, governed by the canons of his Church, still in force in the Catholic States, and any question relating to dispensations in the prohibited degrees of marriage must be referred to Rome; but in the Protestant States, since the middle of the 17th century, the marriage of a widower with the sister of his deceased wife has been permitted under dispensation from the Consistorial Courts, or other similar authorities. In Prussia, however, by the common law of the country, no dispensation is required for the solemnization of these marriages. The fact that these marriages are permitted in Catholic countries by dispensation does not militate against my proposition:—the question is, whether the thing is done, and the means by which it is accomplished is not material. So long as the marriage takes place and the children are not bastardized, that is what I contend for. The opinion of many political men of eminence is on the same side. The late Lord Palmerston, entertained a strong opinion that such marriages were proper. Sir George Cornewall Lewis also gave his cordial assent to the second reading of the Bill. Lord Clarendon, in this House, spoke to a similar effect. I will further venture to quote from a letter which I did not see till last night. The writer is a gentleman well known—the Rev. Dr. Vaughan. He writes—

> "I am desirous of a change in the law regarding these marriages. They appear to me to be most unsatisfactory, both as a matter of justice and a matter of policy. We have no right to create sin; and this, if a sin, is a sin of man's creation, not of God's;"

and he adds that the Scripture argument utterly broke down, and that his experience of social life among the poor in the northern district led him to lament this arbitrary hindrance to the legal union of two persons, whose illegal union was the certain alternative. Now, my Lords, when such a person as Dr. Vaughan can write such a letter as that, with respect to a law which represses the natural affections, what can be said in its defence? How long is it to be expected that in this country, where there is a free Press—where everything that is said and done in Parliament is known to all the world—a law of this description can obtain its proper moral force after the expression of such an opinion? Here is a person whose opinion commands respect wherever it is spoken; and when such language as that is made public—when such persons utterly condemn this law—is it possible that such a law can be held as a moral injunction when it turns out to be contrary to the opinion of the mass of the people of this country? And I ask your Lordships whether, if a Bill such as this is sent up from the House of Commons, your Lordships will not give it your assent? The opinion of the mass of the people is always on the way to become the law of the country, and I hope your Lordships will not interpose a sixth impediment to the passing of this measure. This Act of Parliament was passed in 1835. It was based on the view at that time taken of the Divine law, and nothing more. It was based on the ecclesiastical law as it prevailed in this country. But there are many who do not think much of the objection that such marriages are contrary to Scripture, but who nevertheless regard these marriages as a social evil. I do not know that I have ever been able to appreciate the opinions which are formed on the social views of this question. It is urged that the relation of a man to his sister-in-law is, by common consent, one of a very agreeable character, and that it would be seriously altered if this Bill were to pass into a law. I am at a loss to know on what that opinion is founded. This I know—that inasmuch as these marriages take place all over the world, if there were any marked difference induced into the relationship of a man to his sister-in-law they ought to be observable. But I have never heard that the relation of sisters-in-law in countries where these marriages prevail is different from that of sisters-in-law in our own country. But confront that notion with the state of society in this country before 1835, when these marriages were frequent, and it will instantly appear to be without any actual foundation. With regard to the objection that the possibility of a man marrying his sister-in-law would produce some discomfort in the mind of his wife during her life, I am quite at a loss to comprehend the reasonableness of such an idea. In the other House, when reference was made to this point, a letter was quoted from a lady, who said that she had several sisters, and that if this Bill passed she could not invite them to her husband's house, because she said she would be jealous of every one of them. That would be unfortunate; but I am afraid that lady has been a great sufferer through life from the same cause, and will be whether such a Bill as this passes or not. But it is probable that case is an exaggerated one, although the feeling obtains among some pesons that if the husband should have power to marry his sister-in-law, the wife would be jealous, more or less, of her husband on that account. For my part, I have never been able to understand how such a feeling could arise. I cannot understand why the presence of the sister-in-law should put into the husband's head the possibility of his marrying her in the event of his wife's death. Men do not speculate in that way on their wife's death and on a second union. It is also said that another great evil will be created—namely, that after the wife's death, her sister cannot live in the house of the widower. I may say that I have every respect for those persons who entertain this view of the question. I can well understand that when a sister comes and lives in the house, the question may properly arise whether the proceeding be right or wrong. Of course, much must depend upon the age and station of the parties, the kind of lives they lead, and upon other circumstances peculiar to each case; and I can therefore understand that, in some instances, scurrilous remarks would probably be made. But surely the competency of the parties to marry, instead of increasing the scandal or difficulty attending such a position ought to tend the other way; for if the two living in the house together happen to have an affection for each other, and they can marry, the difficulty simply comes to an end; while under the operation of the proposed law the fact that they may marry but do not choose to do so, shows that they have no attachment one to another. Under the existing law, however, no such conclusion can be drawn. So much for the objections against the Bill. I have tried to deal with them fairly, because I know how many of them are widely entertained. But I must now ask your Lordships to turn for a moment to the other side of the question — what are the social advantages of the change which a measure of this kind will bring about? It is not necessary for me to enlarge upon the difficulty in which a man in humble circumstances is placed if his wife dies leaving children. It is obvious enough that in such a state of things some woman ought to be in the house to take care of the children if the household is to go on. The natural guardian of those children would appear to be the wife's sister; she is the person who would be the first to come to the house after the wife's death, as she would naturally have some degree of affection for the children that are left. In the humble dwelling of the poor, a woman taking up the position, and residing in the house, cohabitation with the widower is almost inevitable. That this practice commonly prevails is proved by daily experience; and the only question that remains is, whether the man should have the power to make the woman his lawful wife, or whether, after living with her a number of years and then coming to some disagreement, or some change of fancy supervening, he should have the power of casting her off? And, in any case, the issue of the union would be illegitimate. Surely, that is a cruel position in which to place a woman. There is yet another objection to which I may refer before passing to the social one. Suppose, it is objected, that the relationship between a man and his sister-in-law are not so agreeable after the passing of this Bill, and that it is not so convenient for persons to live with a deceased sister's husband, should a law of this kind be passed. In answer to that objection, I put it to your Lordships, is that to be a basis for legislation? Feelings of that character may, perhaps, be entertained by persons in the better class of society; but it is not for the upper class that we are legislating; it is for the whole community—for the poor as well as for the rich. With reference to the social part of the subject, it is contended that the Bill will infringe the guiding principle of the marriage law, that man and wife are one flesh, that the relations of the wife become the relations of the husband — that, in fact, the wife's sister is the husband's sister, and that she should be looked upon in the same light as if she were his own sister. My answer is, that such a rule cannot possibly be carried out — as the present law does not carry it out — without creating the most absurd relationships. If the wife's sister is the husband's sister, the husband's brother should be the wife's brother, and the law ought to prohibit two brothers marrying two sisters. So also with the father and son. The law does not recognize this misty notion that the relations of the husband are the relations of the wife and *vice versâ*. If a man dies, and the nearest of kin succeeds to the property, the wife's relations are looked on as absolute strangers, and in a case of a legacy to a man from his deceased wife's sister, he is regarded as a stranger in blood, and is charged the higher duty. In no relation in life, indeed, is this principle recognized. A noble Duke opposite quoted last Session on the discussion of this Bill a paragraph from an American newspaper, stating, among other absurd results of a man in America having married the daughter of a widow who married his son, that that son became his own grandfather. That paragraph was quoted for the purpose of showing the effect of the lax notion in America with respect to marriage; but as the law now stands, there is nothing to prevent what is described in that paragraph from happening in England. The absurdity mentioned in that paragraph is an absurdity occasioned by considering husband and wife as one flesh. If your Lordships desire that the marriage law shall be rested upon a more sound foundation, it is far more important that the law should command the willing assent of the community than that it should be based upon any such abstract notion as that to which I have referred. I therefore venture to ask your Lordships not to be terrified by the idea that if marriage with a deceased wife's sister were legalized, the whole system upon which the marriage law of restriction was based would fall to the ground. Some people are afraid of this Bill, because they believe it to be the small end of the wedge. If anything at all, it is rather the whole wedge. The measure is not for the alteration of the marriage law excepting in regard to marriage with a deceased wife's sister; nor is there any desire on the part of the promoters of the Bill to get rid of the degrees of affinity, save in this particular case. I have to ask your Lordships to consider the quarters from which this demand has come. The agitation does not represent any hostility to the Church of England, nor is it a political agitation, asking for less at the outset than it hopes to obtain at the end. It is an agitation which represents the struggle of a certain number of persons who feel the present law to be a heavy burden and a crying shame; and the measure is supported by those who feel that free liberty of action in all things just and reasonable is the first of political blessings. On that ground I look to the House to give a ready support to the Bill; for I cannot believe that your Lordships will be willing, in regard to the choice of a partner for life, any longer to say that a man shall not freely exercise the right of that choice.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Penzance.*)

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND: My Lords, in rising to move the rejection of this measure, I am extremely loath to occupy your Lordships' attention in discussing a subject which has been already so often and so fully argued. The noble and learned Lord, indeed, though he has stated that he could not introduce any fresh considerations in favour of the measure, has, I must say, succeeded in bringing forward a most startling novelty—namely, the assertion, for the first time, that the solemn declaration on the first institution of marriage, that man and wife should thenceforward become one flesh—a declaration reiterated by Him whom we profess to believe to be God Himself—is a fiction. Now, my Lords, I am not going to trouble your Lordships with quotations from the Jewish rabbis, or from learned German commentators, of whom A, B, and C are sure to be contradicted by D, E, and F, leaving their arguments to be decided on according to the bias of the reader. I shall only say that the intimate nature of the matrimonial union originally declared in the earliest records of Scripture — in the authority of which I, at least, am not ashamed to profess my belief—partially understood in the patriarchal times, receiving its further comment from the Jewish Lawgiver, and its final warrant from Christ Himself, has been asserted and believed by the whole Christian Church from its birth to the present hour; and in concurrence with, and as a corollary to, this belief, the marriages to which this Bill refer, have for 18 centuries been condemned by that Church. There is one portion of this House on whose support I am sure I may reckon —I mean its Roman Catholic Members. They, at least, know that these marriages have always been condemned by their Church as a mortal sin. I am convinced that their charity will never consent to allow such a stumbling block as this Bill will create, to be placed in the path of their Protestant fellow-Christians, and that they will never permit that the law of the State should be in direct contradiction to the law of the Church. The noble and learned Lord, in his comment on the past and present state of the law, has not, I think, put the practice of the ancient Courts in its proper light; his words rather leading one to believe that these marriages, within the prohibited degrees, were permitted in the secular Courts of old. Now, in the olden times the jurisdiction of the secular Courts was limited to ascertaining the fact of a marriage having taken place; but they took no cognizance of the validity of the marriage, which was a question the Ecclesiastical Courts reserved to themselves. The social part of this subject the noble Lord has treated with a levity which one would hardly have expected from one who holds the position he occupies. He spoke lightly of the danger of a sister taking the place of the wife in her husband's affections. He made no allusion to the opposite side of the question; to the protection of which this measure will deprive the wife. He never mentioned that which must often have been brought to his notice—the sufferings of the woman who has been deprived by sickness and sorrow of the charms which formerly attracted her husband, and who has now to endure the mental torture of seeing his affections transferred to the sister, who ought to have been her consolation and support, with the additional agony of knowing that every pang which is inflicted on her is a step bringing the guilty parties nearer the consummation of their desires. He has ignored the fact that the present state of the law is a great protection to the unmarried woman. Yet, as some proof of the feeling existing with regard to it, I may mention that I have been lately informed by a medical man that he knew, in his own narrow circle, no less than six unmarried women, now residing in happiness and honour in their widowed brothers-in-laws' houses who would, on the day this Bill passed, be homeless and helpless. Of course it may be said that Parliament cannot legislate for individual cases, but in the interest of the whole nation. But the Bill itself was brought forward avowedly for the benefit of a few individuals, who for their own purposes desire the abolition of the existing law. Supposing that a certain number of people, as was said by the noble and learned Lord, annually violated this law, and this constituted a valid reason for altering it, there is not one in the whole Criminal Code which ought not for the same reason to be abolished. But, in fact, the great majority of the people are not in favour of this measure. It is perfectly well known how the agitation for it was got up, and the history of its progress is very instructive. This Bill was originally introduced into the House of Commons more than 20 years ago; it was carried at one time by a considerable majority; but the majority dwindled away until it became a minority, and the Bill was consequently lost. After the slumber of many years the Bill was revived, with a success which, I believe, will be equally temporary; the same signs are apparent of a diminishing support, for the majorities have been continually decreasing. The noble and learned Lord quotes in its favour the practice of other countries. I answer that our manners, our habits, and our ideas of morality are so entirely different from theirs that they are no guides to us in this matter. Look at the law of divorce in some of those countries. Does he wish us to adopt that also? One has heard of a man playing a rubber at whist with three wives he has divorced, whilst their present husbands were looking on. Is that the condition of morals which he thinks it desirable this country should imitate? Really, one would like to know, if this measure passes, where the question of marriages within the prohibited degrees would stop. If you are to abolish the law founded on the precepts of the Scriptures, you are at least bound to set up some other standard. Now, what is that to be? If you reject that law, why is not a man, for instance, to marry his grandmother—an idea which, by the way, however ridiculous it sounds, is by no means impossible — or his daughter, or his sister? Do you intend to trust to the law of nature on this point? No one knows better than the learned Lord, from the dark and frightful facts which the experience of his Court must have made known to him, that the Tempter can assume every shape, from that of an angel of light to the form of the foulest denizen of the lower world, and find votaries in all of them. Before I sit down I am bound to state that there is one part of this Bill that I cannot conceive how a person holding the high office of the noble and learned Lord—a Judge of an English Court of Law—could have brought himself to introduce. I mean the retrospective clause. It is a bonus—an invitation held out to offend against the law of this country by the temptation it affords to persons to defy it; in the prospect, at some future time, of being rewarded for the offence by being replaced in the possession and enjoyment of all the advantages and privileges conferred by the law, which they, for the gratification of their own wills and appetites, have deliberately, and with their eyes open, renounced. My Lords, I am extremely sorry that I should have occupied your time so long. I wish most heartily that the duty which has been imposed upon me, of moving the rejection of this measure, had devolved on some person better fitted to command your attention. As a duty, however, I accepted it, and in accordance with that duty, I now move that the Bill be read a second time this day six months.

An Amendment moved, to leave out ("now") and insert ("this day six months.")—(*The Duke of Northumberland.*)

VISCOUNT LIFFORD said, he would oppose the Bill if he believed that marriages with the sister of a deceased wife were forbidden by the law of God. But there was nothing in these marriages contrary to the Jewish laws or traditions. They were not prohibited in the time of our Lord; they existed at that time, but He never spoke of them as incestuous, and did not complain of them. The fact was that they were prohibited for the first time by a Council of the 4th century. The Church prohibited them for the purpose of obtaining money, and they also prohibited marriage of two persons who had acted as sponsors for a child. This being the case he held that their Lordships were quite free to consider the social arguments in favour of or against these unions; and he had no hesitation in saying that the former greatly preponderated. These marriages were frequently contracted, and in most cases from the purest and holiest of motives, because there was a general desire on the part of a wife that after her death her sister should take her place. This was the only country in the world where these marriages were forbidden, and their Lordships' House was the only House of Legislature opposed to it.

Lord DENMAN said, it was necessary for him to explain why he intended to vote against the opinion of his noble Relative, whose authority with the House was far greater than his own; but as the noble Viscount who had just sat down had voted in two different ways on this question, he felt at liberty to re-consider his vote of 1856. He must observe that he did not believe the Act of 1835 had in any degree altered the position of a noble Duke for whom it was alleged to have been passed. A letter had been published by his late noble Relative on the subject of these marriages, addressed to Lord Brougham, in 1852, and he (Lord Denman) was prepared to write, and, if required, to publish a letter on the subjects to the present holder of that title. He had been most unusually canvassed to vote for this Bill, and he believed that some persons might wish to make this question a reason for displacing the Spiritual Peers from this House; but as a member of the Church of England, he would endeavour strongly to support their opinion on this question. The noble Lord also quoted a passage from the "Memoir of Bishop Bloomfield."

On Question that ("now") stand part of the Motion? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 71; Not-Contents 97: Majority 26.

Resolved in the *Negative;* and Bill to be read 2ª *on this day six months.*

CONTENTS.

Beaufort, D.
Cleveland, D.
Saint Albans, D.

Lansdowne, M.
Normanby, M.

Abingdon, E.
Camperdown, E.
Cawdor, E.
Clarendon, E.
Cowper, E.
De La Warr, E.
Derby, E.
Fitzwilliam, E.
Fortescue, E.
Granville, E.
Grey, E.
Ilchester, E.
Innes, E. (*D. Roxburghe.*)
Kimberley, E.
Lichfield, E.
Lovelace, E.
Minto, E.
Morley, E.
Verulam, E.
Westmoreland, E.

Gough, V.
Halifax, V.
Lifford, V.
Sydney, V.

Ripon, Bp.

Abercromby, L.
Abinger, L.
Acton, L.
Ashburton, L.
Auckland, L.
Balinhard, L. (*E. Southesk.*)
Barrogill, L. (*E. Caithness.*)
Belper, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*)
Calthorpe, L.
Camoys, L.
Carew, L.
De Tabley, L.
Ebury, L.
Houghton, L. [*Teller.*]
Hylton, L.
Keane, L.
Lawrence, L.
Leigh, L.
Lurgan, L.
Monson, L.
MontEagle, L. (*M. Sligo.*)
Mostyn, L.
Northbrook, L.
Overstone, L.
Penzance, L. [*Teller.*]
Ponsonby, L. (*E. Bessborough.*)
Rivers, L.
Romilly, L.
Rosebery, L. (*E. Rosebery.*)
Sandys, L.
Seaton, L.
Sheffield, L. (*E. Sheffield.*)
Somerhill, L. (*M. Clanricarde.*)
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Truro, L.
Vernon, L.
Vivian, L.
Wentworth, L.
Westbury, L.
Wharncliffe, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Hatherley, L. (*L. Chancellor.*)

Marlborough, D.
Northumberland, D. [*Teller.*]
Richmond, D.
Rutland, D.
Somerset, D.

Bristol, M.
Exeter, M.
Hertford, M.
Salisbury, M.
Winchester, M.

Amherst, E.
Beauchamp, E.
Brooke and Warwick, E.
Cadogan, E.
Carnarvon, E.
Dartmouth, E.
Devon, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Erne, E.
Graham, E. (*D. Montrose.*)
Harewood, E.
Harrowby, E. [*Teller.*]
Howe, E.
Jersey, E.
Kellie, E.
Lanesborough, E.
Lauderdale, E.
Manvers, E.
Nelson, E.
Powis, E.
Romney, E.
Selkirk, E.
Shrewsbury, E.
Strathmore and Kinghorn, E.
Tankerville, E.
Vane, E.

Hardinge, V.
Hawarden, V.
Strathallan, V.
Torrington, V.

Bath and Wells, Bp.
Chester, Bp.
Chichester, Bp.
Ely, Bp.
Gloucester and Bristol, Bp.
Hereford, Bp.
Lichfield, Bp.
Lincoln, Bp.
Llandaff, Bp.
London, Bp.
Oxford, Bp.
Rochester, Bp.
Salisbury, Bp.

Bagot, L.
Bateman, L.
Boston, L.
Braybrooke, L.
Brodrick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)
Brougham and Vaux, L.
Buckhurst, L.

Cairns, L.
Chelmsford, L.
Clinton, L.
Colchester, L.
Colonsay, L.
Colville of Culross, L.
Congleton, L.
Crewe, L.
Delamere, L.
Denman, L.
De Saumarez, L.
Dinevor, L.
Eliot, L.
Fitzwalter, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Grantley, L.
Hawke, L.
Headley, L.
Heytesbury, L.
Kesteven, L.
Lyttelton, L.
Lyveden, L.
Northwick, L.
O'Hagan, L.
Panmure, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Penrhyn, L.
Petre, L.
Ross, L. (*E. Glasgow.*)
Sherborne, L.
Sinclair, L.
Sondes, L.
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Stratheden, L.
Sundridge, L. (*D. Argyll.*)
Wigan, L. (*E. Crawford and Balcarres.*)
Wynford, L.

JUDGMENTS (IRELAND) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill for the further protection of Purchasers against Crown Debts, and for amending the Laws relating to the Office of the Registrar of Judgments and other Offices of the Court of Chancery (Ireland)—Was *presented* by The Lord O'Hagan; read 1^a. (No. 59.)

House adjourned at a quarter past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

* * *

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 27*th March*, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee* —Navy Estimates.

Public Bills—*First Reading*—Mutiny *.

Second Reading — (£5,411,900) Consolidated Fund *.

Third Reading—(£462,580 9*s*. 11*d*.) Consolidated Fund *; Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Supplemental * [79]; Workshop Regulation Act (1867) Amendment * [74], and *passed*.

Withdrawn—Sea Fisheries Act (1868) Supplemental * [83].

INLAND BILLS OF EXCHANGE—ADHESIVE STAMPS.—QUESTION.

Mr. FOTHERGILL, in the absence of Colonel Roden, asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If it will not be possible to accord a great convenience to the commercial community, without loss to the Revenue derived from Stamps, by authorising all Stamp distributors to affix adhesive Stamps to forms of Inland Bills of Exchange, the Stamps so issued being cancelled by such authorised distributors before they left their possession?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, there were two objections to the proposal of the hon. Gentleman. The first was that if a bill were not properly stamped it would not be available for any purpose, and the Customs' stamp distributors were not necessarily a class of men possessing that degree of education which would render them competent to give advice as to the amount of the stamp which should be placed on a bill of exchange. A second and more serious objection to the proposal was, that at present one person sold stamps while it was the duty of another to cancel them, and that if both duties were committed to the hands of a Custom House officer there might be a considerable risk of fraud. Now, of course, anything like fraud in the case of a Government officer would be more injurious in its effects than if committed by a private individual. He had, he might add, come to no decided opinion on the subject, and should be happy to consider the proposal of the hon. Gentleman in conjunction with another which he had before him of the hon. Member for Surrey.

ARMY—MARTINI-HENRY RIFLE.

QUESTION.

Colonel BARTTELOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will postpone the Vote which includes the Martini-Henry Rifle till the House has decided whether a Committee shall be appointed?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, my predecessor appointed a most competent Committee to examine the question what rifle should be adopted. About the time of my accession to office that Committee reported in favour of the Martini-Henry. I referred the Report to the Ordnance Council, and, under their advice, the weapon has been tried by the troops in hot and cold climates, at home and abroad. The Reports from the different regiments have been laid upon the Table of the House, and are eminently satisfactory. I have re-appointed the Committee, under the same Chairman—Colonel Fletcher—with some new members, to consider those Reports, and the final Report of that Committee has been laid upon the Table also. Sufficient inquiry in a matter of so much importance is an excellent thing; but there is a point at which, if the Army is to be armed at all with the improved weapon, inquiry must terminate and action must commence. The present case is, in my opinion, one for decision, and not for further and probable indefinite inquiry.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA—DUTCH GUINEA.—QUESTIONS.

Mr. MAGNIAC asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether an arrangement has been entered into with the Government of the Netherlands for the cession by it to Great Britain of the Dutch possessions on the Coast of Guinea; and, if so, whether the arrangement is subject to the consent of Parliament before the purchase money is paid?

Viscount ENFIELD: Sir, a Convention has been signed, but not yet ratified, by the Dutch Chambers, by the terms of which the forts now occupied by the Dutch on the Coast of Guinea adjoining the British settlement are to be ceded to Great Britain. There is no question of purchase of territory, and such expenses as may be incurred on account of the transfer of stores and fixtures will not fall on the Imperial revenues, but will be borne by the revenues of the British settlement.

Mr. BAILLIE COCHRANE asked whether the arrangement was to be carried into effect without the previous consent of Parliament?

Viscount ENFIELD said, he was of opinion that it would not be necessary to ask the consent of Parliament, inasmuch as the money was to come out of local and not Imperial revenue.

ARMY REGULATION BILL—EXCHANGES.

QUESTION.

Mr. O'REILLY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, now that the Army Regulation Bill has passed its Second Reading, he will take steps to stop exchanges from full to half pay, by private arrangements between officers, for money considerations, or at least to carry out the Queen's Regulation now in force on that head; and, whether, when promotion above the rank of Captain is made by selection, the selection will be confined to officers on full pay, or will extend to those on half pay, especially those whe have been compulsorily placed on half pay?

Mr. CARDWELL: It is not intended to alter the practice which has hitherto prevailed until the new regulations consequent upon the passing of the Bill shall be issued. Promotions by selection will not be limited to officers on full-pay, but will include officers on half-pay.

ARMY REGULATION BILL—COLONELS ON HALF-PAY.—QUESTION.

Lord GARLIES asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the interests of the Colonels on half-pay who have sacrificed the whole of their commission money to the Reserve Fund will be respected in the future arrangements; and, whether they will in their turn succeed to the rank of Major General, for which object they have sacrificed their money and the best portion of their lives in the Service?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, the officers in question have not forfeited any money to the Reserve Fund. They still hold their commissions, and if they wish to sell them provision for their purchase is made in the Bill.

WRITERS IN THE CUSTOMS.

QUESTION.

Mr. MACFIE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What determination has been arrived at as to granting annual leave of absence and sick leave to Writers in Her Majesty's Customs?

Mr. BAXTER: It has been resolved, Sir, to give leave of absence without loss of pay for 14 days per annum to writers in the Customs who have served satisfactorily for one year.

INDIA—THE LOOSHAIS.—QUESTION.

Mr. MAGNIAC asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he has heard that the Tea Plantations in Cachar have been invaded by a tribe called the Looshais, who have killed Europeans and their servants, and have driven off the Native labourers; whether any, and, if so, what steps have been taken for the protection of the persons carrying on the cultivation of Tea there; and, whether the Government will consider, with a view to compensation, the losses incurred in consequence of the unprotected state of the frontier?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: In reply, Sir, to my hon. Friend, I have to say that I have heard of the Looshai raid, of the murder of a European and of the servants of Europeans, and of the flight of Native labourers. The steps that are to be taken to carry out the defence of the frontier are briefly these:—To determine clearly the line up to which Government will enforce its direct authority; to establish friendly relations and influence with the tribes beyond; so to strengthen the defences by the establishment of military or police posts that the tribes shall be deterred from attempting outrages within our limits, and, if violence is attempted, to take care that summary punishment shall follow. There are now nearly 2,000 men of the police and Regular troops in the district of Cachar, and I hope and believe that the measures adopted will have the effect of restoring confidence and encouraging the development of a branch of industry in which the Government of India is deeply interested.

Mr. MAGNIAC: The hon. Gentleman has not replied to the last part of my Question.

Mr. GRANT DUFF: I cannot give an answer to my hon. Friend.

SPAIN—THE "TORNADO."—QUESTION.

Mr. GRIEVE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has recently received any Advice from the Spanish Government why the compensation to the crew of the Steamship "Tornado" has not been paid; and, if not, if he is prepared to urge an immediate settlement?

Viscount ENFIELD: I am glad, Sir, to be able to inform the hon. Gentleman that intelligence has been received from Madrid to the effect that on Saturday the Council of State authorized the payment of the *Tornado* indemnity, and the Minister of Finance informed our Representative there that the sum in question was at his disposal.

GREECE—THE GUARANTEED LOAN.
QUESTION.

Mr. MILLS asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Why payment of the dividend due on March 1st on the portion of the Greek Loan of 1832-3 guaranteed by England has been refused payment by the London agents of the contractors?

Mr. BAXTER: The bill for payment of that portion of the Greek Loan guaranteed by Great Britain was only presented at the Pay Office on Saturday, and orders have been given to honour it. The delay referred to by the hon. Gentleman arose from the state of affairs in Paris, whence the London agents receive the usual instructions for paying the dividends. They are now, however, in course of payment.

ARMY REGULATION BILL.—QUESTIONS.

Sir TOLLEMACHE SINCLAIR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended that when vacancies occur in the rank of Major the senior or any other Captain in the regiment will be appointed, whether such Officer has had any experience in the Regular Army or not; and, if a period of service in the Army is considered necessary, what will be the nature of the qualification; whether in case of an Officer in the Regular Army or on half-pay is offered a commission of similar or higher rank in the Militia he will be allowed the regulation and over-regulation price of his commission in the Line, with the view of accepting such appointment, and whether in that case he will be afterwards eligible for selection to fill any vacancy in the same or in a higher rank in the Regular Army; whether any Officer will be allowed to retire from the Army with the regulation and over-regulation price of his commission if the Medical Officers of his regiment certify that he is unfit for active service, or that remaining would be prejudicial to his health, even although the average number who are to be allowed to retire under the Bill is previously exhausted; is it intended to give the over-regulation as well as the regulation price of the commissions of an Officer killed in battle, or dying of wounds, to the widow and children of such Officer; and, is it intended that Officers should still be liable for the necessary expenses of regimental bands and of drums and fifes?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, Army service is not absolutely necessary for a majority in the Militia, and if the captain has had sufficient service and been well reported on, no objection will be made to his promotion. If the officer sells his commission he will cease to be an officer, and not be eligible for selection in the Regular Army. The present rules of the purchase system will be observed in the sales under the Bill, the object being not to give new rights but fully to indemnify against any injury in respect of rights which now exist. Drums and fifes are provided by the public. It is not intended to make any alteration so far as has at present been determined in respect of bands.

ARMY—EDUCATION OF ARTILLERY OFFICERS.—QUESTION.

MR. SOMERSET BEAUMONT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether is it his intention to act on the Report of the Committee on the Education of Artillery Officers?

MR. CARDWELL: Sir, it is not proposed to appoint a new officer to the post of Director-in-Chief of Artillery Instruction, but the position and duties of the Director of Artillery Studies have been raised, in order that he may carry into effect the general recommendations of the Committee for an improved superintendence of artillery instruction; and provision is made for two Instructors of Artillery—one at Aldershot, the other at Woolwich. Neither is it intended to appoint an Inspector General of Reserve Artillery, as it is intended to appoint lieutenant-colonels of Royal Artillery for command and instruction in respect of the Militia and Volunteer Artillery. They will report to the Deputy Adjutant General of Artillery. And it has not been considered desirable to separate the instructional superintendance of the Reserves from that of the Royal Artillery, nor to interfere with the duties of the Inspector General of Artillery. The recommendation of the Committee for the appointment of additional Assistant Instructors at Shoeburyness has been provided for in the Estimates.

IRELAND—BOARD OF EDUCATION—MONASTIC AND CONVENTUAL SCHOOLS.

QUESTION.

MR. DIXON asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether the Irish Board of National Education has agreed to recommend to Her Majesty's Government that the capitation allowance to Monastic and Conventual Schools shall continue to be made without reference to results, but shall be at once doubled in amount; and, if so, whether he would object to lay upon the Table of this House a Copy of the document in which that recommendation is made?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, in reply, that no such recommendation had been made by the Irish Commissioners for Education. The recommendations which had been made were now under the consideration of the Government, and as soon as they should be finally decided on there would be no objection to lay them on the Table of the House.

NAVY ESTIMATES.

POSTPONEMENT OF MOTIONS.

MR. GOSCHEN appealed to those hon. Members who had placed on the Paper Notices of Motions on the Motion for going into Supply, to postpone their respective Motions until Committee.

MR. OTWAY, MR. BRASSEY, SIR JAMES ELPHINSTONE, MR. HEADLAM, and SIR JOHN HAY consented to the suggestion.

MR. GRAVES said, he regretted that he was unable to respond to the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman. He should not be doing his duty to his constituents if he did not take advantage of this opportunity of bringing forward his Motion on the subject of gunboats, which ought to be discussed before the right hon. Gentleman reached the Estimates.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON agreed to postpone his Motion on condition that the Government would give some assurance that the purchase of Deptford Dockyard should not be completed until the question had been discussed by the House. He was told that the purchase was to be completed to-morrow, and if that statement were true it would materially prejudice the discussion that might arise.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he wished to explain with reference to Deptford Dockyard that the Government could not undertake any such obligation as that suggested by the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson). In fact, there was a legal obligation to carry out the conveyance. The Government had no power to stay proceedings at this stage, besides the delay would materially interfere with the building of the cattle market.

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

DEFENCE OF COMMERCIAL HARBOURS.

RESOLUTION.

MR. GRAVES, in moving, according to the Notice he had given, a Resolution that it was expedient to make additional provision for the defence of the commercial harbours of this country, said, that although this country, happily, had not been involved in the Continental entanglements of the last few months, yet the public were impressed with the necessity of placing our defences upon a more permanent and reliable basis than at present. Last week the Prime Minister had delivered a most impressive forecast of the future, and no one could have listened to his words without feeling the cloud had not entirely passed away; but, whether the danger had passed away or not, it was incumbent upon Parliament, in time of peace, and in the absence of panic, to consider whether we could not utilize our magnificent and unrivalled maritime resources, by devising some scheme which might be maintained at small cost through years of peace, ready to meet any emergency that might unhappily arise. War was now reduced to a question of weeks instead of years, and the nation that was found unprepared, in the event of being involved in war, would find, when too late, the cost of neglect. He was ready to admit that we had a powerful sea-going fleet—probably superior to that of any other nation; but considering our insular position, our dependence on foreign supplies, the vast interests we had to protect at home and abroad, and the necessity of keeping free and uninterrupted communication with India and our Colonial Empire in every part of the globe, he was not willing to admit that we possessed a fleet sufficient to meet all those requirements, and at the same time capable of resisting any attack which might be directed against us by a coalition of maritime Powers. They could not shut their eyes to the very great improvements which had been made in modern warfare. The use of steam had revolutionized all our previous experience; it equalized to a large extent the powers of nations; and gave to an attacking, or invading Power, the great advantage of being able to concentrate at one point, and at a specific time, a very large and powerful force. Nor must it be forgotten that the precision and power of modern artillery, the use of submarine weapons of destruction, and the application of rams in naval warfare rendered such effective service, that even victorious fleets coming out of future actions would be so crippled that they would find it not only hard to maintain their position at sea, but the vessels would have difficulty in reaching a port, where they would have to remain for weeks, perhaps months, for repairs, owing to their peculiar construction. It was said we had the command of the Channel, but what did that mean? If it meant that we had a fleet capable of preventing the fleet of any other nation from entering the Channel, he believed we had such a fleet; but if it was meant that the fleet would prevent invading operations being undertaken in swift steamers passing through fleets, perhaps hundreds of miles apart, under cover of night, we had not, in his opinion, such a command of the Channel as we ought to aim at. In order to obtain security of the reliable character which the country required, it would be necessary to provide an inshore flotilla of small and powerfully armed light-draught steam vessels. Such vessels, distributed throughout the commercial ports of this country, would, in his opinion, create a defensive force sufficient not only for the protection of the harbours themselves, but for the protection of our coasts, and capable of supporting our fleets in operations of a more extended character. The utterly defenceless state of our commercial harbours had long been a subject of great anxiety to the country, and such a protection as he suggested would effectually stop those periodical panics, which embarrassed so seriously the commercial operations of the country, causing a great stoppage of our industry, and serious loss to all engaged in peaceful trade. The attack of an enemy would not be directed against armed places, and, surely, if defences were necessary, they were essentially necessary to our commercial ports, which were the great emporiums of trade, and which, by their wealth and their weakness, would absolutely invite attack. The hon. Member for Leith (Mr. Macfie) had, on more than one occasion, endeavoured to bring this question before the House. The hon. Member had reason for anxiety in the matter, for the shores of the Firth and the capital of the North were without the slightest protection. Coming down to Tynemouth and Sunderland, those ports had docks usually filled with ships lying parallel with the coast, and absolutely at the mercy of any passing vessel that desired to shell the shipping of the town. Again, the Humber was not protected, and from the peculiarity of the channel leading to the important port of Hull, could only be defended by floating batteries—forts or land defences were practically useless. No doubt, attempts would always be made to defend the Thames, for many good reasons. The hon. Member for Falmouth (Mr. Eastwick) had sought to draw attention to the state of that harbour; and the Chambers of Commerce at Bristol and Cardiff had recently petitioned the House, asking for defences in the shape of floating batteries. With regard to the port of Liverpool, efforts had been made during the last 16 years to get something done for its protection. Hon. Members were doubtless acquainted with the position of the port and the character of its enormous trade. The exports passing through it probably amounted to one-half of the entire exports of the country; and there were few days in the year when property of the value of from £30,000,000 to £40,000,000 was not lying within rifle shot from the river. Although they might withdraw their pilots, and remove their buoys and light-ships, it would be perfectly easy for any dashing officer to bring his ship up the river on the flood tide, and after throwing red-hot shot and shell into the shipping in the harbour, and the warehouses along the docks, filled with combustible materials, make his retreat in safety on the next ebb. There was not a fort or a ship there capable of resisting such an expedition. That was a state of things which ought not to continue. In a moment of alarm in 1855, the Government of the day wrote to the authorities to say that it had been decided to build a fort upon the northern extremity of the docks, and batteries on five pierheads; but nothing had yet been done. Within the last few days a communication had been received, asking whether the fort could be proceeded with. This, however, was another spasmodic movement; but, whether it was or not, he, for one, did not wish the matter to sleep again. It might be satisfactory for the time to be told, as they had been by the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, that in the event of war the ports would be protected; but those who understood the subject would know that Her Majesty's Government would not have the power to do so on the outbreak of war, for in such an emergency every nerve would be strained to send every ship we possessed against the enemy, and thus it would be impossible for the Government to entertain applications from particular ports. He would not presume to offer an opinion on the relative merits of shore and floating batteries; but he might be permitted to point out that while the former involved enormous expenditure and considerable loss of time, the latter could be built at once at a comparatively moderate cost. It was notorious that we were deficient in the smaller class of vessels to which his proposition referred; and it was because the Navy Estimates—which had been in the hands of hon. Members for two or three weeks—only provided for some half-dozen of those vessels that he had felt it his duty to bring this question before the House. If further increase in the number were now contemplated, Supplemental Estimates ought to have been laid on the Table. With regard to maintaining these vessels, he had to state that, besides the Coastguard and Naval Reserve, which we had in all large seaports, there were also in such places classes of maritime population who were not utilized as they might be for purposes of defence. There were pilots, riggers, and boatmen—men who had spent their lives upon vessels of the very class required, who would take as much pride in them as Volunteers did in their corps. The local knowledge which these men had of tides, banks, and currents, would be of the greatest value in manning defensive vessels; and in time of peace it would be only necessary to keep up a small permanent staff—namely, a warrant officer and gunner, and one or two seamen-gunners. Some objection would probably be raised with respect to the cost of this scheme; but 40 or 50 vessels of the *Staunch* or *Plucky* class, carrying an 18-ton, or even heavier gun, would not cost more than £7,500 each, so that the whole inshore flotilla would only require an expenditure of from £300,000 to £400,000, spread over a couple of years. Such a flotilla would, he believed, be most useful in shallow estuaries, being able to cope with superior forces; because, by moving rapidly, they would concentrate their fire upon a special object, while each would offer a very small target to the enemy. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer was unable to allow an addition on this account to the sum provided in the Estimates, he should not hesitate to suggest that the building of other vessels should cease for the moment, in order that the money intended to be spent on the larger class of vessels might be applied to the building of those smaller vessels, which were a primary necessity. There were few ships composing the iron-clad Navy of England which drew less than 26 feet of water, and still fewer harbours, north of Brest, which they could enter. Coast operations would be simply impossible; and if ever we found ourselves engaged in a European quarrel our fleets would return to our ports, as the French fleet did from the Baltic—without firing a shot. He could not avoid alluding, in passing, to the scheme of the Government for re-organizing the Army at a cost of many millions, with the prospect, in the opinion of competent authorities, of very doubtful results. If it were possible to divert any portion of the expenditure to providing a fleet of small vessels, he believed that we should then have such protection as would enable us in a short time to diminish our Army instead of increasing it. The Secretary for War told us that the Army organization scheme would require seven years. [An hon. MEMBER: 12 years.] Well, in these times seven years were a political generation; great changes might occur within the next seven years, and what was wanted by the country was something that would render us prepared at the moment, and enable us to gain time for that organization of the Army that might be carried on afterwards. It appeared to him that we had begun at the wrong end — that in a homely phrase, we had "put the cart before the horse." We had, in fact, commenced to furnish our house before we had seen that the doors were capable of being properly secured. If he had power to divert a portion of the expenditure from the re-construction of the Army, as it was called, and which, if passed to-morrow, would not give any further protection to the defences of the country than existed at this moment, he certainly should feel it his duty to do so. He believed that if we only substituted for the Coastguard ships vessels of the *Cyclops* class, powerful vessels with slight draught of water, and attached to them gunboats, and if we utilized the Reserve, and the maritime population of the adjacent districts, we should then have a line of defence which would not only make England invulnerable, but would leave our fleets free to do that which they had always done before—block up the mouth of every suspected harbour of the enemy, and attack the enemy's fleet wherever it could be found. It was too much our habit to talk of our fleets as lines of defence. That was not the language of 50 years since, when the Navy of our country won for itself imperishable renown, not by defensive, but offensive, operations. He believed that this question was one which involved a high policy, and that the House ought to express an opinion upon it. He asked for the question he had brought forward a fair and unbiassed consideration; and if the House should support him in the proposal that he made, he believed that we should have a protection round our shores which would meet every requirement of the country, and would be obtained at a very moderate cost. The hon. Member concluded by moving his Resolution.

MR. T. BRASSEY said, that, in seconding the motion, he was animated by the strongest sense of public duty. His hon. Friend had alluded to the failure of the operations of the French fleet, owing to the deficiency of vessels of light draught adapted to coast defence. Our own experience in the Baltic campaign, when a powerful fleet of line-of-battle ships and frigates was condemned to inaction for want of gunboats, and the successes, on the other hand, of the American naval operations, owing to the United States possessing vessels of light draught, were matters of history. The most eminent professional authorities strongly recommended the construction of a flotilla of vessels of moderate draught for the defence of our coasts and harbours. The Defence Commissioners, in their Report of 1860, advised that £1,000,000 sterling should be spent in aid of the land fortifications which they suggested, and they laid it down as a rule that the extreme draught of a vessel adapted for coast defence should be 16 feet. Subsequently, however, a Committee was appointed, with Lord Lauderdale as president, to examine into the merits of Captain Cowper Cole's system of turret armament, who strongly recommended that the turret system should be adopted for vessels designed for coast defence. But he believed that at the present time there was not in the British fleet a single turret-ship which drew less than 16 feet of water. The vessels we had afloat largely exceeded the draught laid down as essential for vessels for coast purposes. On comparing the resources of the British Navy with the navies of other Powers, in respect to this class of vessels, he found that our deficiencies were of a very serious character. In the Russian Navy there were 24 iron-clads, of which 22 were vessels of light draught powerfully armed, 13 being of the *Monitor* type. The American fleet contained 52 iron-clads, 45 of which were of light draught and adapted for coast defence. Now, compared with these two statements, the British Navy was alarmingly deficient in vessels adapted for coast operations. He should be sorry to advocate increased expenditure, and he would suggest that we ought to substitute for the costly vessels of deep draught now in contemplation vessels of more moderate cost and lesser size, and better adapted for the defence of our coasts. With regard to line-of-battle ships, we were undoubtedly superior to any other maritime Power, and perhaps superior, to all the other maritime Powers taken together, and, therefore, it was unnecessary at present to expend more money in constructing vessels of this class. When they considered that the *Sultan*, which cost £394,000, could be destroyed by a single successful torpedo. it was enough to make us pause before we constructed more of this class of ships, especially as in 10 years' time this class of ships might be found to be obsolete. Further, he would suggest that we might suspend the construction of a number of vessels of the *Inconstant* type until a sufficient number of vessels were supplied adapted for coast defence. Our mercantile navy, especially the powerful ships which performed a regular service between Liverpool and New York in the most tempestuous winter weather, and under favourable conditions, attaining a speed of 14 knots an hour for several days consecutively, would, in the event of war breaking out, be admirable substitutes for vessels like the *Inconstant*. He submitted that we might without danger postpone the construction of more *Inconstants* at the present time, and that we could spend our money to greater advantage by building vessels of the *Staunch* class, which his hon. Friend (Mr. Graves) had referred to as being essential to the defence of our harbours and shores. The programme of the Admiralty of last year contemplated the construction of 12,000 tons of armour-plated shipping per annum. The Secretary of the United States Government in his last Report suggested that the United States establishment in time of peace should include 40 armoured vessels for coast defence of a tonnage not exceeding 800 tons. Assuming that we adopted that tonnage as sufficient for our *Monitors*, or in order to secure a more thoroughly efficient type of vessels, increased the size of our *Monitors* to 1,000 tons, we could, by suspending the construction of vessels of the *Devastation* type provide by the end of three years, without any addition to the present Vote for ship-building, 36 vessels of a type admirably adapted for coast defence. Again, we could build 33 vessels of the *Staunch* class for the same money which it would take to construct an *Inconstant*. Thus we might have in three years 100 gunboats of the *Staunch* class, which, taken together with 36 *Monitors*, would form a substantial and reliable defence for the great arsenals and commercial harbours of the country. There was one more suggestion which he wished to offer with respect to the utilization of our mercantile marine for purposes of naval defence. He had often contemplated the possibility of making arrangements with the owners of the tug and coasting steamers which were to be found in "numbers numberless" around our shores, by which those vessels might be made a very valuable defence of the harbours to which they belonged. He believed that a sum equal to a third or fourth of the original cost of such vessels would be gladly accepted by their owners upon condition that they should be constructed with such modifications of scantling and fitment as would adapt them to carry a gun, mounted on Captain Scott's plan, so successfully applied in the *Staunch*. For a sum not exceeding what we should spend in maintaining a like number of the steam gunboats in reserve the owners of those vessels would probably be glad to keep them in a state of repair satisfactory to an inspector and sufficient to enable us to rely with confidence on them in case their services should be required. He would conclude by expressing a sincere hope that the Government would find it consistent with those economical principles which they had adopted to increase our defence flotilla, so as to render impossible in the future the recurrence of those periodical panics which did so little credit to this country.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to make additional provision for the defence of the Commercial Harbours of this Country, by building, without delay, gun vessels of a light draught, armed with heavy guns, which may, in case of emergency, be manned by any existing local or other force,"—(*Mr. Graves*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.

Mr. G. BENTINCK was very glad that the hon. Member for Liverpool had brought forward this question, for it was impossible to overrate its importance. It was not to be wondered that attention was called to this matter, when it was considered what an enormous amount of property was really in a defenceless condition. He must, however, confess that he should be sorry to see adopted the plan of dispensing with building the larger class of vessels in order to construct small ones for home defence. His hon. Friend had given a very good reason against his own recommendation—namely, the enormous time required to repair a fleet of iron-clads after an action, and we could not look upon our Channel defence as complete unless we had a reserve of iron-clads fit to go to sea when the others returned in a damaged condition. He quite agreed that ships of lighter draught were the only vessels for harbour defence. He would ask the House to bear in mind the history of the last 18 or 20 years, and to consider whether the history of that time did not furnish the strongest reason for constructing small vessels such as those which had been recommended. At the commencement of the Crimean War we were entirely unprovided with gunboats. A noble Earl (the Earl of Hardwicke), who was a distinguished naval officer, made a recommendation in 1853 that the First Lord should immediately lay down 100 gunboats; but that recommendation was not attended to. Well, on the outbreak of the war, we set about building 150 gunboats, but in such a hurry that in 12 months they were all rotten; and we contrived to have the boats finished just as the war was over. If we had had 100 gunboats earlier we should have taken Cronstadt without difficulty, and probably should have entered Sebastopol, and the whole character of the war would have been changed. We had also had more recent experience on the subject. There was the report of the commanders of the French squadron in the late war; and they said that the French iron-clads in the Baltic were perfectly useless for all purposes of offensive warfare, whereas if they had had 100 boats of light draught the fleet would then have been most useful as an aggressive force. We had heard a good deal lately of our treaty obligations; but let us imagine that we were called upon under treaty obligations to prevent an attack upon Antwerp, which was the point most looked to when any question of European concern was at issue. What could we possibly do? What use would our large iron-clads be with their draught of water? We had really not a single ship of war that we could send up the river to defend the place. Looking at the history of the past, and the necessities of the present, he did not think that we could do better than build small vessels such as those which had been referred to.

Mr. HEADLAM said, that, as he had himself given notice to call attention to vessels of the *Staunch* class, he would say a few words in support of the Motion that was now before the House. He had come to the conclusion that there could not be any more effective mode of defending the harbours of this country than by building gunboats carrying one gun. He had a letter from Sir William Armstrong to the effect that the cost of two iron-clads would construct 100 of these vessels, and that these vessels would be of much more importance to the harbours of this country than a fleet of iron-clads. These small vessels were ubiquitous; they could move from one place to another, and they could not be all destroyed at once. It was not competent for hon. Members to move any increase of the Estimates, therefore he would not press the subject further than by saying that he believed there would be in the Estimates provision for six of these vessels, and he would be inclined to press upon Government to proceed further in this direction.

Sir JOHN HAY desired, with the permission of the House, to say a few words on the subject. He entirely agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. G. Bentinck) that there should be no delay in completing the larger iron-clads, with the view of devoting the money to smaller gunboats, if it were not that the iron-clads we were constructing were not of that type which it was desirable to provide; so that he thought the proposition of his hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool was entitled to some weight, because they knew the value and exceeding cheapness of that class of gunboats, and that the seven iron-clads which were now being constructed were the subject of consideration by an important Committee. Although they had not reported yet, something was known with regard to the *Fury*, *Thunderer*, and *Devastation*. The *Fury* had been entirely suspended, though it was held up in the autumn to be a vessel of great importance; but he was glad to learn that the money expended had not resulted in a great loss to the public, as he believed only $\frac{1}{56}$th had been completed. He was quite sure he was right in saying that no Committee would say it was the type of vessel that should be adopted. They desired to see the experiment tried by dealing with the *Thunderer* and the *Devastation;* but one would probably be constructed in the original manner, and the other according to an altered design. With regard to the other four vessels of the *Cyclops* class, there was no doubt they had the advantage of drawing not too much water, and in that respect they would be a very serviceable vessel. But as he understood, the Committee had reported that in such seas as would be met with on the north-west and south coasts of Ireland, and on the west coast of Scotland, they would be in great danger, and they would roll over and go down as the *Captain* went down. He thought vessels of the *Staunch* class did not carry large enough guns, as they ought to carry an 18-ton gun, rather than a 12-ton gun, and ought to be constructed so as to be able to lay with their heads to the sea and fire abeam. He believed a sum of £8,000 would produce a gunboat of a class which would be able to take care of itself in almost all weathers, navigate in shallow seas, and fire with great precision. The Defence Committee of 1860 had advised the expenditure of £1,000,000 for this purpose, and he would be glad to hear from the First Lord of the Admiralty what course Government was pursuing in this matter. A considerable number of these vessels should be constructed in each year, and he urged upon the representatives of the commercial ports to consider how these vessels should be manned and preserved in their ports. They should cost the country nothing but ammunition for the training of the men. One gunner, a warrant officer, should be in charge of each of the various gunboats in the various ports, and in that way the country would have a force which the mercantile body itself would be interested in keeping efficient. By this means they would not be subject to those panics which occasionally arose, as they would have their vessels at hand, armed with guns of the heaviest calibre, and ready to be manned for the defence of the port.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he should have preferred to explain the policy of the Government with respect to this matter in the statement which he had to make later in the evening. It was impossible to deal with one class of these vessels alone; and no better proof could be given of this than the speeches which had just been made by the hon. Members. He was astonished beyond measure to hear the hon. and gallant Admiral opposite (Sir John Hay) mention to the House the substance of a confidential Report which had only been placed upon his (Mr. Goschen's) table two days ago. A very important Committee had been sitting, and every document which he had seen in connection with it was marked "confidential," and most properly so, because it could not be to the advantage of the country that, before the Committee had completed its final Report, the substance of the Report they were about to make should be published piecemeal in the speeches of hon. Members — thereby producing a wrong impression throughout the country. Was it right that the gallant Admiral should have mentioned one point of a confidential Report regarding the *Cyclops* and *Devastation*, and alarm the country at the progress made with these vessels, before the public had the other points, or were in possession of full materials to enable them to judge? It had been a great question with him whether, in the interest of the public service, he should lay these Reports before the House. They touched on the whole question of the shipbuilding of the country; they were prepared by most eminent men, and went into the most minute questions of shipbuilding. It was a great matter of doubt with him whether he should publish these or not for the benefit of the world. It might be right to publish them, but he thought that it should be left to the Government to decide the question, and it was not right for the hon. and gallant Member to force the premature production of these Reports by quoting from them so much as was unfavourable to the vessels that were under construction. With regard to the question generally, it would be his duty presently to state to the House the policy of the Government with regard to the building of these ships. Hon. Members had assumed, and the hon. Member for Hastings (Mr. Brassey) seemed to indicate that the Government was in favour of proceeding with iron-clads at the expense of these small gun vessels; but that was not the policy of the Government. The policy of the Government was to proceed with these gunboats, as many hon. Members had proposed; but they were not prepared to do so, at present, on the scale urged by the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Graves). Progress must, at the same time, be made with other ships which also constituted a portion of the coast defences, beause it was not assumed that these ships which were to remain in the harbours were to be our chief defences. We must have fighting ships also; we must have large ships drawing 26 feet of water, superior in power to the ships of other countries; and therefore Government could not consent to stop the progress of such ships as the *Devastation;* nor could they stop the progress of the four ships of the *Cyclops* class, drawing 15 feet or 16 feet of water, even for those which were most useful for coast defences. There would be a considerable flotilla of the very gunboats recommended by the hon. Member for Hastings (Mr. Brassey) of the *Staunch* class, but he did not need to pursue the subject further at the present moment; he would only state that of that class 12 were practically completed, and, further, boats of the same class would be completed during the present financial year. It would be unadvisable to suspend the completion of the *Blonde*, which was at present in progress of construction. That was a most important and useful class of vessels; but as to the amount spent on them in any one year, and the relative amount spent on the larger class of vessels, that question would be best dealt with when he came to speak on the general policy of the Government.

MR. LIDDELL said, that if he was rightly informed, instructions had been issued to the Committee on Naval Construction which had been referred to, prohibiting them from considering any class of vessels below 2,000 tons. It was of the highest importance that some opinion should go forth from that House that that Committee should have power to inquire into the class of vessels of smaller tonnage and light draught, which he concurred with previous speakers in believing to be most suited for the defence of our shores. He hoped, therefore, that in the course of the evening he should receive some assurance from Government on the subject. He hoped his hon. Friend would not put the House to the trouble of dividing until they had heard the statement of the Government; but it was of such importance that he would be justified in asking the opinion of the House on the question, should the explanation of the Government not be satisfactory.

MR. GOURLEY said, that the ports on the north-east coast were totally unprotected. The only defence which we had at present was vessels of the iron-clad type, but the experience of the French and German War showed that iron-clads were utterly useless for certain purposes. Vessels of small draught of the *Monitor* class, similar to the *Minotauk* turret which ran the gauntlet of the Land Forts during the American Civil

War were, in his opinion, the best ships for the defence of the coast, and the country would be put to no great additional expense, as the men composing the Naval Reserve could be utilized to great advantage if that suggestion were adopted.

Mr. LAIRD said, the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Graves) was quite justified in bringing forward this Motion. He did not hesitate to say that one or two small *Monitors,* such as the Admiralty were now building, would destroy the very fine armour-clad ship called the *Resistance,* now stationed in the Mersey, which was not at all fitted for getting into or out of ports. His view was that the various harbours of this country could be made safe by vessels of the *Staunch* class and *Monitor* class. He was aware that Government were building six small vessels for coast defence. It was better for the country to build vessels of this small class for the harbours, even as a matter of economy, because by their means the rest of the Navy would be set free for foreign service without exposing ourselves to the risk of invasion. The vessels now in commission would suffice for all the requirements of foreign service, and we should have no need to build large-class vessels for a long time to come.

Mr. MACFIE protested against the slowness of the present and preceding Governments in providing for the defence of the ports of the country. A vessel of war running into the Firth of Forth would be nearer to Edinburgh than Hyde Park Corner was to the House in which they were now sitting. What a shame it would be if a cruiser were to come from the Baltic and bring the renowned and ancient capital of Scotland to ruins. No considerations of economy, no advantage gained by delay, ought to postpone the expenditure which everyone was convinced must, sooner or later, be incurred on the defence of the coast, and in the removal of those panics which were well founded, so far as the unprotected position of our harbours was concerned. What would be the state of Lancashire and the manufacturing districts if a gunboat were to go up the Mersey and burn up the stock of cotton in the port of Liverpool?

Mr. EASTWICK: Sir, I am glad the hon. Member for Liverpool has called attention to this subject. One would have thought that the defences of commercial ports would have been the first thought of a commercial nation. But, perhaps, it has not been attended to just because it was so very obviously necessary. Sir, I regret that I did not hear the beginning of this debate, but I am sure that my hon. Friend has explained the wants of Liverpool with his usual clearness and ability, so that I need add nothing on that head; but I should like to say a word respecting Falmouth—a port at which there is often an immense fleet of ships, and which ought, therefore, to be made perfectly secure. Now, I am far from saying that Falmouth is so defenceless as Liverpool, but what I complain of is that it is imperfectly defended, when a very little additional outlay would make it quite secure. There are two castles of Henry VIII's time—Pendennis, on the west of the harbour, and St. Mawe's on the east. Pendennis is an irregular heptagon with seven very small bastions, in each of which is a 56-pounder gun *en barbette.* Below are land batteries of 32-pounders, which are quite useless against armour-plated vessels. The top battery is also useless, because there are no bomb-proofs and no expense battery inside the fort, and the three old magazines are exposed to fire, as they can be seen above the parapets. For want of a small outlay this defence, then, is indefensible. St. Mawe's Castle is well placed, but its 12 guns—being shell guns—are of no use against armour-plated vessels. These guns ought to be replaced by 9-inch guns. But two more batteries are wanted—a 3-gun battery of heavy guns on St. Anthony, at the eastern point of the harbour, and a battery at Trefusis Point inside the harbour; for, as matters at present stand, if a vessel could run between the two castles, not a gun could be brought to bear on her, and she might burn the town and sink all the shipping in the port. Having spoken of Falmouth, I wish to say a word on the defences of the Clyde, and then on the general question. At Greenock there is the *Black Prince,* and no doubt she is a very formidable defence. But I think there ought to be defences on shore as well, and I believe there are no rifled guns. Near Greenock there are two smoothbore guns, but no rifled guns. There are companies of Volunteer artillery in Argyllshire, Renfrew, Ayr, and Dumbarton, and a body of Militia Artillery in Argyllshire; but not a man of them has ever been taught to handle a breech-loading rifled gun. I think that such guns should be sent down, and the artillerymen instructed in their use. Now as to the general question. I believe I am right in saying that harbour defences consist of batteries on shore, armour-plated vessels, and torpedoes. It has been rightly observed that we want a number of small armour-plated ships, of light draught, which could prevent an enemy's vessel or boats from raking out our torpedoes. It appears to me that these latter weapons are the best we can use. In fact, I think the next naval war will be a war of torpedoes. That being so, I am really surprised that the Admiralty has been so utterly supine regarding these most formidable engines. I speak more particularly of Harvey's sea-torpedo, or "otter" torpedo. There was Correspondence about these torpedoes as long back as July 8th, 1868, and most successful trials were made with it against the *Royal Sovereign* on the 17th and 18th February, 1870; yet it was not till the 29th of December that the Government ordered 20, and on the 22nd of this month, 60 more. But while our Government has been fast asleep over torpedoes—and they are not exactly the things that a reasonable person would choose to slumber over—Russia has been arming to the teeth with them. Sir, it requires a couple of months' practice to manage these weapons successfully; but if it should come to a torpedo war we should be at a great disadvantage as compared with Russia, for it would be the most skilful manipulator—and skill is got only by practice—who would be certain to win. Sir, there can be no doubt that a flotilla of torpedo ships would blow up any fleet of iron-clads in the world. Why, Sir, in 10 trials against the *Royal Sovereign*, that ship three times got only one shot, and five times only two shots, at the torpedo vessel, and that even in the day; but there can be no doubt that in dark tempestuous nights there would be many chances to one against the torpedo vessel being struck. I hope, therefore, that immediate attention will be given to this subject, and that the crews, not only of the *Excellent* and *Cambridge*, but of every man-of-war in the Navy, will be exercised in the use of the "otter" torpedo, and that the services of Captain Harvey will be retained especially and solely for this country, at a fair and even liberal remuneration.

Mr. GRAVES said, he was satisfied with the discussion which had taken place, as it had shown that the opinion of the House was unanimous in favour of the policy of additional defence for commercial harbours. As he did not wish to occupy the time unnecessarily, or to embarrass the Government by dividing the House, he would ask leave to withdraw the Motion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

NAVY—DEPTFORD DOCKYARD.

RESOLUTION.

Sir JAMES ELPHINSTONE said, that as he understood the transfer of Deptford Dockyard was to be made Tomorrow, he felt bound to bring forward the Motion of which he had given Notice on the subject. The Dockyard had been valued at £400,000. It was sold to two different individuals, but a portion remained which he was told was worth £134,000. This property was sold to Mr. Austin, brother-in-law of the Solicitor to the Admiralty, who, it was stated, sold his bargain to the Corporation of London for a premium of £21,000; no proper advertisements of these transactions having been inserted in the newspapers, so far as he (Sir James Elphinstone) could find. Mr. Evelyn, of Wotton, in Surrey, had written a letter declaring that the sale to Mr. Austin, and the transfer to the Corporation of London, required a better explanation than any that had yet been offered. Last year, in answer to a statement he made in that House, the First Lord of the Admiralty declared that there was not the smallest truth in the assertion that Mr. Austin was a relative of the Solicitor to the Admiralty. Now, if a Committee were granted on the subject, the correctness of the statement he made would not only be proved, but probably something might be found out about the Greenwich election. He moved for the appointment of a Committee of the House to consider the subject.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON seconded the Motion. As the hon. Baronet stated, Mr. Evelyn, the former ground landlord, made the assertion in the public papers that Mr. Austin's offer must have been very much under the value, because he was aware that a much larger sum had been offered. He had himself been informed by a professional gentleman in the City that a client of his own was prepared to give a much larger sum—from £100,000 to £125,000—for the Dockyard, but that he felt it would not be accepted, for, if divided into lots, it would fetch a much larger sum. A valuation of the Dockyard was made in 1865, and since that time considerable sums of money had been expended upon it. A portion of the Dockyard was purchased of Mr. Evelyn in 1856, on condition that it should be devoted to none other than dockyard purposes, and was sold by Mr. Evelyn for about £33,000. Mr. Evelyn had since purchased about 15 acres from the Government. To show the difference in valuation in reference to this land, Mr. Murrell, an official of the Government, valued this land at £46,000; another valuer valued it at £20,000; and the referee fixed the price at £27,900. But this did not fairly represent the proportion of the value of the whole, because the land so purchased by Mr. Evelyn had no river frontage; the piece, however, which had been sold to Mr. Austin had 1,000 feet of river frontage. It was contended that the sale to Mr. Austin must have been very much under the value because a larger sum had been offered, and it was alleged that if the Dockyard had been put up for auction it would have fetched a much larger sum. Mr. Murrell, who was consulted on a former occasion, was not asked, but Mr. Marsh, the agent of Mr. Austin, was engaged in arranging the bargain. He believed there were other names than the name of Mr. Austin connected with the transaction, and that for some time it was proposed to turn the locality to shipbuilding purposes. It was only in despair of being able to pay over the amount to the Government that the Corporation was applied to with a view to a cattle market. This matter ought to be referred to a Committee in order that they might know in what position the sale to Mr. Austin really stood. The hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Baxter) had stated that the Corporation had asked to have the title made out to them. When Mr. Austin did not complete the purchase, why did not the Government recover possession of their ground, and effect a sale to the Corporation on terms clearly advantageous to the public? It was for the purpose of clearing up the whole transaction that he seconded the Motion of his hon. and gallant Friend.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the transfer of the Dockyard at Deptford to the Corporation of London should be postponed till the circumstances of the sale be considered by a Committee of this House,"—(*Sir James Elphinstone,*)

—instead thereof.

MR. BAXTER said, that if the statements which had been made were true, he quite agreed that it would have been necessary that a Committee should be appointed to inquire into this question. He fully agreed that whenever imputations were made against an individual in a case of this kind a Committee was a proper tribunal to consider them. This matter, which was discussed in July last year, had been again brought up, and he could only repeat the explanation he then made to the House. It was extremely unfair again to have imputations cast upon Mr. Bristowe, the Solicitor to the Admiralty, a gentleman so highly respected, and formerly a Member of the House. As he told them last year, if anyone was to blame in the sale of Deptford Dockyard, it was not Mr. Bristowe, but himself. He acted on the best advice he could obtain, and if he had done wrong he was amenable to the censure of the House. He complained that, after the explanations given, the hon. Baronet should have come down to repeat the accusation. Mr. Bristowe had nothing to do with the sale except, as Solicitor to the Admiralty, to carry it out. This had been called a mysterious bargain; but there was no mystery about it whatever. When the present Government came into office they found it had been decided by a Committee unanimously that Deptford Dockyard should be closed. That decision was accepted by both sides of the House—by several Executive Governments, and it became the duty of the present Administration to carry the decision of the Committee into effect. The first thing to be done was to take advice as to the mode and manner of selling the Dockyard. He consulted a number of professional and commercial gentlemen—he saw 12 or 15 leading gentlemen connected with the City of London, who knew the value of property on the banks of the river, and their unanimous advice was on no account to put up Deptford Dockyard to public auction, for they said in the present depressed state of trade on the river very likely there would be no offer at all, which circumstance would injure the eventual sale of the property. They advised that two or three gentlemen, acquainted with the value of such property, should carefully go over the Dockyard, and value it confidentially for the Admiralty. It was said there had been an offer of £200,000; but there was not a syllable of truth in that representation. It was pure invention from beginning to end. Steps were taken to let it be known all over the kingdom that Deptford Dockyard was for sale. It was announced in the Money Article of *The Times*, and was mentioned in almost every newspaper, that the Government were most anxious to sell Deptford Dockyard, either in whole or in part. That announcement was copied into nearly every newspaper in the United Kingdom, but the only offers received were £45,000, £50,000, £55,000, £58,000, and £60,000. The valuation made by the Government official was £80,000. The offer accepted was £75,000 from Mr. Austin—that is, £71,500, and an obligation on the buyer to put up buildings for the Government to the extent of £3,500. The hon. Baronet (Sir James Elphinstone) said there was a valuation of the property at £134,000. Now, they got £75,000 from Mr. Austin and £30,000 from Mr. Evelyn—in all £105,000.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON observed that the £134,000 was only the value of the site, and did not include materials, stocks, and slips.

Mr. BAXTER said, the property was much more valuable at the time of the valuation than it was at the time it was sold; that being the case, the Government made a good sale, and it was rather hard lines to ask for a Committee to inquire into a sale effected under these circumstances. Of course Mr. Austin did not get the benefit of the plant and stores in the Dockyard; a large portion was sold and realized a large sum for the Exchequer, and ever since the Government came into office men had been employed in removing stores from Deptford and Woolwich, and in sending them to Portsmouth and elsewhere. Personally he did not know anything about Mr. Austin until the time arrived for handing over the property, and it was not until Mr. Marsh disclosed his principal that the name of Mr. Austin was mentioned at all. He was told that Mr. Austin was not at first over-satisfied with his bargain; and at one time would have accepted a profit of £500; a Member of that House had told him (Mr. Baxter) so. It was not Mr. Austin's fault that the money was not paid down; he was anxious to pay it at once; but when the sale had been effected it was found that there was a dispute between the Woods and Forests Department and the Admiralty; it was doubtful which of the two could give Mr. Austin a title; the question had to be referred to the Law Officers of the Crown, and it involved an investigation which necessitated months of delay. If anything was wrong, it was that the Corporation should pay so much money for the property, and he would suggest the appointment of a Committee of the Corporation to investigate the matter. Everything had been done by the Admiralty in the most open manner. It was merely bound now to hand over the property; and the only question was, whether the title should be made out to Mr. Austin or to the Corporation. After that explanation, he hoped the House would not assent to the Motion for a Committee of Inquiry.

Sir JOHN HAY did not think the statement of the hon. Gentleman satisfactory. He had no wish to cast imputations on anyone. He (Sir John Hay) could not see the necessity of the Board of Admiralty forcing a sale of this Dockyard at a time when they admitted that all such property was greatly depreciated. Surely the Admiralty were not so pressed as to be compelled to sell the property at a time when it was impossible to obtain anything like its value. It could be of no consequence to the country to force a sale of this property. It was only of consequence to the Admiralty, who thus desired to make a fallacious show of low Estimates. It was the conduct of a petty tradesman who, being on the verge of bankruptcy, desired to get rid of his stock at an alarming sacrifice. The Dockyard, too, was sold to a gentleman who had not paid the purchase money for it, amounting to £75,000, and Mr. Austin quietly hands it over to the Corporation of London for £95,000, being a profit of £20,000. And now we hear this further disclosure that the Admiralty, instead of handing the property over to Mr. Austin, were about to transfer it at once to the Corporation of London, who wished to establish a cattle market on it. The advantage of this arrangement was completely on the side of Mr. Austin, who pocketed £20,000 profit, which was thus lost to the public. Now, that was one of those questions which he considered ought to be inquired into by a Committee of the House. He did not intend to attach suspicion to anyone connected with the transaction. At the same time it was notorious that in all parts of the country insinuations had been made of certain persons having been discreditably mixed up in it.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 141; Noes 64: Majority 77.

PARLIAMENT—COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

OBSERVATION.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK rose to call attention to the postponement of the sittings of the Committee on Business of the House, and to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Committee was to sit on Tuesday next. The hon. Member said he was anxious to make a few observations on this subject, believing that it was one involving the rights and privileges of the Members generally. Well, the simple facts connected with his inquiry were these — The Committee in question sat for the last time on Tuesday, the 14th March; it was then adjourned until Tuesday, the 21st March; but it having been subsequently found that that day was an inconvenient one for several of its Members, it was further postponed until Friday last, the 24th. That day having been also objected to as being inconvenient to the Members, it was agreed upon by the Committee itself to postpone its next deliberation to Friday next, the 31st instant. It appeared, however, that in the course of Friday evening last, the 24th, a circumstance took place which he believed was unparalleled in the annals of Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer having, on the evening in question, had a private conversation with one or two Members behind the Speaker's Chair, and communicated with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) fixed the next meeting of the Committee on the Business of the House, not for Friday next, as it was previously arranged, but for to-morrow (Tuesday)—thus taking it on himself to change the day of such meeting. He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), happening to be in the House late on Friday evening, had received early intimation of this change, but he believed that most of the other Members of the Committee did not receive notice of it until last Saturday afternoon. Apart from these considerations he would urge two objections to this course of proceeding. Now, the Chairman, as he contended, had no right, power, or authority to fix a day of meeting in this way, and in this he was supported by a text writer, Sir Erskine May, who, in his *Usages and Laws of Parliament*, after stating that it was sometimes permitted, added that the practice being irregular "could only be resorted to for the convenience of Members, and with their general concurrence." Neither of these conditions had been complied with. But although a Member might postpone a day for which he had given Notice of Motion, he could not, according to the established practice, appoint it for a day earlier than that which he had already fixed. Now, to-morrow, would be inconvenient to other Members of the Committee; and as it was known that attacks were to be made on the rights and privileges of Members, it was of importance that the convenience of independent Members should be consulted. He would suggest a further consideration in respect to this matter. The Committee in question was one of 23 Members, who, from the nature of the inquiry entrusted to them, would probably have to frame new rules regarding the Business of the House. He must enter his emphatic protest against any Resolution which the Committee might come to if they met to-morrow (Tuesday). And he begged, in conclusion, to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it was intended that the Committee should meet on that day?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER hoped the House would not be led astray by the eloquence of the hon. Gentleman opposite, for, if he was right in his argument, he had clearly demonstrated that the Committee never could meet again. According to the hon. Gentleman, the Committee not having met on the day it adjourned to, there was an end of it. It was matter of common sense that, whenever necessity arose, the Chairman of a Committee, having conferred with all the Members whose opinions he was able to learn, should have the power of doing what was for the general convenience. It was at the request of Members of the Committee, and, certainly, as he understood, for the general convenience, that Tuesday had been appointed for the meeting of the Committee. He hoped his hon. Friend would not raise such dreadful legal difficulties as to prevent them from proceeding on that day.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON objected, not so much to the naming of a day by the Chairman, as to the alteration of the day after once it had been appointed, for the convenience of individual Members. Some discretionary power might well be vested in the Chairman, but it ought to be a continuing power, not one that went backwards and forwards to suit the convenience of particular Members.

SIR GEORGE GREY denied that his right hon. Friend was in the least degree responsible for the meeting upon Tuesday. But it so happened that several Members of the Public Business Committee were also Members of the Westmeath Committee. And as there were witnesses connected with the administration of justice, whose detention in London while waiting to be examined before the Westmeath Committee might cause public inconvenience, it was suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli)—in which suggestion he entirely concurred — that the Westmeath Committee should, if possible, sit on the following day and take the evidence of those witnesses. It was accordingly arranged that the Chairman of the Westmeath Committee should write to the Chairman of the Public Business Committee to request that the meeting of that Committee might be postponed. Subsequently, in compliance with a desire strongly expressed that the Public Business Committee should, if possible, complete its sittings before Easter, and with that object should have two sittings instead of one during the week, the earlier meeting on Tuesday was arranged. But this also was upon public grounds, and not to suit the convenience of individual Members.

MR. BOWRING regretted that this subject had again been brought under the notice of the House. He thought it might have been left to the good feeling of the Committee generally.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the real question was, whether a meeting of the Committee, having been fixed for the 31st instant, an irregularity had not been committed by the Chairman and three or four Members of the Committee in arranging to antedate that meeting, and to hold it upon Tuesday.

MR. COLLINS thought a mistake had been made originally in not meeting upon the Tuesday and adjourning *pro formâ*, or some other day. Full notice, however, had been given of the meeting to-morrow; therefore, if by sitting on two days during the present week they should be able to come to a Resolution, and report before Easter, he hoped that Members would attend and make progess with the business.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON said, he should attend to-morrow, but it would certainly be at considerable inconvenience.

MR. SPEAKER: I hardly think I can with propriety be called on to intervene in this matter. When a Committee is appointed it elects its own Chairman and appoints its days for sitting, and, as has been said very properly in the course of this discussion, it is often necessary, for the general convenience, that the Chairman should take upon himself any alteration in the course of business which may become necessary. The only point which seems to be submitted for my consideration is, whether in a case where a meeting of the Committee has been settled for a later day, as for Friday, the Committee can with propriety be summoned for an earlier day—that is to say, for Tuesday. It is a rule of this House that when Public Notice has once been given of a Motion, it being obviously impossible to communicate with every one of the 650 Members, the day fixed cannot be altered—at least, it cannot be anticipated. But on this occasion the Chairman was acting, as I understand, to the best of his judgment for the convenience of the Committee, and in accordance with the desire of such Members of the Committee as he had been able to communicate with. There had been, moreover, no fixed adjournment of the Committee. The Chairman had merely intimated to the Committee a proposal that they should meet upon Tuesday. In this there does not appear to me to have been anything contravening the rules of the House.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) 61,000 Men and Boys, Sea and Coast Guard Services, including 14,000 Royal Marines.

Mr. GOSCHEN: I cannot enter upon the difficult task which I have to perform to-night without saying in the first instance how deeply I regret that my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) is not himself moving these Estimates. Every Member of the House must regret his absence on account of illness, and that feeling of regret must be heightened by the fact that his illness is in great part due to the exceedingly zealous and public-spirited manner in which my right hon. Friend discharged his duties. I feel confident that, although some of his proposals may for a moment have produced a little discontent, the permanent services which the right hon. Member for Pontefract has rendered in the administration of the Navy will prove of great value hereafter, and render it much easier for his successors to deal with the questions connected with the administration of the Navy. It is very difficult to make the Statement which falls to my lot to-night after the very short time which has been at my disposal for preparing myself to do justice to the great interests at stake in this matter, and I can assure the House that I feel the difficulty in the strongest manner. I feel the difficulty the more because it cannot be denied that the events of the past year have been extremely interesting as regards naval affairs. The events of the war, the loss of the *Captain*, and many other circumstances, have excited an interest and attention as regards naval matters which make it peculiarly incumbent on those who are responsible for the efficiency of the Navy to be equal to their task. I feel confident, therefore, that the Committee will, under the circumstances, be indulgent towards me this evening. I spoke just now of the events which have happened in the course of the year. One of those events has been already alluded to this evening—namely, the expedition of the French fleet. It cannot be denied that the fact of that fleet, gallant and efficient as it was believed to be, and as I believe it was, being unable to accomplish anything, seriously excited the attention of all persons who were seriously interested in naval affairs. Certain questions have been raised which must continue to excite the careful attention of everyone interested in matters of this kind, and, as far as I am concerned, I can assure the House that the causes which led to the failure of the French Expedition shall be most carefully examined into, with a view of ascertaining whether any lessons can be learnt from that result in the administration of our own Navy. If there had been any naval action, we should doubtless have gained ample experience with respect to the experiments which we and other countries are making. Other countries have constructed iron-clads; and, while continual strictures are being made on our iron-clad vessels, it remains to be proved that the ships in the possession of other Powers are either safer or more powerful than our own.

I will now approach the subject of the amount of money for which the Government ask, and the number of men whom we desire to employ. The amount which we ask the Committee to allow us for the whole service of the year for the Navy is £9,756,000. That is an increase of £385,000 on the Estimates of last year, exclusive of the Vote of Credit granted in August. When I say the total amount is £9,756,000 I do not take into account a reduction which must be made from that figure, in consequence of the extra receipts, amounting to about £400,000. The expenditure on the Navy is so large that the country may well expect to know, and to see clearly in every respect, how this vast sum is distributed, and especially how much goes to what my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract used to call the *personnel* of the Navy, and how much to the *matériel.* It is important to draw this distinction in order that the country may know how much money is really disposable for new ships, new armaments, new docks, and increase of stores, irrespective of the large sums which go into the pockets of our officers and seamen, because among all the many questions of doubt and controversy connected with the Navy Estimates, there are few persons who think that either our seamen or naval officers are overpaid. If, then, there is to be a reduction, it can hardly be made on Vote 1, for the wages of the men; but it must be made in regard to the number of the men employed. I do not think any reduction can be made in the pay of either seamen or officers. Therefore, it strikes me that the country will be interested to know how much of this total amount of £9,756,000 really goes into the pockets of the men. The amount is a large one. If you take not merely Vote 1, but also those Votes which deal with the half-pay and with the retirement of officers—for that must be considered as part of the cost of the *personnel* of the Navy—together with the wages and the sums allowed to the Reserves, you get the sum of £5,518,000 as the total given, directly or indirectly, as I shall presently show, to the *personnel.* That amount, £5,518,000, includes the wages, the victuals, and the clothing. I will now show how I arrive at the figures. Vote 1, exclusively for wages, gives £2,693,000. Then there is for the wages of Coastguard on shore and Reserve, £130,000; half-pay Votes, exclusive of half-pay of civil officers, £1,460,000; therefore, the actual amount of pay, pensions, and retiring allowances, is £4,283,000. For clothing and victuals, £1,040,000; victualling establishments, £70,000; medical establishments, £125,000. These sums give a total of £5,518,000. Taken as a whole, I submit that these figures represent the cost of the *personnel* of our Navy, excluding entirely the administration, the pay of all the civil servants connected with the Admiralty and the expenses of the Admiralty itself.

I will proceed to give the figures which represent the shipping and *matériel.* First, there is Vote 6 for the Dockyards, £967,000, to which I must add about £200,000—a sum representing pensions and retiring allowances to officers and artificers connected with the dockyards. Then there is £751,000, for steam-engines, and ships building by contract, under Section 2 of Vote 10; and £837,000 for naval stores under Section 1 of the same Vote. To that I should also add a sum of £765,000 for the extension of the dockyards. The total, therefore, under this head is £3,520,000, as the cost of our shipbuilding and dockyards, including £765,000 for the extension of our dockyards, which latter sum, although a heavy liability, cannot be regarded as a permanent charge, although we shall still have heavy liabilities on that score. Under Vote 11, or the Works Vote, as it is usually called, there is naturally a large sum annually set aside for new works, buildings, machinery, and repairs, and I have stated that this year it amounts to £765,000. I now come to what may be called the miscellaneous charges of administration. For the Admiralty Office, £163,000; administrative expenses of the Coastguard, £48,000; scientific branch, £67,000; miscellaneous services, £144,000; the conveyance of troops, £173,000; retiring pensions not hitherto included, £112,000. Therefore, in round numbers, we ask for £5,500,000 for officers and salaries, and £3,500,000 for shipbuilding and dockyards; while about £700,000 represents the miscellaneous expenditure of the Navy. I think it most important to separate these matters, so that when the public see a sum of upwards of £9,000,000 they may know how much really represents the emoluments of the men, and how much the expenses of the construction of ships and administrative and miscellaneous charges.

Now, Sir, as I have already remarked, we ask for £9,756,000, which I regret to say is £385,000 in excess of the Vote of last year. What is the position of this sum as compared with the Estimates in previous years? The Navy Estimates were in 1866-7, £10,434,000; in 1867-8, £10,976,000; in 1868-9, £11,157,000; and in 1870-1, £9,370,000; when my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract was responsible for the Estimates. I quote these figures to show that, although we have the misfortune to be obliged to ask the House for more money than the Vote of last year, yet the Estimates are the lowest that have been presented since 1866, excepting those of last year. It will, of course, be the duty of the Government to justify thoroughly this increase of the Estimates by putting the figures side by side with those of former years, in order that the Committee may appreciate the amount of the increase. There may be some who prefer high Estimates, and we are continually being told that we ought to spend more; but I think, notwithstanding all that has been said, that the Government is bound to show good cause why there should be any increase of the Estimates. It was said when my right hon. Friend came into office, "It is easy to make low Estimates, but it is not so easy to keep to them." Have the Estimates been accurately framed by my right hon. Friend? In 1867-8, when the Estimates were £10,976,000, there was a deficiency of £336,000. In 1868-9, when my right hon. Friend came into office, and when, owing to the substitution of one Ministry for another in the course of the year, there was a divided responsibility, the Estimates were £11,157,000—there was not a deficiency but a surplus of £100,000, exclusive of the Abyssinian Expedition, the items of which I have not regarded in this comparison. In 1869-70, when the Estimates had been reduced by £1,200,000, there was a surplus of £200,000. That is the last year of which we have the complete accounts, but with regard to the year 1870-1, I think I may say there has been no miscalculation whatever at the Admiralty, and that the Expenditure has been lower than the Estimates. By "surplus" and "deficiency" I mean the difference between the Estimates and the Expenditure. Those figures will show whether the Estimates have been made aright; because it is easy to ask only for a limited sum, and then to exceed it in our expenditure.

I have now made a comparison of the Estimates as regards money. As regards men—including boys and Marines—the figures are as follow:—In 1868-9, 67,000 men were asked for; in 1869-70, the number 63,300; and in 1870-1 it was 61,000; and the number we ask for is precisely the same this year.

Before I proceed to analyze the Estimates of the present year it may be convenient that I should briefly state the result—upon the Estimates of last year—of the Vote of Credit which was given in August last, when it will be remembered that in consequence of the outbreak of hostilities the Government asked for a Vote of Credit of £2,000,000, of which the sum of £600,000 was asked for and used for the fleet. The employment of a sum of money such as that affords a test of the condition of the Navy, for the uses to which the money was put will show whether there was any truth in the numerous allegations that our Navy was perfectly unprepared, and that there was no ship which was fit to be sent to sea. When a war arises every country in Europe puts its Army and Navy upon a war footing, and asks for more money, and, therefore, the fact of our asking for that sum is not in itself a proof of the want of preparation. I will state to the Committee what was done with that £600,000. There was spent for victuals and clothing, £39,000; wages of artificers in dockyards, £98,000; naval materials and stores, £150,000; steam engines and ships built under contract, £230,000; dockyard extension, £92,000; and for the conveyance of troops, £2,000. I will now show the Committee the bearing of these figures. Why did we require to spend £39,000 for victuals and clothing? Was it because our stores had been too much reduced? £39,000 is a very small sum to take for stores if we had been unprepared. Was that sum spent on some of the essentials of the Navy? Was it found that our dockyards were so devoid of materials that when war broke out we were obliged to hurry to buy them? We spent £29,700 to increase the stock of provisions at Malta, Gibraltar, and Bermuda, and £7,000 to increase our store of salt pork at home. It may, however, be said that Malta, Gibraltar, and Bermuda were insufficiently provided, and I dwell on this point because so much has been said with regard to stores that I feel this to be an important point as regards our naval administration. There are two courses which the Admiralty might pursue—to have either large stores or moderate ones; but in hot climates large stores are subject to continual deterioration and waste. Are we to conceive that with our powerful Navy we should not, when war breaks out suddenly, be able to send out stores to those places which require a larger stock of provisions? The amount—£39,000—is not large, and it appears to me to be far better to spend that sum of money when the need arises than to accumulate large stores of food in hot climates, because you can obtain such stores at a moment's notice. It must not be assumed that we cannot lay our hands on these stores at any given moment, because if there is one circumstance which more than another makes this country stronger than others it is the great resources that we have at our command for producing large quantities of stores at the shortest notice. That £7,000 worth of salt pork was provided because the autumn was the most convenient time for obtaining it. There are proper times for laying in stores of all kinds, and it would be a wasteful policy not to observe common sense rules in that respect. The same remarks apply to clothing, and I think the general rule which ought to guide us in our administration is that we ought to provide large quantities of those articles which cannot be produced or manufactured at a short notice, and moderate, or small stores, of such things as can be readily obtained. I think the expenditure of £39,000 for stores does not prove that the Navy was unprepared. The next sum was £98,000 spent on the wages of artificers in dockyards, and I will take that in conjunction with the sum of £150,000 for naval stores, because those two sums represent the increased shipbuilding that was immediately resorted to. I may remark that nearly the whole of that £600,000 was employed to produce more ships, and for hastening towards completion the dockyard at Chatham, as we considered at the time that both courses were necessary, and I think they were natural courses for any Government to take in a time of danger. The sum of £230,000 was provided to hurry on the engines of ships that were already contracted for; to provide engines for those new ships which were commenced; and also for giving out several new contracts for ships. That brings me to a consideration of the class of ships that were put in hand. It was felt to be necessary to provide ships of small draught of water, and four ships such as are known as the *Cyclops* class were immediately put in hand. Another measure was taken which I am sure will be peculiarly satisfactory to the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Graves)—namely, six gunboats of the *Staunch* class were ordered, most of which, I am happy to say, are finished, and are at this moment ready for sea.

With regard to this Vote of £2,000,000, I have only one thing further to say, and that is that £90,000 was taken for "extension of dockyards," especially at Chatham. The whole of that amount has not been utilized, but only one-half. I am happy to say that two large docks, and a very large basin, will, I believe, in a few months' time be available at Chatham. The whole of these works have been conducted in a most economical manner, and are in a very forward state. And on that question of docks I wish to remark that those gentlemen who are continually croaking as to the state in which this country is, compared with others, do not appear to be aware of the enormous advantages we have in our large dockyards. It is difficult on these occasions to steer clear of two dangers—the being too reticent on the one hand, and the saying anything as to the possible aggressive intention of any foreign Power on the other. But I may say this, that if I look to the Powers from whom aggression might possibly come, I do not see that their dockyards are in such a position that they would be able suddenly to produce fleets which would sweep down upon us, and render necessary the enormous extension of our naval power. At this moment one of our greatest naval competitors is, unfortunately—and I say that most sincerely—in such a position that, as regards our great fighting fleet, we, relatively speaking, cannot be said to have been stronger at any previous time. What is maritime power? We do not wish, I suppose, to have an ideal fleet; we do not wish to say what number of first-class ships we ought to have in the abstract. What we want to know is what our power ought to be in order to meet any combination of Powers against us which may be considered possible or probable. I do not think it is possible for us to go too far in insisting upon absolute security. I am quite confident that the commercial classes of this country would support the Government in any expenditure which they think really necessary to secure not only immunity from attack, but that confidence which the country ought to possess. The confidence of the country would be much greater if there were not hon. Members, writers in newspapers, and professional croakers, who are continually bringing out exaggerated statements as to defects in our ships which do not exist, and who are endeavouring to frighten the country by making out that the ships of all other nations are perfect, and that ours must necessarily be imperfect. Foreign Powers think otherwise, and they take exceeding care to secure all the designs we invent.

And now I will ask the House to consider these Estimates which I am introducing. There is a net increase of £385,000. There is an increase in the victualling and clothing of £70,000; for dockyards, wages to artificers, £90,000; for naval stores and other materials, £60,000; for steam engines and ships built by contract, £285,000; for works, £20,000; for pensions and allowances, £25,000; making a total of £550,000. On the other hand there are reductions in three Votes — in the transport of troops, £64,000; in the half-pay Vote, £73,000; and in various miscellaneous Votes, £29,000; making a total reduction of £166,000. That amount of reductions being taken from £550,000, the amount of increase, leaves a balance of £384,000 against the present year. I wish, in the first instance, to deal with the question of the reductions in several Votes. The most important, perhaps, is that in conveyance of troops—namely, £64,000. That item, I am happy to say, is one of those, which for some time past have been showing a decrease. In 1867-8 this item for the conveyance of troops was £406,000; in 1868-9 it was £350,000; in 1869-70, £316,000; in 1870-1, £237,000; and in 1871, £173,000. The Committee observes that this Vote has gone down from £406,000 in five years to £173,000. I think that reduction of expenditure is the more gratifying as this item of charge represents sheer waste—I mean we get nothing for our money, and it does not increase our power. It is the mere shipping of troops to and fro. To what is this great decrease due? It is due partly, no doubt, to improved administration, and in the last year great good has resulted from an improvement introduced as regards the hiring of ships. The matter has been treated commercially. Brokers have been employed to get the best ships at the cheapest price they can, and I am assured that the result has been a reduction of 20 per cent in the expense of the ships, and a reduction also in the cost of coal. But the reduction on the Vote has been mainly due to a circumstance connected with policy. If you keep fewer troops in your Colonies, you will have fewer to move to and fro. The general policy pursued in this respect has lightened the Navy Estimates by the sum of £250,000; and while some of the items in which our expenditure has been increased are mere temporary matters, this item of decrease is of a permanent character. Then there is a decrease on half-pay; but that is only apparent, arising from the fact that we took credit last year for £120,000 more than was spent in that item. That larger sum was taken to give the opportunity to officers of being paid monthly instead of quarterly; but few, if any, officers availed themselves of that opportunity.

I come now to the least satisfactory point—namely, the question of increase. Before I proceed with the question of increase in the Votes, which increase is mainly in the Shipbuilding Vote, I wish to say a word on the Vote for Victualling and Clothing, in which there is an increase of £70,000. Last year was a singularly favoured year in this respect —that the stores were large enough to enable the Admiralty to take so much less money for victuals and clothes. This remark applies to clothes rather than provisions. There are articles of which you need not keep a large store. Discovery was made that some of the stores deteriorated by keeping, and, therefore, it was determined to allow the amount of those stores to drop instead of replacing the outgoings by an equal amount of purchases. Last year, therefore, was a very fortunate one as regards clothing, inasmuch as it was unnecessary to buy more, the existing stores having been utilized. Such a process, however, cannot go on for long, and this year we have returned nearer to our normal state, and we are obliged to ask for an increase in Vote 2, for the purpose of buying clothes, that increase, however, not rendering the Vote larger than it was in previous years, with the exception of last year. I was anxious to ascertain what was the comparative cost under this head in previous years as compared with what it will be in the present year. If the amount of the Vote be divided by the number of seamen, it will be found that the cost per head for expenditure incurred under this head was, in 1868-9, £19 18*s.*; in 1869-70 £18 10*s.*, and that it will be only £17 in the present financial year. The calculation by which these figures have been arrived at is an exceedingly rough one; but the results obtained by it are sufficiently accurate to serve us as a guide in comparing the amount of the present Vote with that of those of former years.

I need not detain the Committee with reference to any increase in the smaller figures, such as that in the sum asked for the extension of dockyards, and £20,000 for further machinery in those yards, and, therefore, I will proceed at once to the great elements in the Navy Estimates—namely, the cost of the men, the classes of the men, and the classes of the ships. We have to deal with four great subjects—namely, men, ships, guns, and dockyards. In reference to the number of men, I may state, in the first place, that we have asked for the same number of men for the present year as were taken last year, and the question arises upon this point whether it was our duty to ask for more than we have done. In discussing this question, we must not forget that, although our vessels are infinitely larger and more powerful, yet they require considerably less complements of men to work them than the old style of ships. Every one of these new turret-ships have a very small crew compared with their enormous fighting power. I should be the last to suggest that we should take a single man less that was necessary for the proper defence of this country, or for the adequate manning of the ships; but I can prove that, even as compared with that of former years, the number is satisfactory. Looking at the composition of the 61,000 men we now ask for, it will be seen that a very large number of them are not blue-jackets, who, indeed, only number 18,000 or 19,000 of the whole. The total number of men asked for is composed of the following classes:—Officers, 5,314; blue-jackets, 18,900; artificers, 2,600; stokers, 3,800; non-seamen class and servants, 3,600; and Kroomen, 286—making a total of 34,500 men who may be said to belong to the fleet proper. Then there are 4,300 Coastguards ashore, 4,000 boys for service, 3,000 boys in training, and 1,200 men in Indian troop-ships. Lastly, there are 14,000 Marines—making a grand total of 61,000 men and boys. But then we have to ask ourselves this question—if the Government thinks that the country requires this number of men, can it get them; and, if so, how can it get them? The number at present borne on the books is 60,573, and I regret to say that the difference between the number of the force voted, and the number borne on the books is not inconsiderable, there being a deficiency of 500 blue-jackets. I admit that that is a deplorable circumstance, and the more so when it is known that that deficiency is due, in part, to the loss of the *Captain.* There were, I deeply regret to say, more than 300 blue-jackets lost in that vessel. The men so lost have not hitherto been replaced. It is certainly a curious fact, the cause of which I do not wish to discuss at the present moment, that it is difficult in times of peace to induce a large number of blue-jackets to enter the service from the shore. I will frankly state to the Committee that since September last it has been wished to secure an additional 400 or 500 blue-jackets for the Navy, but that we have only succeeded in obtaining 50 out of that number from the shore. That is a very serious fact. We are to a certain extent, however, independent of the usual sources for obtaining blue-jackets from which the mercantile marine obtains its seamen. That is due to the circumstance that we recruit the Navy on a system which, I am informed, is a very successful one—namely, that of training our own blue-jackets in the schools. The Committee will notice that we ask in this Vote for 7,000 boys. These represent our future blue-jackets; and the real problem that the Admiralty and the Government have to solve is whether that number of boys is sufficient to supply the wear and tear, and the loss from desertions and discharge of our blue-jackets, or whether they should ask for an additional 500 boys in order to keep up the proper supply. What the Government propose to do, therefore, is not to attempt, at present, to obtain the number of blue-jackets in which the Navy is deficient from the shore, but to increase the number of boys in training. It is, doubtless, a somewhat costly thing to train a large number of boys, more than half of whom are of no present use, but I am assured by those who are competent judges that the seamen from this source are very superior to those whom we could obtain elsewhere. I may also add that the seamen so obtained are, as a rule, highly educated. They not only read and write, but they receive much excellent training, which fits them to become seamen-gunners, which is a most important matter. The possession of this large nucleus of trained men and seamen-gunners is a matter to which the country may justly attach the greatest importance.

The next questions to which I wish to call the attention of the Committee in connection with this point are—where are the men? are they at home, and can we lay our hands easily upon them? and what is our present force as compared with the force we used to maintain, for the defence of our coasts and our position at home? On all these points I may say our position is satisfactory. The Committee may recollect that we had 67,000 men some years ago, and that therefore we are now asking for 6,000 less than we then had, but have we that number less for the protection of our coasts? The Committee will not forget the interesting statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) as to the reduction effected in our ordinary squadrons, and the substitution for them of flying squadrons—a change that, in the opinion of officers whose opinions are entitled to the greatest weight, has been followed by the most excellent results. This reduction has been rendered possible not only by the fact that our ships are so much more powerful, but by the policy which the Government initiated two years ago of reducing our foreign squadrons. I may state that, having been in some of the Transatlantic Republics myself, I found that the occasional visits of single men-of-war belonging to America were much more feared than was the continual presence of powerful squadrons belonging to other nations. Those Republics looked not to the force of the squadrons, but to the despatches which the Admiral had in his pocket. If they thought the commander of a single man-of-war was not likely to be very scrupulous in carrying his point, he was dreaded far more than the Admirals of squadrons, whose instructions were known to be of a pacific character. I do not think that the fact of our having fewer men in those distant regions can be cited as a proof of the diminution of our power, considering the increased strength of our men-of-war sea-going ships, and considering also the mode in which the men withdrawn from distant stations can be utilized at home. I would state for the information of the Committee the following facts:—There are now, or there were on the 1st of March, in our ships on foreign stations, 14,840 men and boys. On the 1st of December, 1868, before this policy had been inaugurated, the number was 19,153. Therefore there has been a diminution in our foreign squadrons of upwards of 4,000. But if I take the detached squadrons, the Channel squadron, the home ports, particular service, survey ships, and ships ordered home, the number is now 16,596, as against 17,898 in 1868, showing a diminution of 1,000. It will be apparent, therefore, to the Committee that this diminution in our number of men is accounted for by the reduction of our squadrons abroad, but that we are as powerful at home as we ever were. And let me say one thing about the character of the men who are at our disposal. Nearly the whole of our blue-jackets—in fact, 17,500 men out of the 18,000—are continuous service men; and we cannot lose them except by casualties or desertion. The terms on which we have engaged them, they having entered as boys and being bound to render continuous service, obviate the danger that would otherwise exist of our losing the blue-jackets we have. The Committee, therefore, need be under no apprehension lest, through any sudden cause, we should be deprived of any number of these men. Another circumstance worthy of notice is that of the entire 18,000 blue-jackets no fewer than 8,000 are seamen-gunners or men trained at the guns. I think that is a most satisfactory state of things. It takes a great deal more time to produce a seaman-gunner than any other class of seaman; and it is exceedingly difficult, as I am told, for foreign countries to compete with us in that respect.

Such, then, is our condition in respect to men; slightly unsatisfactory as regards the number of our blue-jackets, very satisfactory as regards the quality of the men whom we have got, and the service we may expect from them; and satisfactory also, I hope, in the circumstance that they are stationed at places where we can readily command their services when they are required. The Reserves in the home ports, I believe, were never stronger than they are at this moment. And this leads me to the general subject of our Reserve and auxiliary naval forces, a matter which naturally excites considerable attention. Of the Coastguard on shore we have 4,300 men; then there are the Royal Naval Volunteers—a small force of 2,000, to which it is unnecessary to allude; then there is the Royal Naval Reserve, amounting to 14,000 men; and there are also the Seamen and Marine Pensioners to whom my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract alluded in his speech last year. As regards the Coastguard, I may mention that more stringent regulations have been made than were ever before adopted in reference to that force. They are entered now straight from the Navy, and every effort is made to eliminate from the Coastguard every element that is not purely naval. The men come, as I have said, straight from the Navy; and if there has been a break beyond a certain time in their sea service they are not allowed to go into the Coastguard at all, the object being to secure that every Coastguardsman shall really be a seaman available at once for the Reserve in case of emergency. The Committee may remember that my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract introduced the system—and a most excellent system, as it appears to me—of sending the Coastguard to sea in alternate years, in order to accustom them to the service. I am informed that heretofore in the Coastguard there had been a large number of civilians, but that civilian element has also been gradually withdrawn; and not only are the Coastguard seamen, but I believe the preference is given to seamen-gunners and trained men. Of this Coastguard force 75 per cent are either seamen-gunners or trained men. Thus we have a nucleus of artillery which appears to me to be exceedingly valuable. As regards the second force—namely, the Royal Naval Reserve—if its numbers are not satisfactory, it must be remembered that the policy has been adopted of endeavouring to secure a force possessing the highest efficiency rather than a large body of men who would be of little use when their services were called for. I will read to the Committee one or two of the changes which have been made in the constitution of this force upon the recommendation of the Committee of 1870. Previous to 1870, men were examined and passed by any officer in the Coastguard, and by a chief boatman in charge. Now they have to be examined by a commander and surgeon on board one of the First Reserve ships. Again, candidates used to be eligible who had served five years at sea within the previous 10 years. Now they must have served at sea within the last six months; and if they permanently quit the sea service they become ineligible for the Reserve. Again, a large number of men—upwards of 4,000—were formerly drilled at the shore batteries, where they could not be efficiently trained. Now, some of these batteries have been closed, and the men are sent to the First Reserve ships, and drill ships for practice, their travelling expenses being paid. It is obvious that these regulations may diminish the number of men by excluding many possible candidates; but, surely, to have men in your ships on whose efficiency you can thoroughly rely, is much better than having on paper a greater force on which you cannot depend in time of need. Then, one word as respects a new force to which my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract referred in his speech last year—the Seamen and Marine Pensioners. These men are liable to be called out in case of war in the same way as the Army Pensioners; but it would be of comparatively little use calling them out if they had become entirely unaccustomed to the sea. It has, therefore, been thought advisable to offer them a small pecuniary inducement to come to drill for a certain time every year. An inspection has also been made of the whole of the Pensioners to ascertain what number of them were fit for sea service, and it was found that 6,000 Seamen and Marine Pensioners were in that condition. The regulations have been only very lately issued, in consequence of its having been a question whether the Marines should become Army Pensioners or form a Reserve for the fleet. I ought, perhaps, to allude to the second class of Naval Reserve, which was mentioned last year by my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract. The proposal that the men of that force should go to sea instead of being trained in the usual drill ships has proved to be unpopular, and the numbers who have entered are insignificant. It has been suggested that the matter should be re-considered as to whether those who enter the First Reserve ought not previously to pass through the Second Naval Reserve.

I now pass from the question of the men and Reserves, and come to a subject which is possibly more interesting—namely, the ships. And in the first place, I wish to state to the Committee what was done under that head last year. The Committee will remember that we are asking for an excess upon shipbuilding—namely, £90,000 on Vote 6; £60,000 on Vote 10, Section 1; and £285,000 on Vote 10, Section 2; making a total increase of £435,000. I must state that the ships which have been finished in the course of the year 1870-1 are the iron-clads *Vanguard*, *Iron Duke*, the *Sultan*, and the *Glatton*. Then the *Swiftsure* and the *Triumph*, also iron-clads, were nearly completed. The *Glatton* is a turret-ship. In the class of "rams" the *Hotspur* is nearly complete for sea. Of corvettes the *Druid*, and of sloops the *Tenedos* are nearly ready for sea; while of gunboats the *Plucky* and four others of the same class (*Snakes*) are practically completed. Of despatch-vessels we have the *Lively* and the *Vigilant* nearly completed. The addition to the Navy accomplished in 1870-1, therefore, was one ram, the *Hotspur;* five powerful iron-clads besides the *Glatton;* one corvette, one sloop, seven gunboats, and two despatch-vessels; and progress was made in 1870-1 with one ram, the *Rupert;* two large turret-ships, the *Devastation* and the *Thunderer;* four smaller monitors, the *Cyclops* and three sister ships; two frigates, the *Raleigh* and the *Blonde;* one corvette, the *Thetis;* one large gun-vessel, the *Woodlark;* six gunboats of 245 tons; one large gunboat of 295 tons, the *Coquette*. I submit that this is not at all a bad programme, and that we shall be at the end of the year infinitely more powerful than we were at the beginning; but the House may ask how it is, if so much progress has been made in shipbuilding, that we ask for an increased grant of £425,000. The increase of last year was partly due to the fact that the gunboats and monitors were ordered under the Vote of Credit, and the circumstances of the war have impressed the public and the Government with the fact that it is advisable to build vessels for coast defence and coast attack rather than push on so much with the large iron-clad fighting ships, so that we may have a fleet capable of offensive operations in shallow water, as well as of protecting our merchantmen on any part of the ocean. The possibility of Russia coming down the Baltic to attack us has been suggested to-night; but although I do not believe any of the Russian fleet could pass our iron-clads, I agree that every precaution should be taken to meet every contingency that may arise, and that we should not only be able to put a strong fighting force in the Baltic Sea and the Channel, but be ready to meet other combinations which recent events may have made possible. For the defence of our own coasts, therefore, and the attack of the enemy's, the Admiralty have contracted for the construction of four new turret-ships of the *Monitor* class, designed as sea-going ships. The hon. and gallant Admiral, in the course of his remarks, alluded to a Report made on the *Cyclops*, and the other three ships of that class. [Sir JOHN HAY: I alluded to a rumour, not a Report.] A Report is sometimes called a rumour; but some of the information which the hon. and gallant Admiral has obtained — especially in reference to a particular wave —so closely resembles the actual Report, which was placed on my Table only two or three days ago, even as regards the words used, that I presume the rumour must be traceable almost to the fountain head. I have stated what was done last year, and I now come to the programme for this year. We purpose building a total of 22,210 tons, of which 15,512 tons will be built in our own dockyards, and 6,698 by contract. 4,747 tons will consist of large iron-clads now in hand; but we do not intend to lay down any new broadside iron-clads this year; 3,907 tons will consist of unarmoured frigates; 2,846 of unarmoured corvettes and sloops; and 4,012 of gun-vessels and gunboats and miscellaneous vessels. The iron-clads now in hand are the *Thunderer*, the *Devastation*, the *Fury*, and the *Rupert*. The *Devastation* is to be completely finished, the *Thunderer* to be nearly finished, the *Fury*, as the gallant Admiral was perfectly well-informed, is to to suspended for the present, and until reported on; the *Rupert* is to be finished. This makes up the total 4,747 tons. The unarmoured frigates now in hand are the *Blonde* and the *Raleigh*. Of the *Blonde* 1,750 tons are to be built, completing her to about one-half; and of the *Raleigh* 2,150 tons, leaving 650 tons. We do not intend to lay down any new frigates in this year. Of the unarmoured corvettes and sloops we purpose building 496 tons of the *Thetis*, which will complete her, and to build three new vessels of the *Blanche* class, about two-thirds of each, making 2,350 tons, and a total of 2,846 tons for this class. Of gun-vessels and gunboats, we purpose building 463 tons each of four new *Kestrels*, also called *Boxers*, composite twin-screw gun-vessels, making 1,852 tons. Of the *Coquette* class, the *Coquette* itself to be completed 54 tons, and six new *Coquettes* to be built and completed 295 tons each, making 1,844 tons. The total gunboats and gun-vessels is 3,696 tons, and of the miscellaneous 316, making 4,012 tons. The total tonnage proposed to be built under contract is 6,698 tons, and comprises the completion of the *Triumph* and the *Swiftsure*, which are nearly ready, the *Cyclops* and sister ships to be completed to about $\frac{7}{8}$, making 5,002 tons; $\frac{1}{4}$ each of two iron corvettes of the *Blanche* type, making 532 tons; two gun-vessels of the *Kestrel* type to be advanced to about $\frac{2}{5}$; and two *Snakes*, to be completed to about $\frac{1}{2}$, making a total of 1,164 tons. We have therefore projected of quite new ships, unarmoured, six *Coquettes*, 1,800 tons; three composite gunboats (*Kestrels*), 1,395 tons; and parts of three *Blanches*, 750 tons each, making a total of 5,452 tons. It is our desire to make all the progress in our power with the three classes of gunboats which are considered specially useful. Therefore our practice is practically in accord with that of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Graves), except that we do not think it necessary to order 50 gunboats at a time. The Committee will remember that these gunboats can be produced much quicker than the large ships, which take one, one and a-half, or even two years to build. If any of those Powers of whom we appear now more especially to be afraid were to design attacking us, they could not obtain these gunboats quicker than we could produce them, for our docks are larger, and we have coal and iron, and everything necessary to produce these ships. Certainly unexpected events do occur, but I do not think it possible that any combination of Powers could venture to attack us without our receiving warning of their intention. Now, the Committee must remember that we practically require three classes of ships. We require the large fighting ships to maintain our supremacy at sea. In these, I believe, we are exceedingly strong. One or two rams, with all the known improvements in shipping, will add considerably to our power in that respect, but it does not appear necessary to go further in that direction at present. We should concentrate our efforts upon the rapid corvettes, and upon those gunboats to which I have so often alluded, and in so doing we should, I believe, be best consulting the interests of the country.

Now, let me allude for one moment to the Committee which has been mentioned by the hon. and gallant Admiral opposite (Sir John Hay.) After the deplorable loss of the *Captain*, and looking at the experiments which were being made in shipping, my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract thought it desirable that, besides his own professional advisers, eminent as they were, and who had already, from time to time, given their opinion on the experiments in question, to intrust the task of considering the scientific questions and problems which had arisen, and the connection between them and shipbuilding, to a Committee composed partly of naval men and partly of men eminent in science. Lord Dufferin is the Chairman of that Committee, and the naval element is represented by Admirals George Elliot, Ryder, Hornby, and Houston Stewart, Captain Goodenough, and Lieutenant-Colonel Pasley. The scientific element is represented by Sir William Thomson, Professor Rankin, Mr. Lloyd, formerly Chief Engineer to the Admiralty; Mr. Bidder, Mr. Rendell, and Mr. Froude, Civil Engineers; Dr. Woolley, and Mr. Denny. The Committee will perceive from these names that every effort was made to secure the services of men eminently qualified for dealing both with scientific and practical problems. Certain special designs were referred to this Committee, and upon some of these they have already reported. Now, I confess it struck me as questionable how far it would be wise to publish the materials collected by this Committee. I thought it a matter of some importance; and, viewing the publicity which everything obtains in this country, I thought it a matter that required consideration. However, I unfortunately feel no longer able to delay a decision upon the subject; and as the hon. and gallant Admiral opposite has alluded to a rumour which tends to the prejudice of the ships now building, I must quote some passages from the Report and lay it upon the Table. Now, the Committee state that—

> "They are of opinion that, whether completed as originally designed, or with the superstructure subsequently suggested by the Constructors' Department, the *Devastation* will prove a formidable and efficient warship, a safe and stable vessel, and a valuable addition to Her Majesty's Navy."

Again, they say—

> "The question of her stability, even under conditions of wind and sea far more unfavourable than any she is likely to encounter, has been carefnlly examined by the scientific members of the Committee."

Then the Committee proceed to suggest several alterations in detail, and the sub-Committee add—

> "The sub-committee conclude that ships of the *Devastation* class have stability amply sufficient to make them safe against the rolling or heaving action of the waves."

SIR JOHN HAY observed that his remark in the earlier portion of the evening had reference to the *Cyclops*, and not to the *Devastation* class.

MR. GOSCHEN: With reference to the *Cyclops* class, the sub-Committee reported—

> "The general principles of the stability of this class of unmasted ships of low-freeboard are the same as the *Devastation* class."

I submit, therefore, that the Report, and the scientific data on which it is based, are eminently satisfactory with regard to these vessels. The *Cyclops* and her sister ships have been built specially with a view of being used near home and in the Channel for fighting purposes, and not as cruisers. But the statements made by this Committee amply justify the construction of these ships, and, in fact, compliment the design. I trust that good may come out of these controversies, and that the scientific opinions elicited may be made available in guiding us for the future. It seems to me, as one understanding, I confess, very little of these matters, that it may be found an impossible problem to combine first-rate fighting with first-rate sea-going qualities, and that it may be necessary for us to have ships constructed, some for one purpose and some for another. But the question of stability is one of such enormous importance that I am glad the right hon. Member for Pontefract has brought together a Committee to elicit opinions on this subject. If the Committee were to find that our ships were unsafe, and to decide against any of these designs, I am quite sure the House of Commons would deem it right that all the money should be considered as wasted rather than we should use ships which were likely to endanger the lives of our sailors. If that were to be the result, we should consider it our duty at once to eject the design without regard to the money which it cost, and to set about building a better class of ships. But the Committee will not fail to notice how, what is regarded as the best ship which can be built at one period, is before long condemned as inferior to some other of more modern design. We must look, therefore, not only to the present but to the future in determining how we can best arrange the various classes of our ships. We consider it our duty to make progress with some of our great fighting ships, to increase the number of our cruisers, and especially to make progress with our gunboats.

I have dealt with the questions of men and ships, and I come now to the third point—that of guns. The guns do not appear upon these Estimates, it is true; but it will be interesting to the Committee to know how far we are prepared with guns for the ships which we are building. I am able to submit to the Committee a statement to show exactly how we stand upon the subject of guns, and it is advisable to say something upon this, as I have seen it stated in newspapers that we are very ill provided with guns for our big ships. The total number of guns available for the naval service is 1,901; the total number requisite to complete the armament of every ship built or building, which is retained for sea service, is 1,876; we have, therefore, an excess upon the total number of guns. But it may be said, perhaps, that the excess is in guns of an inferior class; it will, therefore, be necessary to examine the list a little more in detail. The vessels of the *Devastation* and *Thunderer* class will carry 35-ton guns, which are believed to be more powerful than those at the disposal of any foreign Power; 12 of these guns in all will be required, and provision having been made for them in the Army Estimates, they will be ready in the course of the year. Of the 25-ton guns 7 only are wanted, and 9 are already in store. Of the 18-ton guns 44 are wanted, and 32 are already in store; these will be required for gunboats of the *Snake* class, which vessels will require 1 each. There are 140 of the 12-ton guns wanted, and 150 are now in store; 115 9-ton guns are wanted, and we have 131. Then of the 6½-ton guns we require 529, and have 566; and of 64-pounders we need 1,005, and 1,000 are actually in store. Thus, with the exception of the very heaviest guns, we have a supply ample for arming the whole of our vessels with the best weapons of the day. But, of course, it would not be considered wise or prudent to depend on the actual numbers of guns; a reserve must be provided to meet casualties, and in the Army Estimates sufficient money is taken to provide these additional guns, amounting to about one-eighth of the original number. In that case 213 guns would still be necessary to be provided, and the whole of these additional guns will be provided before the end of the year. The House of Commons, therefore, and the country may rest assured that we are, in this respect, in a satisfactory position. For the purposes of docks, a slight increase of money is taken; but it is satisfactory to be able to state that great progress has been made at Chatham; the major portion of the works have now been completed, and the country will before long be in possession at this point of two first-class docks of 20 acres each, and before the end of the year of a noble basin of water, leaving only one to be added; the whole of which will be constructed by convict labour. The amount of the Vote for the extension of dockyards will, in consequence, be reduced in future years; but this year the diminution in the Vote as regards Chatham has been compensated by increased expenditure elsewhere.

I have now come to the end of the long story with which it has been necessary for me to trouble the Committee, and I cannot adequately express the strong sense which I entertain of the responsibilities attaching to the great questions with which, at a moment's notice, I have been called on to deal. But I can assure the Committee that I have approached the consideration of these questions with an unbiassed mind, and that if the Committee should manifest a decided opinion that any one design is preferable to another, or that any change in the policy of the Government upon these matters is desirable, such opinions will be received by the Government with great deference, and with every desire to weigh them in the most favourable spirit. I cannot conclude without expressing my hope that there may be as little party difference or professional difference in these matters as possible; for while we desire to be strong in men, in ships, in guns, and in docks, we must look also to be strong in the professional feeling of the Navy. And it would be a source of great regret if there should be anything like a conflict of opinion between the Navy and this House. Every member of the Navy, be he officer or seaman, ought to be aware, and must be aware, that the disposition of this House is to be generous in its treatment towards them. If the House at times is economically disposed, it is never as regards the men, but as regards the administrative expenditure and the outlay on the building of ships; it is when the House fears that there is an expenditure of money without adequate results. It is essential to our security and our strength that there should be that sympathy of feeling between the naval profession and this House which I, for one, desire to see established and maintained. I believe that we are really strong, and that many of those persons who are continually saying that they apprehend danger, are exaggerating even in their own eyes, and that they do so rather to strengthen their demand for improvement than because they believe that there is really any cause for panic. If there were any cause for panic, I repeat the observation which I made at the beginning of my remarks, that the security of the country is the paramount consideration, before which all others must yield. But I believe we are at this moment strong enough to maintain our own, to protect our coasts, and to keep our shores inviolable. I beg, Sir, to move that a sum not exceeding £2,693,336 be granted to Her Majesty to defray the charges for seamen and marines.

SIR JOHN HAY: Mr. Dodson—I regret extremely that the absence of my right hon. Friend the Member for Tyrone (Mr. Corry), who is suffering from a severe cold, and of the noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox), who is suffering from a similar calamity, has rendered it necessary for me to address the Committee on this occasion. It is advantageous on all occasions that the Committee should receive at the hands of those who have had any experience of the business of the Department some comments on the subject; and as I had the honour of being a Member of the Board of Admiralty, from 1866 to 1868, I trust the Committee will afford me their kind indulgence whilst I address a few remarks to them on the subject of the Navy Estimates which have just been explained to the Committee. I would desire to compliment the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty upon the statement which he has made to the Committee, and I can assure him that, in my opinion, the Navy has lost nothing by the recent change in the person at its head. I wish to approach this subject, as the right hon. Gentleman has suggested at the conclusion of his speech, with a desire not to allow the Navy to degenerate into an affair of party. I desire to criticize the statement which he has made, and the Estimates which he has submitted, without reference to anything but their bearing on the national strength and the national honour. There are three or four points which have been incidentally alluded to with reference to the Navy which I am about to avoid dwelling upon at present; because, according to the Notice Paper, the subjects will more properly form the subject of separate discussion—I mean with regard to the change in the Board of Admiralty caused by the dismissal of Sir Spencer Robinson; and also with regard to the very serious national calamity, the loss of Her Majesty's ship the *Captain;* and with regard to the question of ordnance, which, on this occasion, has been introduced by the First Lord. The first subject which I should like to comment on is the number of men. The right hon. Gentleman will understand that, looking to the fact that he has just come into office, no personal blame can attach to him with regard to any deficiency in the present Estimates. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman in the opinion which he has expressed with regard to the character of our seamen; but I also concur with the right hon. Gentleman in the remark which he made when he said they were singularly few—[*A laugh*]—I mean with regard to the number now on our books, as well as with regard to those who are available for the service of the country. Owing to reductions which have taken place in the last two years—I speak of the seamen and boys—the reduction in the Navy has been 4,077; and these men having been discharged, we now find that only 70 seamen could be obtained during the autumn, when it was desirable to increase the number of men. The Vote for 1868-9, excluding Marines, was 52,070; but my right hon. Friend the Member for Tyrone discharged certain pensioners and shipkeepers, reducing the Vote for 1869-70, if it had been proposed by us, to 51,077. The Estimate, however, of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) was, in 1869-70 actually only 49,000, being a reduction of 2,077 below what we intended to propose, and in 1870-1 a further reduction of 2,000 men, leaving 47,000 for the Fleet, being the same as that now proposed. The total reduction since the Estimates of 1868-9 is 5,070; but of these, 993 were reduced by the Conservative Admiralty, making, as I have said, a reduction of 4,077 of the seamen classes by the present Government. Now, if we cannot obtain more than 70 seamen of 4,077 discharged, it seems to show that the reduction which then took place was not a prudent reduction; because the plan, as I understand it, about to be introduced into the Army with regard to the Army of Reserve is, as you train your men, to discharge them into the Reserves. It seems to me that it will be desirable that the boys, who have been trained at a great cost to the country, should not be discharged entirely from the Navy; but that they should be transferred either into the Naval Reserve or Coastguard, so that they might be made serviceable to the country in time of danger. And the question with regard to the Marines also is of considerable importance. The Marines were reduced 700 men by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract; but preparation for the reduction had already been made. The preparations for the reduction were nearly completed, because 566 were below the Vote when that Gentleman came into office; and the intention of my right hon. Friend the Member for Tyrone was not to discharge the number of seamen in addition to reducing the Marines, but to give the Marines an opportunity of being more afloat, and so to make them as serviceable as they ought to be for the defence of the country. It was found that the Marines were not receiving that service afloat which was desirable and necessary to give them the requisite information and the requisite capacity for serving at sea. In addition to the great reduction of men which has already taken place, I find the Estimates placed upon the Table of the House show that not only are the Estimates reduced, but they are 951 men below the Vote. Now, 951 men is a very considerable number, and the number of seamen actually below the Vote is 747, for I find that there are 121 boys over the Vote who are included in the total. It may be said by the right hon. Gentleman that when the Member for Tyrone left office he left the seamen below the Vote; but he left them below the Vote with reference to the reductions which were then in contemplation. [Mr. GOSCHEN said the Vote had been increased 400 men.] I am very glad to hear that; but even excepting your 400 men, and deducting them from the 951, there are still 551 men below the Vote. I was merely alluding to that for this reason—that we may not be liable to the objection that we left the Vote also considerably below the number; but, as a matter of fact, it was only 24 below the number, for we left 1,583 below the Vote 1868-9—namely, 566 Marines in anticipation of the 700 to be reduced, and 993 shipkeepers and others, being 1,559, or only 24 below the number proposed to be voted had we remained in Office. Before I pass from the subject of men, I should like to allude to a point which has not been touched upon by the right hon. Gentleman, and it is one which gives great dissatisfaction to the Navy at present—and that is the total absence of promotion. Since the sudden alteration of promotion by the retirement scheme, which was discussed in this House last year, there has only been 1 flag officer promoted, 6 captains, 13 commanders, and 27 lieutenants; and there have been 71 cadets entered; whilst there are 415 sub-lieutenants, 357 midshipmen, and 205 naval cadets, being 977 officers in the lower ranks, waiting anxiously for promotion. Now, the proposal of retirement which was put forward was with the view of decreasing the list; but calculations which have been made will show that there is no improvement in reference to promotion, and that there is that dead-lock on promotion which throws a damper on the spirit of the profession. To obtain an effective and contented list of officers the country voted a large sum of money: in 1869, the Vote for retired officers was £700,166, and in 1871-2 £829,238—an increase of £129,072. I desire to call attention to that on behalf of the public interests as well as in the interests of the Navy, and to show what a difficult thing it is to manage in any profession promotion by selection, and to show also what a dangerous thing it is to have a retired list always increasing, and yet failing to give that just amount of promotion which is necessary to maintain a vigorous and contented service. There is a presumed decrease this year in that Vote of £72,862; but hon. Members will see that that is only dependent on the Supplementary Estimate of £120,000 of last year. The actual increase this year is £47,138. There is one other point which has not been alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman, and that is the supposed saving, under Vote 3, of the Admiralty Office. The Vote of the Admiralty Office has been, to a certain extent, reduced; but the civil pension list, bearing upon retirements, has been very largely increased, and the amount of saving to the country has not been such as will commend itself to the Committee. In the last year that the right hon. Member for Tyrone was at the Admiralty the decrease in the civil pension list was £3,448, and in 1870-1 the net increase is £28,749. In 1868-9 the civil pensions were £91,435, and in 1869-70, £87,987, being a decrease of £3,448;

but, in 1870-1, we find them raised to £119,893, being an increase of £31,906. In 1871-2 they were £116,736, being a decrease of £3,157. The net increase by the present Government of the civil pension list in connection with the Admiralty Vote 3 has been £28,749; of this, £9,559 12*s.* 2*d.* is for the Admiralty Office alone, which we may compare thus under Vote 3—1869-70, decrease £13,660; 1870-1, decrease £13,442; being a total of £27,102. From this deduct increase, 1871-2, £4,131, we have the actual reduction claimed of £22,971; from this abate the civil pensions £9,560, and the excess expenditure, 1869-70, of £9,074, we have an actual saving of only £4,337. But against this supposed saving of about £4,000 a-year, it must be recollected that the strength of the Admiralty Office has now to be largely recruited from officers paid under Vote 1. I allude, among others, to the Director General of Naval Ordnance, as well as to the Chief of the Staff, to a Rear Admiral employed last year with the Coastguard, and to a Paymaster employed for clerical duty by the First Naval Lord. The salaries of these officers, and certain others, goes far to swallow up the presumed saving of £4,000 a-year by the changes at the Admiralty. The House must not, therefore, go away with the idea that a great saving is effected by the recent changes. I think, moreover, that this seeming reduction has not been obtained without great loss of efficiency. There is one Naval Lord of the Admiralty, for the proper administration of the Navy, less even than was considered necessary by Sir James Graham when the cold fit of economy was most aggravated; there is no Controller General of the Coastguard; there is no Chief Constructor; there is no Chief Engineer; there is no Storekeeper General; there is no Controller of Victualling—all these great officers have been placed upon the pension list, and they are enjoying unwillingly considerable pensions in idleness, instead of devoting their abilities to the great advantage of the country. While I am on that point, there is a question I should like to draw attention to, as the right hon. Gentleman had made no reference to it in his speech. I see in the Vote which is proposed that the First Lord of the Admiralty is no longer to reside on the premises. I believe that it is of great advantage to the service that the First Lord of the Admiralty should be on the spot. I do not think that any arrangements of certain departmental offices can compensate the country for the loss which it will sustain by having the First Lord of the Admiralty living at a distance; and I would urge very strongly on the Committee that they should not agree, without careful consideration, to make this important change. I may mention an old historical anecdote worth remembering. When Lord Nelson was returning from his famous chase of the French Fleet under Villeneuve, he despatched a swift sailing ship, under Captain Bettesworth, to carry the news to the Admiralty. Lord Barham was awakened at 1 o'clock in the morning, and issued orders which resulted in Cape Ferrol and Trafalgar before 3 o'clock in the morning. The captain of the *Curieux* was travelling back to his ship with these orders in an hour from his arrival; and England was saved from invasion by the presence on the spot of Lord Barham the First Lord of the Admiralty. The recent arrangements of telegraphs, and other rapid means of communication, make it absolutely requisite that the First Lord should be on the spot to receive and decide on the movements of the Fleet. I must, before leaving this subject, call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the fact that none of these changes in the Admiralty Office have increased the efficiency of the Department. In the late Controller's official Report, I find that he reports as follows, with reference to scarcity of clerks in his Office:—

> "[Paper 37, page 8.] The current work in the Constructor's department was at the time excessive, and overtasking them for its due performance."

A ship is therefore lost because, for economical reasons, clerks are discharged and pensioned. Now, as the Admiralty is worked at high pressure, when any extra work comes to be done, it falls into arrears. I find, from the Report of Sir William Dunbar, the Controller of Audit, that accounts which should have been rendered on the 30th of November are not received till the 24th of January; and the reason is, that the Department was so pressed with work that they were unable to complete their current accounts. That is not the condition in which a public Department ought to be. While I was commenting upon the reduction of the men just now, the right hon. Gentleman observed that some portion of them were stokers. It is somewhat difficult to understand the policy of the Admiralty in regard to stokers. The right hon. Member for Pontefract stated that—

> "We have made an arrangement under which a number of blue-jackets will be employed as stokers at an increased pay, the plan being similar to the one which has been effected with success in the French Navy."

And, at the same time, the noble Earl, who represents the Admiralty in "another place," stated that "he feared stokers would, in future, be of more account than seamen." And the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) thereupon obtained the discharge of a considerable corps of stokers, who had been got together with no inconsiderable difficulty during the Administration of which I was a humble Member. However excellent our seamen may be, their ability in that respect does not make them good stokers, because the latter require special training. If an untrained man be put to stoke, he will only waste fuel, instead of getting up steam. I have always considered that this sudden discharge of stokers was an inconsiderate proceeding; and I should like to know what policy the right hon. Gentleman proposes to take in that particular? I now come to the ships. The right hon. Gentleman has said one thing in which all of us concur—namely, that it is desirable the ships should not sink. We all agree that their stability should be ascertained. The right hon. Gentleman has congratulated the Committee on the large number of ships we have; and I am only too happy to know we have them; but to whom does the right hon. Gentleman owe these ships? Let me review our iron-clad Navy, adopting the classification proposed by the late First Lord, and I think that in recapitulating that list the Committee will forgive me if I remind them to whom the country is indebted for the powerful fleet for which the right hon. Gentleman takes credit. He has reminded the House that his predecessor has conducted affairs with low Estimates. What have his low Estimates produced? The first-class iron-clads are the *Hercules*, built by the Duke of Somerset, and the *Sultan*, built by the Conservative Admiralty. The second class are the *Audacious*, the *Invincible*, the *Iron Duke*, the *Swiftsure*, the *Vanguard*, the *Triumph*, all of them built by the Admiralty of which I was a member, and all of them amongst the most powerful ships in the world, and capable, from their light draught, of being manœuvred in the Baltic and the St. Lawrence, or in the narrow seas. The third class are the *Bellerophon*, *Lord Warden*, *Minotaur*, *Agincourt*, *Northumberland*, *Royal Alfred*, *Repulse*, *Penelope*, and *Lord Clyde*, all built by the Duke of Somerset. The fourth class are the *Achilles*, *Royal Oak*, *Prince Consort*, *Caledonia*, *Ocean*, *Valiant*, *Hector*, and *Zealous*, all built in Lord Palmerston's time. The fifth class are the *Black Prince*, *Warrior*, *Defence*, and *Resistance*, also built under Lord Palmerston by the Duke of Somerset. The sixth class are the *Pallas* and *Favorite*, with similar parentage. I shall not allude to the *Enterprize*, *Research*, *Viper*, *Vixen*, and *Waterwitch*, failures of an early date in the history of iron-clad construction. But we now come to turret-ships, of which we are reported to have 15. The first three are the *Devastation*, *Thunderer*, and *Fury*. Now, with regard to the *Devastation* and the *Thunderer*, I am glad to learn, from the Report of the Committee which is to be laid on the Table, that the *Devastation* is to be a satisfactory ship of her class. I took the liberty, at the time she was proposed to the House, of criticizing the design for that ship. I have never believed in a low freeboard, and I cannot but think that 4 feet 6 inches out of the water at one end, and 9 feet at the other, is not consistent with safety; but as the Committee, I am told by the right hon. Gentleman, have given their sanction, it is not for me to offer any criticism until the Report is before us. But the Committee evidently do not approve of her very highly, because, as I understand, the *Fury*, a similar ship, whose history is very singular, is not to be proceeded with. It will be in the recollection of hon. Members that about a year ago the *Fury* was, notwithstanding the opposition of the right hon. Member for Tyrone, and other hon. Members, agreed to by the Committee. In the month of August last a friend of mine happened to visit the dockyard at which the *Fury* was to be built; but he could not discover even the slightest symptom of the work. However, very soon afterwards an article on the war appeared in one of the daily papers, and reference was made in the article to the British Navy. The writer remarked that our Navy was not suffering in consequence of the dismissal of the Chief Constructor, Mr. Reed, because one of the finest men-of-war ever designed was being built and was rapidly approaching completion—the ship was to be called the *Fury*, and the persons whose skill had mostly contributed to the production of the vessel were the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract. On inquiry, I found that so much of the vessel had not been created as was supposed (only $\frac{7}{8}$ths of $\frac{1}{8}$th), and now the Committee has arrested any further progress with the work. So that even the Prime Minister and the right hon. Member for Pontefract are as liable to fail in their constructive skill as humble individuals are. As only $\frac{1}{56}$th of the ship has been completed, it is hoped the Exchequer may not suffer. But what becomes of the statement that the *Fury* was rapidly approaching completion? I remember, when it was proposed to the Committee that these costly ships should be proceeded with, the Member for Tyrone protested, and urged the Committee to try such costly experiments one at a time. The result, however, now appears to be that we are going to have two ships of enormous draught of water, of an uncertain construction, with very low freeboards. With regard to the other ships — the *Hotspur* and *Rupert* rams—the latter is the creation of the present Admiralty; but I am afraid that is the only ship ordered during the last two years of which we have a satisfactory account. All the others are experimental in their character; they are on their trial, not at sea, but before the Committee. The last class of ships to which I shall allude are those mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman as drawing 16 feet of water — namely, the *Cyclops*, *Hecate*, *Hydra*, and *Gorgon*. If they were more stable, they would be very good vessels; but they are of a class the stability of which I very much doubt in the midst of oceanic waves. I fear that if they venture out of harbour into the Atlantic, and meet the oceanic waves, they may come to the fate of the *Captain*. Their steam-power—250 horse-power, is far too little for ships of 2,171 tons. As to the gunboats, I am happy to concur with the right hon. Gentleman in the course he is taking. At present, it appears to be decided to build them of the *Staunch* class. And here I must allude to the fact that the *Staunch* is a class of which the right hon. Member for Tyrone is the parent. All these vessels —the *Arrow*, *Blazer*, *Bloodhound*, *Bustard*, *Comet*, *Kite*, *Scourge*, *Snake*, and *Mastiff* —are in process of construction and near completion. They are very valuable for the defence of our harbours, and I agree with what has been already said — that we ought to increase their number for the more complete defence of our ports and harbours. I have a word or two to say on the Vote for the Dockyards. I think Chatham Dockyard ought now to be completed for the service of the Fleet, seeing that Woolwich and Deptford have been closed; and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will press forward the work. There is a decrease in the Vote for Chatham extension this year of £61,556. Only £480,000 is required to complete this most necessary work, and of this only £205,000 is to be voted this year. Before we come to Vote 11, I trust the right hon. Gentleman will have reconsidered this matter, and will have decided to expend within the year the whole of this terminable expenditure, which is so necessary for our safety. There are other questions, on which, as only Vote 1 is to be taken this evening, I will defer any observations I may have to make. When my right hon. and gallant Friend the Surveyor General of Ordnance produces his Report, I shall take an early opportunity of drawing attention to the condition of our ordnance. With reference to the estimate of the guns, I think the right hon. Gentleman is mistaken when he reckons the number required for the effective list of the Navy at 1,800; for I believe that they rather approach 6,000 altogether, including gunboats, launches, and field-pieces, and the 1,800 must apply to rifled guns alone. I regret to learn that several of the ships still supposed to be in readiness for commissioning, and to be effective, have not been altered for the modern ordnance. This is a subject to which I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give his particular attention. I would urge upon the War Office and Admiralty to have a reserve of 500 guns for the use of steamers and other vessels which might be hired from shipowners in this country in the event of war breaking out, which would be so useful in a naval war. I am inclined to believe that the Surveyor General is imparting considerable vigour to the creation of ordnance, and that he will do his best to place us in a satisfactory position in this respect. I offer these few remarks to the Committee with an earnest desire, which the right hon. Gentleman has himself expressed, of introducing no party animosity into the debate, and with a view solely to assist him in increasing the efficiency of the Navy.

Mr. SAMUDA considered that the House had a duty to perform which went much beyond criticizing the details. A great change was occurring in the organization of the Navy, and their duty was to assist as far as they could the head of the Admiralty in carrying out that policy. With respect to ships, the Estimates divided themselves into three heads—first, great fighting ships; second, large cruisers; and third, smaller defence vessels. The great fault of our naval administration had always been found in the continual changes it had made. There had been hitherto a total absence of anything like a general, comprehensive, well-understood principle with regard to the description and character of the ships that should form the different classes in our service; nor, so far as he could see, were we making any advance towards the adoption of any such principle—which, however, was a matter of the utmost importance. Practical schemes had been suggested and Motions made; but they had been uniformly rejected, because those who sat on the Front Benches on both sides combined to throw them out. He believed it was in 1866 that the hon. Member for Lincoln (Mr. Seely) proposed a well-considered and sensible Motion, the object of which was to urge the Government to obtain the assistance of a Scientific Committee with reference to the best description of ships to be built to complete the Navy; but the Motion was opposed by the Government in power, and on a discussion it was rejected, the majority being swollen by the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) and other official Members of the Opposition. But when the right hon. Gentleman found himself in power he appointed a Committee such as had been suggested, and the appointment of which he had resisted when it was proposed by an independent Member. At the same time the Government resisted appeals made to them to obtain the best advice as to the building of well-arranged turret-ships; and, instead of doing that, they went on adding to our broadside Navy, and again the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) took a leading part in the opposition. When, however, he became First Lord of the Admiralty he took great credit to himself for proposing in future to build turret-ships. Again, it pointed out at that time that the Admiralty proposed designs which were capable of improvement; and we were now told that the matter had been submitted to the Scientific Committee, who recommended that the turret-ships should have the protection of more buoyancy than they had in the first instance—the very improvement suggested to the right hon. Gentleman that he totally ignored. Such things as these were not satisfactory; and the interests of the country would be promoted if the Government would take the House more into its confidence, and if it would discuss with the House more frankly the policy to be pursued and the character of the ships to be built. There were several things in the Estimates which were of a magnitude sufficient to warrant the discussion of them on the first Vote, and the first of these was the effect of the change introduced last year in the economy of the dockyards. The First Lord then said that he was selling off the old vessels; that he would reduce the number of men; and that he would employ a larger number usefully in the building of iron-clads, and a smaller number uselessly in repairing old ships. He said that, whereas in 1869-70 5,800 men were employed in building ships and 8,100 in repairing them, he would employ 6,300 in building, and 4,700 in repairing, and that he should be able to build 15,500 tons of shipping—a greater tonnage by 300 tons than was built in the preceding year, and that with a smaller number of men. At the end of the year however, it appeared that, instead of 15,500 tons, only 9,600 had been produced, and that £399,000 instead of £726,000 had been spent.

MR. GOSCHEN said, that 13,000 tons had been completed.

MR. SAMUDA said, the figures given showed that 1,980 tons had been "advanced" at Chatham, 3,206 at Portsmouth, 826 at Devonport, and 3,603 at Pembroke, and that gave a total of 9,669 tons.

MR. GOSCHEN was understood to say that other ships had been begun.

MR. SAMUDA said, he had every confidence in the accuracy of the right hon. Gentleman, but he had searched the Estimates with great care, and he could find only the figures he had quoted. Again, he could not find evidence of the economy we were to look for from rotten ships being sold, and useless repairs being done away with. Indeed, instead of having maintained the proposed relative proportions of men employed in building and in repairing, we had now 5, 200 employed in building and 7,500 in repairing; and therefore we had got back as nearly as possible to the relative proportions which were considered so disadvantageous in 1869-70. Although £2,000,000 were so freely voted last year for the defence of the country, of which £600,000 was, he believed, apportioned to the Navy, the four armour-clad vessels then ordered had not really been paid for in excess of anything voted last year, but in substitution of a decreased tonnage which it was intended to build in the dockyards. Against the whole sum which it was contemplated to spend in the building of ships by contract in the present year was £45,000 only. The cost of new ships ordered would be £153,000, but they were to be advanced so slowly that £108,000 was reserved for the future, and therefore the country was to receive only £45,000 next year. Was it not trifling with the country to propose that so small a sum as £45,000 should be thus spent out of the enormous sums proposed by the Estimates for the naval service of the country? They were not looking the difficulties sufficiently in the face if they deceived themselves by the mass of figures that was presented to them into the belief that more was done than was really accomplished. There was another matter on which he wished to make a few remarks—the recent change in the constitution of the Admiralty. Sometimes proposals were agreed to so hurriedly that one hardly knew how they passed through the House, and he confessed that before he was aware that any alteration was being made at the Admiralty he found the right hon. Member the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) standing at the Table and explaining that the whole state of things had been changed and that he no longer required the consultative advice, to say nothing of the control of the Board of Admiralty, to guide him in his deliberations, but that he had been elected the absolute head of the Admiralty, every Department being responsible to him only, and he himself being responsible to the Queen. He could not say how it was done, but it appeared to him most wonderful that a right hon. Gentleman who, to say the least was a very young Minister, should have been allowed by the House to usurp a position so different from that which all previous First Lords of the Admiralty had occupied. Something might be said for such a change if the position of First Lord were held by a man who possessed a greater amount of knowledge than the heads of the various Departments with which he had to deal; but any man acquainted with the operations of great manufacturing establishments must know that a person to stand in that position must possess a greater amount of practical knowledge than any of the others with whom he had to deal, or that inevitable confusion and failure would result. The House must be aware that it would be impossible to find on either of the Front Benches anyone who was more thoroughly acquainted with naval affairs than the experienced heads of Departments at the Admiralty. Therefore the First Lord not having a superior amount of knowledge, must absolutely accept the advice of his subordinates in consequence of his inability to refute it without the assistance that the discussion of any matter when submitted to the Board would have furnished to guide him in accepting or rejecting it. Nevertheless, the House had placed the Member for Pontefract in this extraordinary position. He was astonished that a matter of so grave and serious a character should have been permitted to pass through the House without a protest on the part of those who usually took a prominent part in the discussion of naval affairs, and indeed he had expressed his surprise in private to some of the leading Members on the other side, and among them the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Tyrone (Mr. Corry), that they had not pointed out to the House the great leap in the dark they were taking in confirming this arrangement. If it had not been for this change which had been effected, it appeared to him possible that the country might not have had to bewail the unfortunate loss of the *Captain.* In conclusion, he complimented the present First Lord on the able way in which he had introduced the Estimates, and assured him that the foregoing remarks could not be regarded as criticisms on any acts of his, because every hon. Member was aware that the Estimates had been framed independently of the right hon. Gentleman's guidance.

Mr. LIDDELL said, two or three points had been raised by the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty to which he wished to allude — namely, first, the provision made by the Government for our coast defences; and, secondly, the condition of our Reserves — because the country would consider the right hon. Gentleman's statement on both points very unsatisfactory. There had been, no doubt, considerable supineness in the conduct of other Governments with regard to both subjects. When the Vote was granted last year, a war of vast proportions had broken out on the Continent, which required this country to renew her solemn engagement to defend the neutrality of Belgium. Had it been violated by France we should have had to side with Germany, in which case we should at once have found ourselves confronted by the naval power of France, with every harbour from the Forth to the Thames in a defenceless condition. Impressed with the defenceless condition of our harbours, Her Majesty's Government ordered six gunboats of the *Staunch* class to be constructed, which was taking a miserably small gauge, not of the wants only, but the necessities of the occasion; and of these, two only, he had been informed, had been completed within the year. When it was considered the gigantic transactions which we carried on with foreign countries, we must see the importance of having all the ports and harbours of the country placed in a proper state of defence. A few years ago he visited Liverpool; and, after seeing the whole of that port, he asked — "Supposing an enemy's ship should come up to the Mersey, what is there to stop her?" The reply was that the only defence of that port was a wooden frigate, which would probably be sent to the bottom by one shot from an iron-clad, at whose mercy the whole of the shipping and wealth of the port would then be left. That was not a condition of things which ought to be allowed to prevail, and those who represented vast commercial interests had a right to complain of their harbours being left in a defenceless state. In respect to our Naval Reserves, every Government had fallen far short of the recommendations of the Manning Commission; that Commission recommended a complete and ample system of "Reserves," that the "Naval Reserve" itself should consist of 30,000 men; that the Coastguard should number 8,000 or 10,000 men, and that we should have good training ships for boys in all the principal ports. The Government had, however, shown much supineness and neglect in the establishment of a proper system of training and education for our reserved forces. It was true we had several training ships in the ports of the country, but they were supported almost wholly by voluntary contributions. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the decrease in the annual charge for the conveyance of our troops — stating that the transport service had fallen from £400,000 to £170,000—the Vote of the present year. But could the Committee rely upon that decrease being permanent? The basis of the Army re-organization scheme proposed by the Secretary for War was short service; and, as the relief of the vast Army of 63,000 men, which was necessarily maintained in India could only be effected by a great increase in the transport service, the prospect of the present low Estimate being permanent was illusory; for it would be necessary, under a short service system, to have a continuous stream of men constantly passing between this country and India. The Manning Commission recommended two distinct classes of Naval Reserves. A first and a second class at a smaller retaining fee of £2 10*s*., to be composed of "ordinary seamen" and fishermen. In respect to the latter, the whole number that the Admiralty had induced to join was half-a-dozen men. One of the reasons of that failure was the absurd requirement insisted upon that every man belonging to the northern ports who wished to join must go to Hull to present himself either for enrolment or for training, and our poorer seamen could not afford the cost of the journey with the risk of rejection at the end of it. On those points he thought that the statement of the Government was unsatisfactory, and that the question of our "Naval Reserves" and of our "coast defences" demanded prompt attention at the hands of the House.

MR. CANDLISH called attention to page 3 of the Estimates, from which it appeared that, for the year 1870-1, the gross Estimates were £9,370,000; whereas, when put before the House last year, they were only £9,250,000. Again, the net Estimates for last year, after deducting extra receipts and repayments from India, stand in this year's accounts £8,926,000; whereas, when put before the House last year, the figures were only £8,740,000. Taking the figures as put before the House in last years' Estimates it followed that the gross Estimates were, of this year, £500,000 in excess of those of last year, and £539,000 net increase. Now, he should like to know the grounds for this large increase in the Estimates, and also for the large increase of tonnage of the ships proposed to be built. There was a great increase upon the amount of tonnage to be produced as compared with what had been stated to be necessary by the late First Lord of the Admiralty. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen) proposed to build 22,000 tons per annum; whereas the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), in the comprehensive scheme that he brought before the House two years ago, said it would be necessary to build 15,000 tons per annum. Would the right hon. Gentleman tell the House what were the European dangers which made that increase necessary? The French, not having vessels of light draught, could not enter upon our coasts any more than they entered upon the Prussian coast. He (Mr. Candlish) thought, too, that much more new tonnage should be entrusted to private yards, and less to the Government yards; for it had been demonstrated that the Government could contract more cheaply than they could build themselves. He regretted our greatly increased expenditure in extending our dockyards; but it would, probably, not be wise policy to arrest their progress now that three fourths of the money had been spent upon them. But there were ample opportunities of revising and reducing the details of the Vote for Pay, especially of the high officers. While the pay of two admirals was £1,825 per annum each, their extra allowances exceeded their pay. The total of their pay was £3,650, while their extras, under the head of allowances, amounted to no less than £3,738. Then the vice-admiral received £434, and the rear-admiral £342, in extra or supplementary payments. He hoped these would soon disappear from the list. The total increase in our Navy and Army expenditure this year would be about three and a-third millions—a sum unprecedented in our history during a time of peace. He could not have been able to face his constituents if he had voted for such enormous and extravagant Estimates.

MR. HERMON said, the people of this country would look with jealousy at the large increase in the Army Estimates, although they wished that the Navy should be kept in first-rate order. In fact, they were determined to support any Ministry who would propose such measures as would put the Navy in such a position as would maintain our security at home and our *prestige* abroad. He did not urge excess in our naval expenditure; but the country should be put in such a state of preparation that we need not fear any attack upon ourselves, or apprehend that our commerce would suffer through our not having vessels of light draught to protect it.

MR. MACFIE, referring to observations of the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Candlish), said, he should be ashamed to face his constituents if he grudged any money which the Government thought necessary for the Navy, and asked whether there was no other country than France from which we might apprehend attack? But take even that case. France had the power of obtaining in a few weeks such vessels as could be sent to these shores. We ought to be prepared for all contingencies, and in times of peace we ought to make preparations, because we could then do so without offence, and properly. He differed completely from the hon. Member for Sunderland as to the extension of Royal Dockyards. All along the east coast there was no depôt of any considerable dimensions where a fleet could be sent for repair. He had no selfish object in stating so; but if the Admiralty authorities came to Scotland on their summer cruise they would find that the Firth of Forth presented advantages in that respect such as was possessed by no other country in the world. Some general system of defence should be adopted, not only for the home, but for the colonial portions of the British Empire.

MR. GRAVES had for the last four years insisted upon the necessity of training up boys who might in time become available for recruiting our Navy and he was glad to hear that the Admiralty had at length opened their eyes to the importance of the subject. He had endeavoured to point out the gradual diminution in the number of our blue-jackets, and that, so far from the number being regulated by the Votes of this House every year, the Votes were brought down to harmonize with the number actually obtainable and in the service. He considered the supply of boys quite insufficient to keep up the proper number of men, and trusted that an effort would be made to throw 500 more boys into the service. He pointed out a discrepancy, amounting to 900 men, between the numbers of blue-jackets in our Navy as stated by the right hon. Gentleman and those which appeared in a Return furnished to the House by the Admiralty about a month ago. He regretted to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that so few of the smaller classes of vessels were to be built during the present year. The number of these vessels was quite inadequate to meet the wants of the country, and for the protection of our commercial harbours. The country would not be satisfied with the statement that had been made that night, and it was not impossible that another opportunity would be found to raise the question again, and to test the opinion of the House upon it. He was anxious to know whether any differences of opinion had existed in the Committee upon Designs for Ships with reference to their last Report, and whether they had presented a second Report?

LORD HENRY LENNOX repeated the inquiry which he made a short time since as to the time for which the Committee on Naval Science was likely to sit, and the cost of the inquiry.

MR. GOSCHEN remarked that the various objections which had been taken to the Government proposals as to shipbuilding, in a great measure, neutralized themselves. But, in the first instance, he begged to state, in reply to the hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell) as to the cost of transport being increased by short service, that the Government of India defrayed the cost of the conveyance of troops to and from that country. In reply to the noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox), he had to say that the number of sittings of the Committee on Designs would depend on the rapidity of their progress. He must also explain that the civilian members of the Committee, although mostly professional men, had very handsomely voluntarily declined to receive any remuneration for their services, with the exception of one gentleman, who received the sum of £200, which he had to pay a substitute. The Committee would last until they had concluded their inquiries, which were of a very extensive character. The travelling expenses of the Committee were paid out of the £2,000 annually voted towards the expenses of that Committee. An hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay) had spoken of the necessity of increasing the number of seamen last autumn on account of the war. That was not the circumstance which rendered it necessary to look for more blue-jackets. The necessity arose from the loss of the *Captain* and another vessel, and they were short 300 or 400 men on that account. As regarded the employment of stokers and other minor points, he must defer an explicit explanation till he had had time to look carefully into them. As to the discrepancy pointed out by the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Graves), the Return referred to by the hon. Gentleman was probably for the month of January, and since then it had been discovered that there was an error in the Return, and that they were not so short of men as had been supposed. At the same time, he admitted that they had fewer blue-jackets than was voted in the Estimate, and measures would be taken at once to increase the number of boys. With regard to gunboats for coast defence, the reason why they had not more of those small vessels was because, for several years past, they were completing the large ships. Was the country to be asked to do everything at the same time? But, in fact, never had there been so great an increase of vessels for our coast defences as during the last six months. The total addition to their gunboats during the 18 months dating from August last to the end of the present year would show a greater increase than had ever occurred during any corresponding period. 12 vessels of the *Staunch* class for coast defences had been completed, or would soon be completed. There were, further, 10 gunboats that either had been commenced or would be immediately. But he dissented from the opinion that those small vessels were the only coast defences we had. Large ships which would protect the Channel, the North Sea, and prevent the approach of an enemy's fleet to our shores were coast defences also, and could not be wisely neglected. An hon. Member (Mr. Macfie) had said that France might improvise a fleet to attack us; but he did not think any Power could do that. At all events, if any Power could improvise a fleet, it would be England, which possessed more resources of rapid production than any other country. He regretted that the proposal of the Government in regard to gunboats was not satisfactory to some hon. Gentlemen, and he admitted that it was a question whether one of the large frigates might be delayed to hasten the completion of more gunboats. That was a point which could be considered hereafter. But at a moment when our maritime power was, relatively to that of other States, greater than ever it was before, he did not think they would be justified, considering the state of Europe, in going much beyond the expenditure now recommended by the Government. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Samuda) had mistaken the tonnage built in the Government Dockyards last year. It was not 9,000 but 15,000 tons. They proposed to build 22,000 tons, of which 6,000 would be built in private and the remainder in Government Yards. With regard to the 7,500 men employed in repairs, it should be stated that those men were likewise employed in the construction of a large number of materials used in shipbuilding. During last year a large number of men were taken off new ships and put on repairs, in consequence of the desire felt in August to have a large force available at once in case of necessity. Therefore, several older ships were put in repair at that time, thus to a certain extent interrupting the progress of shipbuilding.

Mr. MACFIE explained that he had not said that France could "improvise" a fleet, but that she might improvise an *Alabama* that would harass our commerce.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £2,693,336, Wages, &c.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

House adjourned at a quarter after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 28th March, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Supplemental* (62); Workshop Regulation Act, 1867, Amendment* (63).
Second Reading—Poor Law (Loans)* (50); Consolidated Fund (£462,580 9*s.* 11*d.*)*.
Committee—Lunacy Regulation (Ireland)* (47).

RESERVE FORCES—THE LORDS LIEUTENANT.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Lord VIVIAN, rose to move for a Select Committee to inquire into the state of law respecting the control of the Reserve Forces in the several Counties of Great Britain. The noble Lord said that the object of his Motion was to ascertain what was in point of law the power of Lords Lieutenant of counties in regard to the appointment of officers of the Militia. He need hardly remind the House that when, a few evenings since, he brought forward the case of his own appointment of an officer to the Royal Cornwall Rangers, which had been disallowed by the Secretary for War, the noble and learned Lord (Lord Cairns), and the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack had given two different interpretations of the clause of the Act of Parliament which regulated those appointments. This difference was one reason for an inquiry. Another was that since the recent discussion he had made further inquiries, the result of which had been to confirm his opinion of the inexpediency of appointing Major Trelawny to the command of the West Cornwall Rangers, and he had therefore informed the Secretary for War of his intention to adhere to the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. Charles Edgcumbe, which appointment he should have gazetted but for that gentleman's indisposition, notwithstanding the view taken by the War Office. He had, in return, received what was vulgarly called a "snub," the Secretary of State having informed him that he saw no reason for approving the appointment, and that he must again signify Her Majesty's disapproval of it. He thought it was another reason that he should ask for inquiry, that a very able and deserving officer had suffered both in character and position through the slur cast upon him by the rejection of his nomination to the command of the Militia regiment in question. He wished, then, to know whether that disapprobation applied to Colonel Edgcumbe personally, or whether it was simply on account of the officers of the regiment being passed over? He could not help thinking there was some personal feeling mixed up in the opposition of the Secretary of State to the appointment—he could not account for his continued opposition on any other ground. While giving the Secretary of State every credit for capability, he could not understand how he could judge of the character of the officer of a Militia regiment 400 miles from London better than himself, who lived in the county, and knew all the circumstances. He presumed that the right hon. Gentleman acted either on the opinion of the Inspecting Officers, who simply went down for a few hours, and had no opportunity of knowing the general character of Militia officers, or on that of other persons quite unknown to himself. Who would be responsible for the regiment, now about to go into the field without a lieutenant-colonel, and commanded by an officer whom he held to be disqualified through want of popularity, and whom he therefore had declined to appoint? The Secretary for War, not thinking it right apparently to take his advice upon any matter whatever, had given him snub No. 2. It had been customary for the Secretary to write to the Lord Lieutenant, suggesting a date for the calling out of the Militia, and asking him, if he had any objection to it, to name another day. A circular issued by the War Office last year—which he believed to be waste paper, as it had never been laid before Parliament—directed that the Reserve Forces should be under the joint authority of the General Officers commanding within the districts and of the Lords Lieutenant, who were to consult as to the time of calling out the Militia. On the General Officer of the Western District asking him (Lord Vivian) what time he proposed, he suggested, instead of the 1st of May, the usual date, the middle of June. His reason for this was the irregularity and want of discipline attending the billeting system, which induced him last year to suggest that the Militia should be quartered in the forts. The War Office objected that these would not give half space enough; whereupon he (Lord Vivian) suggested that the force should encamp under canvas in the vicinity of the forts; but to this it was replied that the medical officer objected to an encampment under canvas as early in the season as May. He, accordingly, suggested this year the middle of June. Major Trelawny, he understood, at first fell in with this proposal, but afterwards asked him to re-consider the point, on the ground that the date would interfere with the hay harvest. He (Lord Vivian), however, believed that this would be completed by that time, and saw no ground for altering his opinion. The result had been an intimation from the Secretary of State that the regiment would be called out on the 1st of May—which he could only regard as another snub. He could cite other grievances; but he did not choose to receive any more of these little courtesies, especially as he did not believe that in any other case had a Lord Lieutenant been so treated, the War Office having in several similar instances given away. He presumed the War Department would continue to struggle against him, and he should seek to struggle on against it, not being disposed to submit to the Secretary of State's dictation in a matter which he himself could better understand. He thought, besides, that the Secretary of State had exceeded his powers, for he maintained that his disapproval, not being given within the 14 days prescribed by the Act, was invalid, yet the right hon. Gentleman still persisted in setting the appointment aside. He was anxious for an inquiry which would settle the meaning of the Act, and would enable Lieutenants of counties to know what their duties were.

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the law respecting the control of the Reserve Forces in the several counties of Great Britain."—(*The Lord Vivian.*)

LORD NORTHBROOK said, he wished, in the first place, to explain that not the slightest disregard was intended towards the noble Lord in fixing the proper time for calling out the regiment in question. It had nothing whatever to do with the disputed appointment; and the existing arrangement had been made on the recommendation of the general officer of the district, by an officer subordinate to the Secretary of State, to whom it was not considered necessary to refer. There had been no intention of "snubbing" the noble Lord in the matter; and he thought it very inconvenient that every such detail should be brought before the Secretary of State. With regard to the main question, the noble Lord asked for an inquiry into the state of the law respecting the control of the Reserve forces in the several counties of Great Britain; but a Committee of their Lordships' House was hardly the proper tribunal to decide on the interpretation of an Act of Parliament. With respect to the statement of the noble Lord that, since he first brought the subject forward in their Lordships' House, he had received further information confirming his opinion with regard to the unfitness of Major Trelawny for the command of the regiment, the noble Lord had communicated to the Secretary of State no further information on the subject, though he should have brought under his notice any information likely to affect his decision. He would not again trouble their Lordships with the reasons which induced the Secretary of State to recommend Her Majesty to disapprove the appointment of Colonel Edgcumbe. As to what was stated about Major Trelawny not being popular, no Militia officer would be safe if his promotion were to be stopped on the allegation of unpopularity—a very vague term at best. Some of the best officers in the service had been "unpopular." The Duke of Wellington was, at one time, by no means popular; and, in the sister service, Lord St. Vincent was by no means popular. Major Trelawny had received a regular military education at Sandhurst, where he had won both his commission and a certificate; he had served three years in the 36th Foot, and eight in the Inniskilling Dragoons, seven years as an Adjutant of Militia, and 10 years as Major of the Royal Cornwall Rangers. He was, moreover, in other respects, both as regarded his family and position as a magistrate and deputy Lieutenant of the county, undoubtedly, in every way, fit to be put in command of the regiment. Besides which, he ventured to say that the Reports of the Inspecting Officers spoke of him in terms not exceeded by the encomiums applied to any officers in the service; in fact, an officer on the Staff of Sir Augustus Spencer had authorized him to say that, in the opinion of that distinguished officer, he was one of the best officers he had ever seen in command of a battalion. He hardly supposed that the noble Lord desired to refer the question of the fitness of Major Trelawny to a Select Committee. The noble Lord had asked whether the disapprobation of Her Majesty of the appointment of Colonel Edgcumbe, communicated on different occasions, was, or was not, a personal disapprobation. He should have thought the noble Lord, who was contending for the rigid interpretation of an Act of Parliament, would have been careful not to ask such a question; because the Act of Parliament simply required the Crown to express disapproval of any appointment of which it did not approve, and the Act of Parliament had been strictly followed. As to the command of the regiment, he believed it devolved, in the absence of the colonel, upon the next senior officer; and this officer was Major Trelawny. He could assure the noble Lord that nothing could have been further from the wish of the Secretary of State than to cast a slur on anyone in the course which he had felt called on to pursue. The Secretary of State gave the noble Lord full credit for honesty of purpose, and he asked, in return, credit for equally upright motives in the performance of a painful duty. He assured the noble Lord that no private communications had passed between him and anyone else relative to this appointment, excepting the noble Lord himself and a near relative of Colonel

Edgcumbe. He hoped the noble Lord would not press his Motion.

Lord LYTTELTON said, that as a Lord Lieutenant of many years' standing, he should like to know what the law really was. It was his experience that Lords Lieutenant, on making recommendations, always received notice in a few days in the form prescribed by the Act in case of approval or disapproval. They were authorized to take silence for consent, and if 14 days passed, without an intimation that the Crown disapproved a recommendation, the officer would have a right to the appointment, and would be entitled to complain if it was not gazetted. It was objected by the Government on the last occasion, that to write a simple letter of recommendation was not to "certify" within the meaning of the Act; but such a letter was surely an official intimation; and when was disapproval to be signified by the Secretary of State, if not after the receipt of it? Surely not after the appointment had been gazetted. The other night, when the matter was before their Lordships, a noble Duke (the Duke of Buccleuch) stated that he had always been in the habit of writing to the Secretary of State, stating the person whom he proposed to appoint, and if he heard nothing to the contrary, he concluded that the appointment was allowed. This was the course usually adopted, except that, as he (Lord Lyttelton) had said, Lords Lieutenant received express intimation of approval from the Secretary of State before completing the appointment. It seemed that under the new organization of our military forces, Lords Lieutenant were to have nothing more to do with these appointments — for which he did not in the least care; but during his short remaining term of official existence he should continue, unless otherwise advised, to write letters recommending certain persons, and if no disapproval were signified within 14 days he should proceed to gazette the appointments; this being not merely what he was empowered, but required by the Act to do. If this were not so, he should be glad to be informed; and unless some other mode of ascertainment was suggested, he should be glad if the Committee were granted.

Earl GREY said, he hoped the noble Lord would not press his Motion, for a Committee, as pointed out by the noble Under Secretary (Lord Northbrook), could not give an authoritative construction of an Act which, as was evidenced by the discussion the other evening, was not very well laid down or very clear. On the other hand, it was quite clear what the true interpretation of the Act was in accordance with the spirit of our Constitution, for whatever might be the technical meaning of the section, it was certainly the intention of Parliament that the Lords Lieutenant should act under the direction of the Crown in these matters. And it was not only the right of the Crown to exercise a complete control over its Lieutenants; it was also armed with ample authority for the purpose. The Lords Lieutenant held office during pleasure, and if they declined to submit to the decision of the Crown, signified to them by the proper authority, the Secretary of State would have only to inform them that Her Majesty had no further need of their services. That was the remedy, in the event of a difference of opinion arising, which ought not to be the case, for, whatever the technical construction of the Act, he should feel it his duty—and he thought that the noble Lord, on reflection, would see the matter in the same light — to act under the express direction of the Crown, signified by a responsible Minister. While, however, fully admitting the power of the Crown and the duty of Lords Lieutenant to obey the commands of the Sovereign, he admitted the full right of any Member of the Legislature to question the discretion with which Her Majesty had been advised to exercise the power committed to her. If any noble Lord should think there had been something wrong in the manner in which an appointment had been checked, it was open to him — and it was open to any Member of the other House — to move an Address to the Crown praying the withdrawal of her disapproval. That seemed to him the proper and formal way of raising the question.

The Duke of RICHMOND: My Lords, I regret to find myself differing entirely from the noble Earl who has just sat down (Earl Grey), and upon a point in reference to which his authority is so valuable. The noble Earl states that the proper course on an occasion like the present—and I think he implies that it is the only constitutional course —is, that an humble Address should be presented to Her Majesty begging that she will withdraw her disapprobation of the appointment. Now, my Lords, I venture to think that would be begging the whole question; because the point raised by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Vivian) will have no effect whatever if the disapprobation of the Crown be signified within the proper time. And when the noble Earl says that the noble Lord ought to move an humble Address to the Crown, he is implying that which has not been admitted, even for a moment, in the course of the former or the present discussion—namely, that the Secretary of War has acted according to the powers as contained within the four corners of the Act of Parliament. It appears to me that the silence of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack on this occasion affords a strong ground for inducing your Lordships to appoint a Committee to investigate the question before the House; for I cannot but think that during the time which has elapsed since the former discussion took place, the noble and learned Lord must have been so occupied as not to have looked again into the various Acts of Parliament bearing upon this question.

The LORD CHANCELLOR intimated that he had done so.

The Duke of RICHMOND: I am very glad to hear it; and I can only, therefore, hope that, having informed himself as to the Acts which have been expressly quoted on this subject, the noble and learned Lord considers that this is not the proper place for discussing the question, and that we could better discuss it in Committee of your Lordships' House. The noble Lord the Under Secretary for War (Lord Northbrook) says that a Committee of this House is not a competent tribunal to decide a disputed interpretation of a law. But this is a very simple matter. If your Lordships will examine the Act of George III. you will at once see that its requirements have not been complied with in this case. The intimation given by the noble Lord (Lord Vivian) was clearly the legitimate mode of announcing the appointment, for in the very same letter another gentleman was recommended to the command of a company, and that appointment has been gazetted. I will not go into the question whether Major Trelawny was popular or unpopular in the view of the Government; whether he was educated at Sandhurst; whether he was brought up in the Army, or whether the experience he obtained in the cavalry was likely to make him a good field officer of infantry; for with these questions the Secretary for War, or the Lord Lieutenant, are much more competent to deal than I am; but I may remind my noble Friend the Under Secretary that he has not answered one point put by the noble Lord opposite — whether the objection the Secretary for War made was personal as regards the fitness or unfitness of Colonel Edgcumbe for the command of the regiment, or whether he considered that Colonel Edgcumbe should not be appointed because the Major ought not to be passed over? That is a question to which it is very easy to give an answer; it is a question to which we have a right to expect a distinct answer, about which there can be no mistake whatever. I have not the honour myself of holding the commission of Lord Lieutenant, therefore I may be supposed to speak purely from disinterested motives, and on public grounds alone; and I do say that there is much ground for complaining that the Lords Lieutenant of counties should be treated in the manner which, according to the noble Lord's (Lord Northbrook's) own showing, the Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall has been treated. We have always been taught to look up to the position of Lord Lieutenant of a county. He holds a high position in his county—he represents, if I may say so, the Sovereign, and is frequently expected to convene, and generally to preside over, meetings of the county in regard to any public matters. What do we find is the conduct of the War Department? According to the Instructions issued by the Secretary for War under the Act of 1856, the Lord Lieutenant is to consult with the general commanding the district as to the times at which the Militia shall be called out. The noble Lord opposite, as Lord Lieutenant, considered that it would be much better to call them out in the summer, than to billet them in towns at the earlier period of the year; and he conveyed this view to the general commanding the district, with whom, according to the Order issued by the Secretary for War, he was to put himself in communication. The first thing the noble Lord ascertained was, that the arrangements made were entirely in opposition to the view he had expressed; and now the answer he receives, by way of consolation, is that the subject of the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant was considered to be of such small importance that it was looked upon as a mere matter of detail to be dealt with by a subordinate in the War Department; that, in point of fact, the opinion of the Secretary for War was not given at all. Surely that is not the proper manner in which Lords Lieutenant of counties ought to be treated by a public Department like that of the War Office. We all know with regard to the billeting of the Militia in towns that the system is not healthful for the morals of the men, and that it is a system which ought to be avoided as much as possible. Yet this opinion, expressed by a Lord Lieutenant, was dealt with by a subordinate, and not by the Secretary for War. There is a somewhat extraordinary coincidence connected with this which I ought to mention—if, indeed, it really is a coincidence—the time selected for calling out the Militia, as decided by the subordinate in the War Office, happens to be exactly that recommended by the major of the regiment, whose opinion ought not to have prevailed in the matter at all, because the major is not the person indicated in the rules who should make a recommendation. Under these circumstances, I quite agree with the noble Lord opposite that there is a grievance of which he has every right to complain; and I venture to hope that the Lords Lieutenant of this country will not, in future, be treated by the Secretary for War in the way the Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall has been treated on the present occasion.

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, I cannot help thinking that the question before the House, so clearly stated by the noble Earl on the cross Bench (Earl Grey), has been somewhat mystified by what has fallen from the noble Duke opposite. The question is—

> "To move that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the law repecting the control of the Reserve Forces in the several counties of Great Britain."

In dealing with this question, it is quite true the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond) has given his own construction of the law—and I have no doubt his opinion upon it is as good as that of any other layman; but the whole question is one which arises purely from the ill-drawing of the Act of Parliament, which is differently interpreted by two of the most eminent Law Lords in this House; and I think it is quite impossible that, in opposition to the opinion stated by the noble Earl (Earl Grey), your Lordships should refer to a Committee of the House a question of the legal construction of an Act of Parliament. The noble Duke has complained of the manner in which the Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall has been dealt with by the Secretary for War. For my own part, I do not think, after hearing the statement of the Under Secretary, that the Secretary for War could have adopted a different course from that which he has pursued, under the circumstances of the case. Some years ago a Commission was appointed, of which one of the most eminent Members was the noble Duke's Father, who perhaps took a more than usually active part in performing the duties of Lord Lieutenant—especially with regard to questions affecting the Militia and Reserve forces; and it was on his suggestion that the Commission made the recommendation which they did, to the effect that promotion, as a general rule, should be by seniority; and that in the event of any proposed deviation from this principle, it should be made known to the War Department, with a statement of the reasons for the deviation. A circular to the same effect was issued by Mr. Sidney Herbert. If that circular meant anything, it meant that the Secretary for War was bound to exercise his discretionary judgment upon the reasons so submitted to him. It has been objected that this circular was not a legal document; but I think the objection entirely fails, since it ignores the Secretary for War as an Adviser of Her Majesty, and as the head of the Executive Department, dealing with the matters committed to it. The noble Duke then goes on to encourage the noble Lord to consider it a snub that his recommendation had not been followed with regard to the particular time at which the Militia should be called out. The answer which the noble Lord (Lord Northbrook) gave, as I understand him, was an answer to the charge the noble Lord (Lord Vivian) brought against Mr. Cardwell, that the right hon. Gentleman had shown animus towards him, and my noble Friend has properly answered that no animus existed in the case at all on the part of Mr. Cardwell. The noble Duke then regards it as an intolerable slight upon the Lords Lieutenant that this case should not have been determined immediately by the Secretary for War himself. I think your Lordships will readily admit that in a large Office, where there is much red tape and mere matter of detail, it is impossible that the Secretary for War can himself personally attend to every matter appertaining to the Department without neglecting the essential duties attaching to him as a Minister. I think that the noble Duke, in his anxiety to do justice to the position of Lords Lieutenant, has, in some degree, confounded the duties which attached to them as the heads of the counties with those which properly belong to another class of functionaries—the high sheriffs. At the same time, I do not in the least question the high honour and position of Lords Lieutenant; and I am quite sure that the more anxious they may be to give example to those placed under their superintendence, the more anxious they must be to act in perfect accordance with the Crown, when properly advised by those who are bound to advise them. I certainly do enter my strong protest against your Lordships entertaining this Motion, which I really think is absolutely without precedent, being a Motion to refer to your Lordships' Committee a discussion between two of the Law Lords as to what is the real construction of an Act of Parliament.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I do not think it worth your Lordships' while to refer this legal point to a Committee. The course that has been adopted in the case of the Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall is so manifestly wrong, that I think it would be a work of supererogation for a Committee to inquire into the matter. To ask a Committee to investigate the subject would be practically to ask them to determine whether a fortnight was a month, and that, I think, is hardly a proper subject to submit to the meditation of a Committee. But the question which has given rise to the question now before us, and to a debate which has already taken place, appears to me to throw considerable light upon the probable effect of the legislation on military affairs with which we are threatened. Two cases have been brought forward—two cases of "snubbing," to use the strong and just vernacular of the noble Lord—for the consideration of the House. With regard to the first case, we have heard that under the present state of things the control of military affairs is so intensely centralized, that when a Lord Lieutenant brings a certain matter relating to county policy and morality under the notice of the Secretary for War, so heavy is the business of his Department that the Minister of the Crown finds it impossible to attend to the matter personally, and the Lord Lieutenant is left to be snubbed by any underling. That appears to me to be treatment most unworthy of the dignity and position of a Lord Lieutenant. I do not blame the Minister of the Crown in this case, because I believe he knew nothing of the affair—neither do I blame the Office; but I ask your Lordships to note the results of that centralization into which we are rushing. It is the inevitable result of placing so much work upon one responsible Minister of the Crown that he had more to do than he can personally accomplish, and the result is that the duty is transferred to persons who are unknown, and who have no responsibility. The second snub which has been put upon the noble Lord is a rather awkward circumstance, because the neglect to lay the matter before the Secretary of State succeeded in point of time the displeasure of the War Office which the Lord Lieutenant had been unfortunate enough to incur, which rather gave ground for the suspicion that if anyone was bold enough to challenge the decision of the War Office, or so unfortunate as to incur the displeasure of that mysterious tribunal, he would find his access to the Secretary of State not so easy as before. But there is a much more serious question at the bottom of this matter. Why are these two officers passed over? Is it true that one of these officers is a Member of Parliament and that the other is not?

EARL GRANVILLE: That is not the case.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I was informed that such was the fact. However, I do not stand up for the purpose of making personal imputations upon anyone. My object is to point out the enormous danger that is likely to result from the unrestrained system of selection which it seems to be the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce. If such a system be adopted, your statesmen may be as pure and as free from party bias as possible; but, as long as officers of the Army are Members of Parliament, or are selected from the class from which Members of Parliament come, and their interests have to be decided upon by the Secretary of State, so long will cases of this kind crop up, and your whole military administration will be tainted with suspicion. I entirely agree with the noble Lord that Colonel Edgcumbe has been hardly treated in this matter, and also that the Lord Lieutenant has been hardly treated; but what is proved by this case is the utter incapacity of our military system to bear either a great increase of centralization, or to allow the invidious and onerous duties of unrestrained selection to be placed in the hands of a political officer.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, he was of opinion that the dignity of the Lords Lieutenant of counties had been somewhat neglected in the present case. He held it to be the law that the whole responsibility for the well-being of a Militia regiment rested mainly with the Lord Lieutenant of the particular county to which it belonged; and in accordance with that responsibility the noble Lord the Lieutenant for the county of Cornwall had intimated to the War Office his recommendation of the appointment of a certain officer to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Royal Cornish Rangers. What struck him as being somewhat singular in the case was, that before communicating with the War Office his noble Friend informed Major Trelawny that it was his intention to make a recommendation, the effect of which would be to pass him over, and that Major Trelawny entirely approved of that course on account of his want of knowledge of the new drill, that he considered the appointment of Colonel Edgcumbe to be a good one, and that had he himself been appointed he would have been as a square block in a round hole. After that Major Trelawny wrote to the War Office, stating he was about to be passed over—which seemed to be playing a double game. Colonel Edgcumbe, it appeared, in anticipation of being appointed to the command, had been induced to resign his commission in the Grenadier Guards; and no doubt, with his full knowledge of all the new military duties required of him, he would have been a most valuable commander of any Militia regiment; but he afterwards received an intimation that the recommendation which the Lord Lieutenant believed had been accepted by the Crown had, for reasons which were not given, not been approved by the Crown. That was not the way to enable a Lord Lieutenant to maintain his position in his county; and from what had appeared, the noble Lord's recommendations had been set aside without any reason assigned, and the command of the regiment allowed to fall into the hands of an officer who acknowledged himself incompetent to discharge the duties. How could a Lord Lieutenant who could not be trusted to appoint an officer to the command of a regiment be fit to take charge of the affairs of a county? The question of popularity was one that never ought to have mentioned, and it was one that ought not to weigh in considering the qualifications of an officer. It would be a dangerous thing either to select officers to command regiments, or to reject them on account of their popularity or unpopularity. The simple question ought to be, who was the best man to command a regiment? The danger of principle of selection had been exemplified in this case; and what alarmed him was, that when the principle came to be carried out it would often be challenged, and would have to be argued out in Parliament. But he did not think the Motion would have any effect in settling the construction of the Act; and, under the circumstances, he would ask his noble Friend to be content with the discussion, and not press his Motion to a Division.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY: I was certainly surprised to hear the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) state his intention of supporting the Motion, on the ground that the Government had acted in this matter on the principle of what he was pleased to term unrestrained selection. He has overlooked that the Secretary of State—whether he has acted rightly or wrongly—has stood up for seniority, and therefore shown that he is not likely to exercise in an unrestrained manner the principle of selection. He must have forgotten that in the present case it is the Lord Lieutenant who has adopted the principle of unrestrained selection, while the Secretary for War has strictly followed the principle of seniority. The noble Marquess also stated that the Lord Lieutenant had received more than one "snub;" that he had been turned over to a subordinate officer of the War Department, and that the matter of the calling out of the Militia regiment had been decided by an underling. But who is this "underling" who signed this appointment? Why, he is the Inspector General of the Militia. And I must ask the House whether it is possible for the War Office administration to be properly conducted, if it is to be said that a matter of this kind is not to be decided by a general officer, who, in all probability, is a much more competent person to determine such a question than the Secretary for War himself would be. Quite apart from this particular case, the whole discussion is a very apt illustration of the necessity for the military reforms which have been proposed by the Government. If the country has made up its mind upon one thing more than another, it is that our Army organization should be made practical and real. Much as I respect Lords Lieutenant and the Militia service, and the laudable desire of country gentlemen to belong to that force, and that they should be treated with respect by the Government, it is far more important that the Militia should be made real regiments, and form part of the general organization of the Army, and not be regarded as a kind of civilian portion of the Army. If it is so regarded, it is impossible for the Secretary of State for War not to take the opinion of competent general officers and officers commanding the districts, in preference to the recommendations of Lords Lieutenant, and as a part of the new system we are about to introduce, Militia regiments to be more efficient must be absolutely more and more under the control of the Secretary of State for War and the officers of the Army. As regards the particular case which has arisen in the county of Cornwall I do not wish to say anything, for enough has been said about it already; but, however much the unfortunate position in which Colonel Edgcumbe has been placed may be regretted, I cannot but think that the county of Cornwall has not been ill-treated in having Major Trelawny placed in command of this excellent regiment. I hope your Lordships will not agree to the appointment of the Committee.

The Earl of MOUNT EDGCUMBE said, that some remarks which fell from his noble Friend the Under Secretary for War in a former debate would lead to the impression that Colonel Edgcumbe had resigned his commission in the Guards with the full knowledge that his appointment to the Royal Cornwall Rangers was extremely uncertain, in consequence of the claims of another officer having been put forward. The noble Lord referred to a warning which he had conveyed through him (the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe); but he was not at the time aware that the conversation to which he alluded was held more than a fortnight after Colonel Edgcumbe's resignation had been sent in. In point of fact, at the time Colonel Edgcumbe resigned, he had not the slightest reason for apprehending that the power of veto would be exercised against his appointment, nor was it until it was too late to recall the step he had taken that he had any intimation whatever of Major Trelawny's intention to protest. Referring to a remark that had fallen from the noble Earl on the cross Benches (the Earl of Dalhousie), he felt sure that Major Trelawny was not a man capable of any double dealing, although it was to be regretted that the letter referred to was not more explicit.

Earl COWPER said, he should be sorry if it was thought that all Lords Lieutenant were opposed to the proposed change as regarded the Militia, for their position in that respect certainly was not a very comfortable one. For himself, his belief was, that when the new system was established by which the Reserve forces of the different military divisions of the country were to be brigaded and drilled from time to time with the Regular troops, the most perfect machinery would exist for finding out what officers were good and what were not, so that good men could be put in command. That was a very difficult matter now. What could the Lord Lieutenant of the county know in regard to the discipline of a regiment, except from the officers in command, and what he might gather from his own observation and from the general feeling of the country? He did not think any of these were a good means of forming a judgment. He was himself the Lord Lieutenant of a small county, and although, if a vacancy occurred in the command of the Militia there to-morrow, he might not experience a great difficulty in recommending an officer to fill it, because the officer who was second in command was a good man, yet he could well understand that in such cases a Lord Lieutenant might have great difficulty in finding out who was the best man; and at present, even after that difficulty should have been overcome, and the Lord Lieutenant had had the misfortune of quarrelling with many people in consequence of his selection, his decision might be thrown over—he did not say wrongly—by the War Office. Surely, if after all the trouble he had taken, the Lord Lieutenant was not certain that his recommendation would be attended to, the sooner that state of things was put an end to the better. The discussion of that evening would have convinced him, if he had not been convinced before, that the Lord Lieutenant would be in a more pleasant position, and the service of the country be better carried on under the proposed new system than was the case at present. He had no desire to find fault with the present authorities of the War Office; but he was afraid that anybody who had anything to do with that Department had occasion sometimes to complain that it allowed his letters to remain unanswered.

The Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND said, that the position of the Lords Lieutenant, in regard to the appointment of Militia officers, appeared not to be understood by many noble Lords. The reason why the Lord Lieutenant had vested in him the appointment of these officers, subject to the approval of the War Office, was that he was cognizant of the persons in his county who were best fitted for such positions, which the authorities of the War Office could not be supposed to be. It must be recollected that hitherto the Militia had been a voluntary force; that it had belonged to the county, had been raised in the county, and was officered by gentlemen of the county, inasmuch as it was supposed that the gentlemen of the county had more influence in obtaining men to fill the ranks than any other class of persons. It would seem that now, however; if he rightly understood the remarks of the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley), the Lord Lieutenant was to be superseded altogether; that he was not to be consulted in any way, not only as to officering the Militia, but even as to the best and most suitable time and place for assembling the men for training—matters which, in the case of a local force, depended less on military considerations than on the season for taking the men from their ordinary labour and occupations with the least inconvenience to them. If, therefore, those questions were to be taken out of the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, who was most acquainted with them, and transferred to the Inspector General of Militia, who knew nothing about them, very great injury would be done to the Militia itself. Manifestly, the first object they should have in view was to fill the ranks of the regiments, and as long as they maintained a local force and officered it from the county, and as long as the leading persons in the county, or any person in the county, took an interest in that force, so long the Lord Lieutenant ought to have a voice in all questions that concerned it.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *Negative*.

ARMY—MILITARY EDUCATION.

ADDRESS FOR RETURNS.

Lord STRATHNAIRN, who had given Notice to move an Address for Returns respecting Garrison Instructors, and for Copies of Instructions on the Military Education of Officers, issued consequent to the Report of the Commissioners, said—My Lords, the interests of the country are so intimately concerned in the unfortunate state of affairs on the Continent, and the country relies so much for the protection of its rights and position on the efficiency of the Army in the art of war, that I consider it my duty to bring to your Lordships' notice, with the view to their amendment, serious deficiencies in our military training and education, and especially in its first requisite, strategy; and yet it is strategy, my Lords, which, in an incredibly short time, has made Prussia mistress of the destinies of France, as 65 years ago it placed Prussia and her independence at the mercy of France. We ought not to be blind to the lessons which recent Continental events are so well fitted to teach. We ourselves have had warnings to which we ought not to turn a deaf ear; protracted and not always successful operations in our Colonies against uncivilized insurgents, reverses which checkered brilliant successes in the Crimea, and threw a shade over our imperishable recollections of the Peninsula and Flanders, and an Empire all but lost in India. Before going further, I will explain the nature of the deficiencies in our training for war. They arise from our Regulation Book of Instruction, which teaches the mechanism of movements, but not their strategical object or adaptation to the varied features of ground for troops; they, therefore, are taught peace, not service movements; they move, but do not manœuvre. I am fully alive to the importance of skilfully executed movements—the best devised plans of strategy have often been spoilt by faulty movements. The mistake is to teach movements, but to omit their object. They should be inseparable. In the examination of officers for promotion, the same error is committed. Since I held the command of a Bombay division, in 1857, to the end of my command in Ireland, I have never ceased, in Reports to my superiors and instructions to those under my command, to correct this misprision of the first element of an Army's education. I stated this also fully, and other shortcomings, to the Commission on Military Education, as well as their remedy, and I am glad to see, in a new Book of Instruction of October last, that some of them have been adopted; but these improvements are few and partial, and they omit the great desideratum in the instruction of young officers and soldiers of combining drill from its first stages with reason and object, so that, the mind once directed in the right way, an ordinary capacity may gradually become a good service officer, and a genius may wing his flight to elevations now, unfortunately, tenanted only by Count Moltke and his strategical Staff. All those simple and important manœuvres which figured in the late Prussian successes are also omitted in the new Book. The last of my thoughts in bringing this Motion before your Lordships is to make the smallest pretension to superior capacity; I do so under the sense of duty in critical times, which tells me that if a British Army be obliged to take the field, it should do so second to none in fitness for war. If, however, I do not lay claim to superior capacity, I do lay claim to some experience in two matters which lie at the roots of this question—strategy, and the state of instruction in the Army. As regards the latter, it has fallen to my lot to have commanded, or to have inspected, nearly every battery and regiment in Her Majesty's service. I conduct my inspections in a manner which makes my Staff and myself personally acquainted with the nature and condition of the instruction imparted in almost every regiment in the service. The remarks, favourable or otherwise, are sent to commanding officers, and copies of them kept as records in the Adjutant General's office. The experience I have thus acquired enables me to say that, both as regards officers and men, our Army has almost none of that kind of instruction on which I set a high value. As regards strategy, peculiar circumstances made me acquainted with it from my earliest days. My father was Her Majesty's Envoy at Berlin, where I had a military education, of which strategy was the chief element. In those days Prussia was in the full tide of her noble and patriotic efforts to retrieve the disasters which a mistaken art of war had entailed on her, and the wrongs which it had done in 1806 to her gallant Army and a resolute people. It is a singular coincidence that mistaken training should, but in a more aggravated form, have been the same error as our own at present—peace, but not service movements. The map and the tactics of Frederick the Great had been replaced by the plummet and the pace-stick. But in my days there was a re-action, and everything in Prussia was strategy. The atmosphere was strategical, and I imbibed some of its influences. In the Crimea I witnessed the results of good or mistaken strategy; and in India, if I had not been assisted by troops of whom Lords Canning and Elphinstone said, in telegrams and general orders—"that they had marched from Bombay to the Jumna and Gwalior, from success to success, without a check, under hardships heroically borne, although seldom endured even in India," and if I had not invariably had recourse to strategical precautions and manœuvres, I could not have overcome the difficulties of overwhelming numbers which cut off my base as I advanced, of an unknown country, and a line of operations some 700 or 800 miles long, defended by forts. In 15 actions and sieges I was obliged to reconnoitre night and day, to use turning movements, feints to cover a real attack, concentration of fire on a weak or given point, and so forth, none of which are in our old or new Book. The result of my twofold experience has taught me that, as regards officers and men, the English Army is without equal. They are a rare combination of ardour when it is required, and of steadfastness when it is necessary; but, in consequence of the want of strategical education, they are so deficient in strategical knowledge that if, unfortunately, we were involved in war, the odds would be in dangerous proportion against them in the field. I, of course, except officers of superior talents, with strategical instincts, and who have had other means of instruction. Nor would it be fair to place the responsibility of our system on present proper names or Governments. It dates from our forefathers, and, in fact, it has its origin in our insular position, habits, and distaste for preparations for Continental wars. I beg your Lordships' indulgence while I adduce a few illustrations of the want of strategical education of a simple description from the first to the last pages of the Book. In consequence of no object being assigned, the young officer or recruit is not acquainted with the reason of the numerous points and parries in the bayonet exercise, nor does he learn that part of it which makes him more than a match for cavalry. He is equally untaught as to the advantage of early or the danger of delayed fire. As regards evolutions of a regiment, when I ask an officer the object of a change of front, as a rule he assigns any but the service one, and I have to explain to him that the service object is to oppose an attack on his weakest point—his flank, or *vice versâ*. He is equally uninformed as to the firing which should cover the movement, and I show him that early and successive fire from the company of formation will check the enemy and cover the formation, while delayed fire may cause its destruction. A first-rate Artillery officer of long standing performed a diagonal change of front on the two centre guns of his brigade, but delayed his fire till the flank guns were in the new alignment. I told him the mechanism of the movement was perfect, but that I could not say as much of its strategy; that if he had opened fire from his guns of formation, he might have killed a general or thrown his assailant into confusion, as well as covered his defenceless guns, throwing up to and retiring into the new aligument. And, my Lords, when we hear of batteries captured and formations cut up by cavalry, it is only too often caused by delayed fire. And yet this simple instruction and these words, "early and delayed fire," are not in the book. On another occasion, for the sake of practice, I requested an officer of 40 years' standing, commanding a regiment during the Fenian period in Ireland, when constant depositions and intercepted letters showed intentions to attack barracks, blow up their garrisons, and burn them with Greek fire, to defend his barracks against an attack by the road. Two loopholed defences, with banquette, gave a cross fire on the road. The officer threw his battalion into order—the skirmishers with their face against a wall 20 feet high, with no means of defence—but did not place a man in the loopholed defences. As regards field days and movements of large bodies in India and Ireland, there was no system of instruction or camps of instruction in India or in Ireland. The general officer stationed at the Curragh informed me that he had never heard of a second line; and yet an order of battle for attack or defence without a second line is forbidden by every principle of war. It invites a disaster. The field days were characterized by constant changes of front at too large an angle against a supposed enemy, so constant that no power of locomotion could have enabled an enemy to change to such distant positions—flanks were exposed; and as there was no combination between the three arms, collisions and firing into each other ensued. All arms, individually and collectively, frequently took up positions on the top of a height or rising ground, which exposed them, instead of in the rear of it, which would have covered them. And if in former days defeat often, and loss of life always, followed on neglect of cover, or of turning movements, use of ground is now indispensable in these days of improved arms. In England I have seen field days in which the same defects occurred; and we all read in the newspapers an account of a remarkable field day at Wimbledon Common last year, written by a noble Lord commanding a brigade, whose better judgment appears to have been overruled, of which I will say no more than that it was not a representation but a ridicule of the realities of war—and that, too, at a time when, on account of events in Europe, a display of such military inefficiency was to be regretted. It is apposite to observe here that the instruction of the Militia and Volunteers is the same as that of the Army. I now beg to adduce a few service examples of the unfavourable results of mistaken military education in the Crimea and India. As regards the Crimea, I do not wish to ring the changes on Balaklava. I will merely observe that, although nothing could be greater than the devoted gallantry of the troops, yet that the charge with a brigade of cavalry, with the Feduchine Heights with artillery and riflemen on their left line, and a masked battery to their right front, a large force of all arms in front, was a thing never heard of before, and could only end in the loss of most valuable life. Then, on account of neglect of ground and other rules for outposts, pickets and guards of trenches were only too often surprised and driven in. But in justice to a noble Earl (the Earl of Lucan) I am happy to say that I was told by very competent authority that he always evinced both zeal and ability, with the best results, in placing his outposts and sentries. Inkermann, though a great victory, was a surprise, which rendered a retirement necessary in the first instance and caused loss of life. In October, 1855, the day of the general and final attack on Sebastopol, Marshal Pelissier sent me to tell the English Commander-in-Chief that the French had taken the Malakhoff. General Simpson requested me to tell the French Commander-in-Chief that his troops had been unable to take the Redan. Now, my Lords, the cause of this failure was an attack in one line without a second line in support. As regards India, the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow, two main operations against the insurgents, were both caused by misprision of strategy. If the commanders at military stations had by simple strategical arrangements prevented mutinous garrisons from leaving their stations, they would not have formed a nucleus at Delhi. The siege of Lucknow was ushered in by the defeat of its garrison at the strong village of Chiwhut, one march from Lucknow, where they went to attack a large force of mutinous regiments. In disregard of strategical foresight, the left flank of the English troops was posted on the village, which was neither occupied nor watched. Fatal volleys at close range into the English left were the first intimation of the dangerous flank attack. It was followed by a retreat to Lucknow, with a loss of artillery and the arrival of the enemy before the city as besiegers. An advance in light infantry order against a fort held by a few mutineers, without reconnoitering or a turning movement, was the cause of the check of one of the finest brigades of all arms that ever took the field in India, with a large loss, including that of a general officer of the highest promise. I now beg, my Lords, to close my statement of deficiencies in our education and training for war, its causes, and results. I regret the necessity which has compelled me to notice military failings; but I should have been guilty not only of false and culpable delicacy, but of the greatest dereliction of duty of which an officer can be capable if I had silenced convictions which told me British troops had already sustained reverses, in consequence of mistaken training; and that for the same reason they would certainly encounter fresh—perhaps irretrievable—disasters were they to take the field against an Army perfected in the art of war: more especially when in the last few months we have witnessed one of the best and most successful armies in the world fall in collapse, not from any want of their often proved gallantry, of which I have on so many occasions been witness, but from a neglected art of war. I think that when vast and cardinal changes are announced which point to a great evil, although that evil is not known by bad results, it may be an advantage to the Government and Parliament that they have now before them a plain statement of facts, proving the existence of our military shortcoming; and I venture to think that when your Lordships have heard the simple remedies which I suggested to the Commission on Military Education, you will agree that they are as simple as the evil is palpable. I venture to think that another advantage of my statement is that it removes the impression which exists in some quarters that the blame of reverses I have alluded to attach to officers. The statement places the saddle on the right horse. A faulty education is alone to blame.

Moved that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for, Returns of the number and statements of service of garrison instructors, and copies of instructions given to them for the execution of their duties by the Secretary of State for War, as well as copies of any instructions given by him or of communications made by the Royal Commission on the military education of officers of Her Majesty's army consequent on the Commissioners' report on that subject.—(*The Lord Strathnairn.*)

Lord NORTHBROOK said, he would gladly admit that not only had the noble and gallant Lord who had just sat down (Lord Strathnairn) earned a high reputation by his distinguished services in the field, but also by the thoroughness with which he had performed the less conspicuous duty of inspection of the troops in peace. The subject the noble and gallant Lord had brought under their Lordships' notice was one of the highest importance, and any information which the Government could furnish would be readily given. There would, therefore, be no objection to furnishing the Returns for which the Motion had been made. The whole of this subject was referred, several years ago, to a Royal Commission, of which he had himself the honour of being a Member, and which had the advantage of receiving the evidence of the noble and gallant Lord. The general result of the inquiries of the Royal Commission with respect to the state of the education of our officers entirely confirmed the statement which his noble and gallant Friend had made that evening. Those inquiries showed that great deficiencies existed in almost every branch of military education; and that no fault could rest upon our officers for not acquiring an education for which no adequate provision had been made. But the subject would again come before their Lordships, when the measure now before the other House was before them, when the whole subject might be fully discussed. Meanwhile, he was happy to inform their Lordships that considerable progress had been made in the education of officers after they had joined the service. Since the Report of the Commission, almost all the different branches of education in the Army had been dealt with by the Secretary of State. The Commission recommended, among other things, that officers should be appointed qualified to instruct other officers in certain points described in the General Order issued by the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, in August, 1870. Those officers — the garrison instructors—had now been at work some time, and the Report which had been made at the close of last year was most favourable to the progress of the system. The Report showed that there had been the greatest desire evinced, not only by the junior officers, but by officers of long standing in the Army, to take advantage of the means of instruction furnished them; and that their number was steadily increasing. The number of officers at present receiving instruction at the hands of the garrison instructors was between 300 and 400, and quite recently the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief had issued an order permitting a certain number of officers of each regiment to be excused regimental duty while attending the instruction of the garrison instructor. He trusted, therefore, it would be evident to their Lordships that the subject had not been lost sight of. He felt quite sure that there was no one connected with the administration of the military affairs in this country —no one even who had paid any attention to the events which had recently occurred on the Continent of Europe—who did not feel with the noble and gallant Lord who had just addressed the House, and who was not desirous that the officers of the British Army should have an opportunity of acquiring such a thorough knowledge of their profession as that which was possessed by the officers of the Prussian Army; for nothing had been more remarkable throughout the late war than the superior qualities and training of the Prussian officers. In giving these Papers, he had only to add that the Secretary of State for War was fully alive to the importance of the subject, and that his attention was steadily directed to the importance of affording every facility to officers of the Army for acquiring a complete military education.

The Duke of CAMBRIDGE: My Lords, I should be sorry to detain the House if I did not feel called upon to make one or two observations upon the Motion which has been brought forward by my noble and gallant Friend (Lord Strathnairn). I hope the House will distinctly understand that this subject of military education has been under consideration for a long period; that it is not now discussed for the first time, but has been under consideration ever since I took the position which I have the honour to hold. And my noble and gallant Friend, I trust, will admit, that during the period which I have held that position, and also during the tenure of my predecessors, alterations have by degrees been introduced into the Army system, all tending in the direction which has of late exhibited itself in such a marked degree in the Continental armies. But your Lordships must bear in mind that military questions in former days were not considered of that interest and importance which now attach to them in the eyes of this country, and that it was a matter of very great difficulty to get the public to appreciate the importance of technical education and other qualifications which tend to make a good officer. I trust the period has now arrived when these matters will be viewed in a different spirit; indeed, there is reason to believe that such will be the case from the fact that they have been taken up so warmly and energetically by the country. I am as convinced, as I am of the fact that I am now addressing your Lordships, that every officer of the Army is as desirous and anxious to advance this question of military education as either my noble and gallant Friend or myself. But, in truth, the officers of the British Army are exposed to enormous difficulties. We have never been allowed to collect large bodies of troops together, as is constantly done upon the Continent; and though theory may be very well in its way, it is valueless unless combined with opportunities for practice. And let me fairly tell your Lordships that it is much more difficult in this country to carry out combined movements of troops, such as take place upon the Continent, than your Lordships generally may imagine. I have frequently attended reviews abroad, and I can assure your Lordships that I was surprised to see the injury that is done without the slightest consideration, the fields passed over and the property destroyed, in a manner that would never for an instant be tolerated at home. If we are really to apply to this country the practice of foreign nations, we must be prepared for something of the same sort—something which will entail a very considerable outlay; for you cannot expect that a landed proprietor, great or small, will submit to all these inconveniences without receiving large compensation. I know that even upon the Continent the cost attending these concentrations is very considerable. If, however, the country is prepared to engage in that sort of expenditure, I shall be only too glad, militarily, that we should have the benefit of availing ourselves of the opportunities thus afforded. There may certainly be tracts of land in this country—and I hope they will be found—where the concentration of bodies of troops will be possible: possibly upon Crown lands, which in ancient days were forests, and are still uninclosed. such combinations may be practicable, But I am still of opinion that, with every desire to carry out the Continental principle, it will be very difficult to do so upon a large scale in this country. At the same time, I am fully justified in stating, after what my noble and gallant Friend has just said, that it is the intention and desire of the Government to carry out this year some concentrations of troops upon a scale commensurate with the circumstances of this country. My noble and gallant Friend, who no doubt has had opportunities of judging, has stated that occasionally he has had to find fault with officers, and that they did not come up to the standard that he expected. For my part, however, and I am not now speaking of the conduct of the British officer in action, but of his performance of ordinary daily duties in time of peace, I have always found the greatest zeal, energy, and willingness on the part of the British officer; and I have found, moreover, that he carried with him the good feeling and the confidence of the men with whom he had to deal. Of course, there may be instances, among large bodies of men, of want of intelligence, that I freely admit; but I put it to your Lordships whether the same thing may not be found in almost every avocation of life. And though there may have been occasions when my noble and gallant Friend has had to find fault with officers under his authority, I am sure that he must have had many more opportunities of praising what came to his notice. With regard to the question of instruction—the garrison instructors are of novel introduction. It was thought desirable, and indeed essential, that officers, having now to pass a much more stringent examination than was the case before, should have opportunities of acquiring that knowledge, which it was impracticable for them to acquire in civil life, and without which it was impossible for them properly to satisfy the requirements of these examinations, and therefore these garrison instructors were appointed to afford such information. I am happy to endorse what has fallen from my noble Friend the Under Secretary, that a very large body of officers—more, in fact, than we have been able to deal with, so far as we have gone—have come forward to obtain the benefit of the instruction that is now afforded. And not alone has this interest in the subject been evinced by officers who have still to pass their examinations, but by officers who have no further examination to pass. I can only repeat that, if opportunities of acquiring professional information are given to British officers, I feel convinced they will be only too glad to avail themselves of such facilities. Perhaps I may be allowed to point out that when I first entered upon the duties of my present position, the system of examination for promotion was carried out to a very limited extent only; but during the time that I have been connected with the Horse Guards, and owing to the support which I have received from successive Secretaries of State, the system of examination has been largely increased in connection with promotion from the junior to the senior grades. No doubt much remains to be done; but this will be facilitated by the introduction of these garrison and regimental instructors, by whom the officers will be assisted in acquiring military knowledge. I am sure that no subject of greater importance could be brought forward than this question of the military education of officers. My noble and gallant Friend himself has testified to the zeal and energy of British officers; and, for my own part, I am glad that I have been afforded an opportunity of speaking of what I have seen and known of the energy and real devotion of British officers during the whole period that I have had the advantage of being connected with the Army.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE said, he felt much satisfaction at the prospect of manœuvres by flying columns during the present year, and hoped it would be found practicable to brigade some of the Reserve forces with the Regular troops. The more that could be done the more advantageous would be the result. He also hoped that the flying columns and divisions would march fully equipped, with their ambulances and Control Staff, so that an opportunity might be afforded for judging of the merits or demerits of the Control system — for though no doubt the system could only be fully tested in time of war, he personally had a strong opinion in its favour, though he believed there had been in practice somewhat too great a tendency to centralization. Regimental carts for small-arm ammunition might also accompany the division; but as to these, though the Commission over which his noble and gallant Friend (Lord Strathnairn) presided reported on the subject three years ago, he believed that nothing practical had since been done. He had listened with much pleasure to the opinions expressed by the illustrious Duke the Commander-in-Chief, as to the officers of the British Army, whose efficiency it had been the custom to disparage of late since the purchase question was raised in the other House. Some critics even had gone the length of saying that the British officers were simply rich and incompetent. Their Lordships might possibly not be aware that the examination for promotion offered, in the opinion of the Commissioners, a very fair programme to test the efficiency of an officer: they had to pass an examination that included a knowledge of drill, of the Queen's Regulations, of the interior economy of a regiment, of the art of fortification, and of reconnoitreing—and although the Commissioners added that in some instances the examinations had been loosely conducted, yet that was not the fault of the purchase system or of the officers themselves, but of those who were responsible for the way in which the examinations were conducted. It had been said that proper instruction was not given to officers; but that remark would not apply to the Staff College, where the examinations were severe enough to satisfy any requirements. He concurred in the recommendation of the Royal

Commissioners that education should be more practical and less theoretical—and one of the most important of their recommendations was that no officer should be allowed to go to the Staff College, unless the general officer under whom he served reported that he was physically as well as mentally capable of performing his duties. He was glad to hear that a complete scheme for the instruction of the Artillery had been drawn up by officers who were worthy of all consideration—for one of the great complaints in the past had been that there was no uniform standard of examination in that department. It seemed that after the passing of the Army Regulation Bill, all officers were to be appointed to direct commissions by competitive examination; but he feared that such a system would increase those "cramming" schools which were admitted to be a great evil. He was pleased to hear the illustrious Duke say that English officers only needed opportunity and encouragement in order to render them efficient in their duties, for these gentlemen possessed qualifications superior to the officers of any Army in Europe.

Lord STRATHNAIRN said, that the main object of his Motion was to draw the attention of Parliament to the want of strategical instruction for the officers of our Army. Garrison instructors did not undertake to give it, and nothing could be more undesirable than that officers should attempt to teach one of the highest branches which they never had the opportunity of learning. With reference to what had fallen from the illustrious Duke, he desired to say that his Address was intended to remove the erroneous impression which had been created to the disfavour of the British officers; and with respect to the relations between them and their soldiers, he maintained that the men of the English Army were more easily controlled by their officers than the men of any other. He was not enamoured of the purchase system, but it was only fair that some regard should be paid to its working.

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned at Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 28th March, 1871.

MINUTES.] — Select Committee — *Report* — Business of the House [No. 137].

Supply — *considered in Committee* — *Resolutions* [March 27] *reported.*

Public Bills — *Ordered—First Reading*—Marine Mutiny*.

First Reading—Prison Ministers* [90].

Second Reading — Salmon Fisheries [75]; Mutiny*.

Committee—Trades Unions [94]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Citation Amendment (Scotland)* [1·89]; County Justices Qualification Amendment [77]; (£5,411,900) Consolidated Fund*.

POST OFFICE—PARCEL POST TO INDIA AND THE COLONIES.—QUESTION.

Mr. D. DALRYMPLE asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is the intention of the Government to extend the advantages of the Parcel Post to India and the Colonies?

Mr. MONSELL said, in reply, that no desire had been expressed for the transmission of parcels through the post to the Colonies, or to any of our possessions abroad, except India. As regarded India, the Post Office was precluded by its contract with the Peninsular and Oriental Company from sending by post any article which was not now transmissible, without making a payment commensurate to the increased burden which would be thus imposed. The present expenditure on account of the postal service with India largely exceeded the revenue derived from it, and under these circumstances it was not the intention of the Government to extend the advantages of the parcel post to India.

COMMISSION ON COAL SUPPLY.

QUESTION.

Mr. SAMUELSON asked the honourable Member for Glamorganshire, What is the reason of the delay of the Royal Commission on Coal Supply, appointed nearly five years ago, in reporting on the subjects referred to it?

Mr. HUSSEY VIVIAN said, in reply, that the delay had arisen from the great magnitude of the subject, for an investigation into the quantity of coal contained in the available coal fields of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was no slight task. Some delay occurred at the commencement of the labours of the Commission, and other causes of delay had subsequently intervened. One important Member of the Commission had died; three other important Members, to whom laborious duties were entrusted, had been seriously ill, and the noble Chairman had been elevated to a high office, which considerably interfered with his labours as a Commissioner. The subject with which the Commission had to deal had been divided into various heads, and so parcelled out among the different Commissioners. On the first head, which dealt with the probable depth at which coal could be worked, the inquiry had been exhausted, and the Report prepared; and the same result had attended the inquiry into the second head, which related to combustion. Another head, which dealt with the probability of coal being found under more recent strata, had been referred to Sir Roderick Murchison and Professor Ramsay, who thought they would be able to report in about six weeks. Another portion of the inquiry related to the statistics of the consumption of coal, which was rendered necessary by the theories started as to the progressive rate of the consumption of coal. On that subject 120 pages of printed matter had been prepared, about the same quantity was in the printer's hands, and enough work still remained to occupy Mr. Hunt for about a month. The task of computing the quantity of coal contained in the various coal fields had been completed except in two cases; and on those two, the complete Report would be in the hands of the Commission in a week or ten days. Practically speaking the bulk of the labours of the Commission were at an end, and their Report might be expected in about three months from the present time, as it, in fact, only awaited the completion of Reports of the geological and statistical sections.

ARMY—REPORT OF THE WAR OFFICE COMMITTEE.—QUESTION.

MR. D. DALRYMPLE asked the Secretary of State for War, To lay upon the Table the Report of the Committee appointed by the War Office in July last, over which Dr. Craufurd presided? He had intended to ask also for the production of the Minute of Sir R. Power to

Sir H. Storks, and Sir H. Storks' Minute on the same; but he had been informed that those Minutes were private, and therefore not producible.

MR. CARDWELL said, in reply, that the subject-matter before the Committee had not yet been disposed of; but when it had been disposed of, the Report should be laid on the Table if the hon. Gentleman would move for it.

VOLUNTEER DRILL IN HYDE PARK.

QUESTION.

MR. HARVEY LEWIS asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether there is any objection to allow the Volunteers to drill in the northern division of Hyde Park when the same is not required for official parades or inspections?

MR. AYRTON, in reply, said, there was every desire on the part of the authorities to afford facilities to the Volunteers to drill themselves in Hyde Park; but that it had been considered quite inconsistent with the enjoyment of the Park by the public that in the afternoon, when they chiefly resorted to it, it should be given up for the purposes of drill. To meet the convenience of the Volunteers, the space railed in in front of Knightsbridge Barracks had been permitted to be used to a very considerable extent, and it was found quite sufficient for the purpose.

CASE OF THE "EPAMINONDAS."

QUESTION.

MR. PLIMSOLL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the committal to prison for three months by the magistrates of South Shields, on Wednesday last, of ten seamen for refusing to proceed to Genoa in the "Epaminondas," alleged by them to be unseaworthy, and admitted by the second mate to be making two and a-half inches of water per hour; whether it is true, as alleged, that the "Epaminondas" had grounded twice before sailing, after being loaded, requiring on the first occasion the assistance of three steam tugs to get her off; whether it is true, as alleged, that the magistrates refused the application made on behalf of the men that the hearing should be postponed a day to enable them to obtain legal assistance; and, whether, if the facts are as stated in the Shields Paper, it is his intention to direct a re-hearing of the case?

Mr. BRUCE said, in reply, that the ship, which was one of 1,072 tons, and carried 22 hands, left South Shields on the 28th February. She encountered rough winds and heavy seas and reached Yarmouth Roads on the 6th March, when nine of the men told the master they would not go on any further unless he landed at the nearest port, and had the ship overhauled. The master refused to do that, as the pumping had been light, and the ship perfectly seaworthy; but, eventually, he had to return to South Shields, where the ship was examined by a master surveyor and another person, who reported it seaworthy. The men were summoned, and applied for a postponement of the case for two days, in order to secure the services of an attorney named Monckton for their defence; but as the master was anxious to go to sea by the next tide, the magistrates would only consent to postpone the case for three or four hours, as there was an attorney in Court who would undertake the defence of the men. Mr. Monckton's clerk, however, declined to accept the arrangement, and the case went on. The evidence of the master and mate showed that the ship was seaworthy, and that she had not made an undue amount of water, and the pilot gave similar testimony. The surveyor, who had examined the vessel after her return to South Shields, also stated that she was seaworthy, and that a nicer, more wholesome, and more seaworthy vessel he had never seen anywhere. It was also shown that the ship had just been repaired at an expense of £500, and one of the witnesses called for the defence—the ship's carpenter—swore that the vessel was quite seaworthy, and that the defendants had no reasonable excuse for their conduct in refusing to proceed in her. As to the ship striking the bar on her way out, the circumstance was not called to the attention of the magistrates, and the men had not insisted on it as having any important bearing on the case. He (Mr. Bruce) had no power to direct the re-hearing of a case which had been decided; all he could do was, where the facts did not warrant the punishment inflicted, to reduce the amount of the punishment; but that was very rarely done, and only then in the clearest cases, and usually with the consent of the magistrates who adjudicated. In this case, the magistrates considered the punishment was required by the frequency of the offence, and, under the circumstances, he did not feel justified in overruling their decision.

ARMY—OFFICERS IN THE RESERVE FORCES.—QUESTION.

Mr. O'NEILL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is proposed to fix any, and, if any, what limit as to the age beyond which it would not be expedient to retain the services of any Officer as an efficient in the Reserve Forces, regard being had to the respective ranks?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, no conclusion has been arrived at as to the precise ages; but it is under consideration to fix 60 for field-officers and adjutants, and for captains 55, unless specially recommended for continuance by the general officer of the district.

MILITARY ATTACHE AT PARIS—RESIGNATION OF GENERAL CLAREMONT.

QUESTION.

Sir ROBERT PEEL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether General Claremont has within the last few days resigned his appointment as Military Attaché to the British Embassy in Paris; and under what circumstances at such a time his resignation has been accepted by Her Majesty's Government?

Viscount ENFIELD: A despatch under date the 16th instant was received at the Foreign Office from Lord Lyons, in which General Claremont tendered the resignation of his appointment as military *attaché* at Paris. That resignation has been accepted by Her Majesty's Government, and Lord Lyons has been instructed to inform that officer that his services during the many years he has held his appointment have been fully recognized and appreciated by successive Secretaries of State. General Claremont was at the same time informed that he will be free to leave Paris as soon as his successor shall have arrived to relieve him from his duties.

Sir ROBERT PEEL asked under what circumstances the resignation was made?

VISCOUNT ENFIELD: I am afraid that I am unable to communicate the circumstances. The resignation was communicated through the official channel —Lord Lyons — and the Government accepted it.

PROSPECTIVE STRENGTH OF THE ARMY.

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

MR. DICKINSON moved an Address for a Return of the Normal Peace Establishment, exclusive of Colonial Corps and Native Indian Troops, contemplated by the Government scheme when after twelve years the Reserves will be full. It was highly important that the House should know what the military strength of the country was expected to be after the transition period contemplated by the Secretary of State for War in his proposals. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman, if unable to grant the Return in the form he submitted, would impart the requisite information in some other way.

MR. CARDWELL said, it was quite impossible for him to give the hon. Gentleman the Returns for which he asked, because it was obvious that he could not say what it might be the wish of the Crown to ask, or the pleasure of Parliament to vote in the way of a military establishment 12 years hence. He should, however, be willing to give the hon. Member all the information he possessed with regard to the creation of Reserves.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

GIBRALTAR—ARMAMENT.

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

MR. A. GUEST rose to draw the attention of the House to matters connected with the armament of Gibraltar; and to move an Address for a Return. He did not mean to enter upon the question how Gibraltar should be armed, or the nature of the batteries to be employed. His object was to draw attention to the wasteful manner in which the public money had been expended in constructing the batteries and the delay in the works, and to show that a bad policy had been pursued in mounting the heavy guns, of which there were but few at present in position in a temporary instead of a permanent method. He believed the matters of which he complained resulted from the system of centralization adopted at the War Office. Whilst on this subject, he would ask why all matters in connection with the works at Gibraltar were conducted by the Defence Committee, who could not be acquainted with the local requirements, and not by the Governor and the Officers Commanding Royal Artillery and Engineers who would, of course, be responsible to the War Office for their operations? It was generally admitted that Gibraltar was in a thorough state of defence so far as a land attack was concerned. There were about 600 of the old smooth-bore guns, and 50 of the 7-inch breech-loading Armstrongs in position, and these would be sufficient in the event of an attack by land. But it was impossible to argue that Gibraltar could repel an attack from the sea. The rapid improvement of artillery rendered it necessary that they should consider the subject of re-arming that fortress. We might congratulate ourselves in possessing in the 12-ton Woolwich gun an arm second to none, if not superior to any; and it was evident from the Estimates of 1868-9, that the Secretary of State for War intended at the time to use guns of that class in fortifying Gibraltar. About £15,000 was voted that year for the purpose of making the necessary alterations in the works to provide for them; and it was also decided that 16 of those guns should be sent to Gibraltar, and they were sent out that year. In the Estimates for 1869-70 a sum of £15,000 was included as the probable cost of revising our magazines at Gibraltar. Nearly £30,000 had been spent upon the works, and £3,000 upon the magazines; and he believed an additional Vote of £15,000 for the purpose would shortly be asked for by the Secretary of State. He would explain to the House the results of this large expenditure. Of the 16 12-ton Woolwich guns he had mentioned, only three had been put in position, and of that number two had, in November last, been placed behind shields which the Committee of 1868 had condemned as utterly incapable of withstanding the continuous fire of heavy modern guns—a fact which was well known when the shields were erected. But, although these two guns were in position, the magazines for them were not completed; and he trusted the Secretary of State would be able to explain why the course he had described had been pursued. The third gun, instead of being mounted on permanent works, had from some inexplicable reason, been placed upon a temporary platform, composed of wooden balks to carry the racers, the whole set in a bed of ordinary concrete. This had not been done as an experiment, for he was informed that eight other guns were to be mounted in the same way. It was evident that the guns could not remain long in that condition, and therefore the money expended on the process had been entirely thrown away. One of these guns had been tried, and after firing 10 rounds it was found impossible to traverse it, as the truck was broken and one of the racers had been forced out of its position. This might be all very well in the time of peace, but if such an accident occurred during an engagement with iron-clads, every habitation in the place might be destroyed, even if the fortress remained untaken. In turning to the subject of the works, he wished to assure the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State that he brought this matter forward in no hostile spirit towards the Government. The new Mole batteries were allowed to be of the first importance and of the best construction. It was true that the battery, originally constructed for these guns, had not yet received its armament, and while the question of iron shields was still unsettled, it was undesirable that the Government should come to any hasty decision; but he should be glad to hear from the Secretary of State what kind of shield would probably be adopted, and when they would be sent out to Gibraltar. His complaint with regard to the manner in which the public money had been wasted in the construction of the works arose from the fact that the majority of the new batteries at Gibraltar had been suddenly abandoned, either because of the unsuitability of the positions selected for them, or because of the unsuitability of the carriages sent out. The works had been constructed for one class of carriage, and another of quite a different description had arrived with the guns. He thought this was evidence of gross negligence. And it must be remembered that when works were abandoned in an incomplete state, they were much damaged by the weather. He had himself seen several batteries in the condition he had described. He had reason to believe that the magazine accommodation at Gibraltar was not only the laughing-stock of military men, but also of civilians. There was hardly a single magazine which could not be knocked to pieces during the first hours of a bombardment, and, to make the matter worse, in some instances batteries had been built so close to magazines that the fire of an enemy must fall upon them. He knew that many officers thought that it would be advisable to have 35-ton guns in revolving towers, and also that there should be rams kept there; but these were matters into which he would not enter. It might be said that Gibraltar was not now so important a place as it formerly was; but at all events it could very easily be made most important; and he might mention that no less a sum than £10,000 was annually received from ships entering the harbour. He hoped that the Secretary for War would assure them that the question should have his serious attention. The hon. Member concluded by moving—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, a Return of the number of Guns mounted on the Fortress of Gibraltar."

SIR JOHN HAY seconded the Motion.

MR. SPEAKER said: Before I propose the Question, I wish to notice a practice which has lately prevailed of merely putting on the Paper a Notice to the effect that an hon. Member will draw the attention of the House to a certain subject and move a Resolution. On today's Paper, for example, there are two Notices in this form. Now, this is not enough to fulfil the obligations of Notice. The object of Notice is that Members should know beforehand what is to be the subject of consideration on a particular day, and, in order to fulfil the Rules of the House, it is necessary that the terms of a Resolution should be placed on the Paper at least a day before it is intended to be submitted to the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this

House, a Return of the number of Guns mounted on the Fortress of Gibraltar."—(*Mr. Arthur Guest.*)

Mr. CARDWELL said, that he should be happy to give the Return moved for; and he quite agreed that the works that the hon. Member had visited during the Recess—and he hoped he had spent an agreeable holiday—deserved the fullest attention on the part of the Government. He was glad to find that the land defences were all that the hon. Member could desire; and that all the fault which he had to find was as to putting the heavy guns in the sea defences. He inferred from his remarks that he had been shown over the works by some gentlemen who thought they could have done the work better than it had been done; but he must dissent from him as to the way in which the public money should have been spent. He contended that when public money had to be spent they should put the matter into the hands of responsible persons at home rather than trust it to officers abroad, over whom they could not have such an immediate control. What had happened was this. In 1866, when the German War attracted attention to these works, the Secretary of the Defence Committee, Colonel Jervois, whose great ability in connection with works of defence had been recognized by some of the very first authorities in Europe, was sent to Gibraltar. He spent some days there in December, 1866. On his return his Report was considered by the Defence Committee; and they held a special meeting at Woolwich, where there was one of the most perfect models of Gibraltar that existed of any fort in the world. That meeting was attended by General Lefroy, who had professionally visited Gibraltar a short time before, and General Frome, who had commanded the Royal Engineers there. The works were devised by the Defence Committee upon the Report which had been so made to them, assisted by the counsel of those two very distinguished officers, with a most excellent model of Gibraltar before them. Now it appeared to him, with great deference to the hon. Gentleman, that that was a far wiser mode of proceeding than to trust entirely to the Reports even of the most competent commanding officers on the spot. It was determined, on the recommendation of the Defence Committee, that 12-ton 9-inch guns should be used in certain positions at Gibraltar. Shortly after that time, however, thicker plating was used for ships, and it became important to have still stronger guns. Consequently, 10-inch guns were substituted by the Government for the 9-inch or 12-ton guns. About the same time, also, it happened that the interesting discovery of the Moncrieff gun-carriage was made, and it was not certain how far that system could be applied to Gibraltar, nor how far the system of shields could be applied. Now, it would have been most unreasonable, in their opinion, to hurry on without availing themselves of such inventions as these; and the consequence was, that when these 12-ton guns came to be utilized it was determined to place them in a different position from that for which they had been originally intended. He would not attempt to enter scientifically into the matter; but he understood that in the former position they would have been used upon an "A" platform, but on being put in the new position they had a "C" platform. These platforms were about to be sent out, and the only reason why they had not gone before was that the traversing gear was not yet ready. The hon. Gentleman had been informed by somebody that the Government had finished the works to the extent of two-thirds of the whole work, and had then abandoned them; but he (Mr. Cardwell) had very different information. The hon. Gentleman also said that the casemates had been cut out of the rock where it had not originally been intended to have casemates.

Mr. A. GUEST: What I said was, that in certain places batteries had been abandoned, because it was intended by the Government to place the guns in rock casemates.

Mr. CARDWELL: An experiment having been tried by firing from a Queen's ship on to the rock, it was found that the splintering from the rock just above the guns would be dangerous to the gunners, and therefore it was determined to make casemates. With regard to the shields, they were about being put up. Means had been taken to strengthen them, and this accounted for the delay. As to the magazines, it was quite true that it came to his knowledge in preparing the Estimates last year what the state of the case was. Provision was made in those

Estimates to remedy the mischief, and still further provision, with the same object, was made in the Estimates of the present year.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON said, he was sorry that he could not regard the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman as quite satisfactory. If he understood the hon. Member correctly, he complained that the Government during the time that it had been in office had done nothing; and it seemed to him that the answer amounted to a plea of guilty. They were much indebted to the hon. Member for Poole for having devoted his attention during his accidental residence at Gibraltar to investigating the state of our defences in that most important fortress. No one could deny that it would be the duty of any Government to take care that all the modern appliances of war and of science should be applied to the proper defence of so important a fortress. The first complaint made was that the guns had been sent out, but had not been mounted. The late Government, if he remembered right, sent out 16 heavy guns to Gibraltar, and it remained for the present Government to send out the proper carriages, but, as he understood, they had done no such thing, and they were as much without carriages as when the late Government left office. Out of the 16 guns he understood that they had mounted three only, and one of these was so mounted that if anybody ventured to fire it it would tumble over upon the rash man who made the experiment.

MR. CARDWELL said, he was informed that the late Government sent out the guns and the carriages both; and they would not send the guns without carriages.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON said, he was informed that it was not so; and, besides, he could not reconcile what was now said with what had been said as to the Moncrieff gun-carriages.

MR. CARDWELL said, what he had said was this: that having gun carriages suitable for the position where it had been intended to place the guns, it had been determined to place in that position larger guns, and the old guns had to be mounted in a different position upon a different kind of carriage; that this carriage was nearly ready, but the traversing gear not having been finally decided on they had not yet been sent.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON: That amounted very nearly to what he had said. He understood that the right hon. Gentleman was hesitating between the ordinary carriage and the Moncrieff carriage, and that that was the cause of the delay. He understood that the shields remained very much what they were. The shields that were sent out were condemned, and the decision arrived at was that they should send out sounder and better shields. But that decision was departed from, and the condemned shields had, by some contrivance, been fitted up so that, though considered too weak, they might be made to answer the purpose. It was much to be regretted that the place of those shields was not supplied by stronger and better ones. The real question was whether it was the duty of the Government to look to the fortifications of Gibraltar without loss of time, and he should have been glad of a distinct assurance that the fortifications of so important a fortress would not be neglected, and that every possible means would be taken to send the best guns there.

SIR HENRY STORKS could assure the right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich that the Government were duly impressed with the importance of immediately completing the works and fortifications at Gibraltar. The delay that had taken place had arisen from the fact that iron-plated ships and artillery in their mode of construction did not stand still, and in this way it became a question whether they should not have heavier guns in the fortifications than those which had been originally intended. He would state the case as to the guns that were sent by the late Government. There were 16 9-inch muzzle-loading rifled guns, 13 of which had platforms of the Elswick pattern, and 3 of the service pattern, and these were sent out in 1867-8. None of these guns were mounted for some time after their arrival, because their positions could not be prepared until it had been decided whether the Moncrieff system could not be advantageously used. The second reason was that when the Defence Committee re-considered the defence of Gibraltar they placed 10-inch 18-ton guns where the 9-inch guns where to have been; and the third reason was that different platforms from those originally intended were determined on. The arrangements now made were that the 12 9-inch guns upon Elswick platforms should be mounted at once, some temporarily and some permanently, and three of these were actually in position by the 1st of March, 1871; 13 other guns would be permanently mounted during 1871-2. There were four more guns and seven carriages under orders for Gibraltar, which would be sent as soon as the traversing-gear was decided on. Eleven 10-inch 18-ton guns were also under orders, and would be sent when the traversing arrangements were settled. By the end of March, 1872, 11 10-inch 18-ton guns, and 20 9-inch guns, would probably be in position. As regarded the shields, they would be strengthened so as to be capable of resisting the heaviest artillery, and other shields were intended to be ordered. There would also be mantlets for the defence of the men from splinters. With reference to what had been said about the plans and designs, he had to state that they were prepared on the spot by an officer of the Royal Engineers, in consultation with the officers of the Artillery; and when they came home they were sent to the Defence Committee for consideration and report, and finally submitted to the Secretary of State. The Director of Works was most anxious to have the co-operation of officers on the spot where works were to be carried out, and he believed they had been consulted whenever it was necessary to seek their assistance. With regard to the general question, he could only repeat that the Department over which he presided was most anxious about the arming of Gibraltar; and he therefore trusted that the House would rest satisfied that everything would be done to supply the means of defence to so important a place.

Sir JOHN HAY wished to say a few words on the Gibraltar and Malta shields. Unless Gibraltar was kept for experimental purposes, he did not see that the purpose for which it had been kept for the last few years could be very satisfactory. It was known that rifled artillery was necessary, and rifled guns were accordingly sent out, for which carriages were adapted. The intention then was that the carriages which were to be sent out were to be adapted for these batteries, and the guns were to be mounted forthwith, and the fortifications were to be put in a satisfactory state. Now, he had the satisfaction of hearing that heavier guns were to be mounted, but he did not understand from the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman whether they were made or not. [Sir Henry Storks said they were all made, and would be sent out in the course of this year.] He was very glad to hear they were made; but it would take till this time next year before they could be mounted, and till that time Gibraltar would be in an unfortified condition. Gibraltar, Malta, and Bermuda were great fortified stations, on which the supplies of our fleet and the honour of the country depended. It would be remembered that Gibraltar was taken by surprise once before, and it was necessary to take care that it should not be taken by surprise again. At the present moment Gibraltar was not in a defensible condition. With regard to the shields themselves, the question had been asked if the test to which the shields had been put was not too severe? He had been Chairman of the Gibraltar Shield Committee, and the experiments had been decided upon in union with the other gentlemen on the Committee, and it was considered that they were a fair and proper test to which the shields should be put. At this interval of time he could not speak with precision, but if he remembered aright the 9-inch gun shield was entirely penetrated. Therefore he thought the Committee was right in reporting that the shields were not so strong as they should be. He did not think the Report was an unfair one, or that it was drawn with any prejudice to the character of the shields which were submitted to the Committee's notice. He could not think it was a wise arrangement that the guns, even for this year, should be left lying unmounted; and he urged that they should be placed in some position where they could be used for the defence of the fortress. He remembered having had, in former days, some service with a nation which made all its promotions by selection and by competitive examination—he meant the Chinese. He there found that they had platforms which would not carry the proper guns, and he trusted the Government of this country would not follow the same example, otherwise our warlike operations would terminate like that operation of the Chinese.

Mr. A. GUEST said, with regard to the battery which had been abandoned, they had been informed that it was abandoned because splinters of the rock would render the position dangerous. But he could only say that that very battery had been commenced in July of last year, and was abandoned in December. It had been begun in a great hurry. Certainly, if the Government had decided to place guns in rock casemates they might have waited a short time before they commenced these works, and thereby have avoided the throwing away of public money. He hoped the House would permit him to withdraw his Motion. He was perfectly satisfied with the short discussion which had taken place on the subject, and he hoped that the effect of it would be to get Gibraltar put in a proper state of defence.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MUNITIONS OF WAR—RESOLUTION.

Mr. J. LOWTHER rose to call the attention of the House to the serious international complications which have arisen from the existing state of our municipal law relating to the export of arms and munitions of war to belligerent States; and to move a Resolution. The hon. Gentleman said it would be unnecessary to occupy the time of the House with any reiteration of complaints which had been addressed to the British Government by foreign nations, which were, unhappily, too fresh in the recollection of hon. Gentlemen. He had never, individually, had the slightest doubt that our municipal law was in harmony with International Law, and, under certain qualifications and exemptions, was practically identical with the municipal law of almost every European nation. He thought it was also practically the same as the American law. The subject was also, in his opinion, one which was purely for our own consideration as a matter of municipal law, and one in which we were in no wise bound to act, unless we chose to act along with other Powers. But he might be asked why, while entertaining these views, he had complicated this question by introducing into his Motion any reference to communications with foreign Powers; and in reply to that hypothetical objection he reminded the House that any arrangement which might be arrived at by the British Parliament without previous communication with foreign Powers would be only too likely to lead to a renewal of the difficulties with which this subject had been always beset, and that we should be as far from a final and satisfactory settlement of the question as we were at the present moment; with the addition that our responsibilities and complications would be largely increased. This course of communicating with foreign Governments had not by any means originated with him. Lord Granville, in reply to representations which had been made to the English Government by the German Confederation, stated that it would be a difficult thing for any decision to be arrived at by the Government with a view to recommending any alteration of our municipal law, unless some common understanding between other Powers could be obtained. He went on to say, in a despatch dated the 15th of September, that—

> "Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to enter into consultation with other nations as to the possibility of adopting in common a stricter rule."

The course, therefore, which he ventured to suggest to the House was one which had already received the sanction of Her Majesty's Government. There was another reason why he thought the House would be of opinion that a common agreement between the various Powers should be a preliminary to any legislation on the subject. It would be in the recollection of hon. Members who had read the Blue Book to which he referred that Count Bernstorff drew a contrast between our action in the late war and that between Denmark and the German Bund in 1864. He stated that the reason why the exportation of cannon to Hamburg was on the latter occasion prohibited by the British Government was because, by a Treaty dated so far back as 1670, the King of Denmark and the Sovereign of Great Britain had mutually engaged to prohibit the exportation of soldiers, arms, engines, and ships in time of war. Now, we had within the last few months heard of a doctrine which had been hitherto unknown to the students of International Law—the doctrine of "benevolent" neutrality. A doctrine more untenable or absurd he ventured to say had never emanated from any statesman, or found its way into any State Paper. He should not, therefore, be justified in trespassing on the time of the House by endeavouring to combat it. But he would ask the Government how they could reconcile the Treaty to which he alluded with a complete and impartial neutrality in the event of any war breaking out in which Denmark happened to be engaged. A state of things so anomalous demanded, in his opinion, their serious consideration. It would, he thought, be very generally admitted that our law on the subject was by no means satisfactory. As matters now stood we might find ourselves engaged, whenever a war occurred in any quarter of the globe, in controversies and complications not, perhaps, without danger, so that the question was one which required to be settled in one direction or another. The law of England dealt in no way with the export of arms or munitions of war. The Foreign Enlistment Act, even as amended last year, provided penalties for such acts as sending out men or ships to any of the belligerents, or whatever might be wanted to complete the complement of a vessel. Now, how was it that under those circumstances we could avoid seeming to occupy in 99 cases out of 100 a one-sided and partial position between two contending nations? It almost always happened that one of the belligerents had a preponderating force at sea. What, therefore, must be the feelings of that belligerent who found himself debarred from our markets for the purchase of commodities to which the other had free access? He might be told that he was referring to unfounded allegations which had emanated from belligerents while in the heat of strife, when the feelings gained the better of the judgment, and when they were in a feeling somewhat like that of a man suffering from gout, and that when they became restored to a state of calm and reviewed the position they would give us credit for our good intentions. He must, however, remind the House that in the case of the Russian War, when we ourselves were belligerents, we took advantage of some provisional order in force in Prussia, and that the Government of England, composed in a great degree of the Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman now at its head, had occasion to address a remonstrance to the Prussian Government; and though this remonstrance failed, the cause which led to it nevertheless produced very considerable ill-feeling in this country, and also in France, against the policy which was then pursued by the Prussian Government. It was not, however, denied that Prussia, on that occasion, exercised an undoubted right. Regarding the state of our own law, Count Bernstorff, in a despatch dated 1st of September, said that the British nation would be held morally responsible for the blood which had been shed through the agency of certain individuals referred to in the despatch, as the war would, but for them, have ended sooner, and fewer German soldiers would have been killed if the Government had not permitted such abuses of the International Law. He did not mean to defend this language of Count Bernstorff, as he thought we were acting within the limits of our International Law; but he would ask the House to consider whether, as a matter of wise domestic policy, and with the view of maintaining friendly relations with foreign Powers, it would not be desirable that the existing state of things should be brought to an end. The legislation hitherto had been partial and one-sided. It was usually urged, in opposition to the view he was advocating, that the law was the same for all parties, and that, of course, the market being open to the world, one belligerent had as good an opportunity of obtaining what he required as the other. He thought, however, that the amendment of the law, in the sense he proposed, was one that would hardly meet with any serious opposition, unless it were on two grounds; one was the difficulty of enforcing such a law. The House had been told last year by the Attorney General that they would find constant evasion of such a law. Now, of course, no moral distinction could be drawn between the sending out of ships, and arms, or cartridges, and common sense and a perusal of the Blue Book would, he thought, show that the most specific information was constantly forthcoming with reference to such a commerce as that which he was deprecating. He found that Count Bernstorff occupied the first days of September in writing constant despatches to Lord Granville on this subject. Lord Granville did not immediately inform Count Bernstorff that the Government were not prepared to interfere with the trade, and before any announcement was made Count Bernstorff was constantly furnishing the Foreign Secretary with lists of the alleged exports. It could not be expected, indeed, that the Government could be called upon to prohibit the export of infinitestimal proprotions of arms; but it might be supposed that they would undertake to prevent wholesale exportation. It was a matter of notoriety, in every port of Europe that orders had been issued to certain manufacturers in certain portions of the globe. There was very little concealment in the matter. In the case of ships, however, they were almost invariably ordered for the Tycoon of Japan, or some other distant potentate, who had suddenly acquired a taste for naval expenditure. These ships generally bore some Eastern title, and were ordered by agents of the most peaceful Governments. He thought the Government might have put down any organized supply in the shape of arms. It was also objected to the proposition he now made that the law as it stood was essentially favourable to this country as a maritime nation. That was an objection which, if proved, would go a very long way to convince him. He confessed to having so much of selfish policy in his eye to be chary of interfering with anything that was beneficial to us as a nation; but, recollecting the trade in warlike materials carried on through Prussia during the Crimean War, he maintained that all the navies in the world could not prevent a trade in contraband between inland States. Therefore, if this country were engaged in a war with an inland State, the law now existing would not operate in its favour; for the inland State would get its supplies of armaments from its near neighbours without hindrance from the maritime power of England. It would hardly be maintained that a country possessing such preponderating manufacturing strength could be much affected by the import or export of arms. If an enemy were possessed of Woolwich and Enfield the case might be different; but that was an alternative he did not anticipate. The alteration in the municipal law last year was effected under considerable disadvantages. Any comprehensive treatment of the question was almost impossible. He had called in question the advisability of selecting that moment for legislation, because hostilities were just then beginning. The Government must have seen that if the question was ever to be fairly approached it must be in time of peace, when our legislation might be free from the charge of being hasty or one-sided. It was said that the export of arms was a legitimate branch of trade, and productive of employment to large classes of our countrymen, and that it added to the wealth of the country. Did the despatches of last year bear out these statements? Lord Granville came to the conclusion that the profit derived by this country from the export of arms was infinestimal in the extreme—that the supply had been almost entirely drawn from America, and that the amount of profit gained by the English people was next to nothing. He therefore asked the House whether there was any equivalent advantages to counterbalance the disadvantages of permitting such a trade to go on. Was the game worth the candle? The trade was one with which that House should have no sympathy. Count Bernstorff wrote that prohibitive measures would not diminish the lawful trade of the English people, but would merely compel some rapacious individuals who had profited to desist from their trade. The existing state of the law had been fraught with great peril to the peaceful relations of this country with foreign nations, and he thought it was the duty of the Government to communicate with foreign nations with a view to some united conclusion on the subject being adopted.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to endeavour to arrive, in conjunction with Foreign Powers, at a settlement of the question of the export of arms and munitions of war from neutral to belligerent States."—(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

Mr. JAMES said, he wished to state the grounds on which he hoped that neither the Government nor the House would assent to the Motion of his hon. Friend. His hon. Friend sought to induce the Government to enter into correspondence with Foreign States, with the view that the exportation of arms might be treated in a Conference as an international question. The speech of his hon. Friend was directed to the point that it was advisable that we should at once prohibit the export of munitions of war. He would remind his hon. Friend that when this question was discussed in August last only 29 Members acquiesced in the view which his hon. Friend placed before them, and unless circumstances had arisen since that time to lead the House to alter the decision which it then arrived at, he presumed it would be admitted that there was no ground why they should reverse their former decision. With reference both to municipal law and the Law of Nations, he contended that the Motion of his hon. Friend was entirely without foundation. By general International Law there was entire free trade in all arms and munitions of war, and even vessels of war. It was in 1713, on complaint being made by the Swedish Minister, that the Judges decided, upon a reference to them for their opinion by the House of Lords, that all armed ships, ships of great power, and firearms, might be supplied from this country to any neutral State. That was not only the municipal law of this country, but the International Law; and so it remained in relation to every other country until 1793, when the French Government, being at war with us, were using the ports of America for fitting out privateering vessels against our commerce. We remonstrated with America, and an Act of Congress was passed in 1794, which was in 1818 confirmed, putting an end to the fitting out and arming vessels of war from the United States. There was gratitude among nations; and, therefore, in the Bill introduced by Lord Liverpool in 1819 a reciprocity clause with America was inserted to prevent vessels being armed and equipped in this country. The Liberal party, led by Sir James Mackintosh, protested against it as interfering with the free trade permitted by International Law; but the overwhelming power of the party then in office carried the Bill, with that clause, against these remonstrances. He concurred with his hon. Friend in thinking that the law was in an unsatisfactory state, because, unfortunately, we did then deviate from that perfect freedom of trade which existed by the Law of Nations, and which would have existed till this moment if that Act had not passed. His hon. Friend would now extend the difficulties that arose on the construction of the Act of 1819 by enacting a law which could never be carried into effect in its letter and entirety—a law by which we were to prohibit the exportation of all arms and munitions of war. Would that be more beneficial to the people of this country, or more likely to lessen the probability of our coming into conflict with foreign nations? Our principle, as a commercial country, was to keep our ports and harbours open—to deal freely with all nations, to serve all parties alike—to offer every nation coming here to purchase anything they were willing to buy; but his hon. Friend proposed that we should refuse to sell to other nations what they were willing to buy. Would it be beneficial to this country that our sales should cease, and that we should be buyers only in the markets of the world? Such a system would drain this country of its wealth, and bring no accession to its power or influence. At the same time he did not think we should in this way be more likely to avoid the chance of coming into collision with foreign Powers. He thought the question ought to be looked at in a broader view. If the Government legislated in the spirit of his hon. Friend, did he not see that the Government would be compelled to assume responsibility if the law were infringed? If they adopted the principle advocated by his hon. Friend the export of every gun, and of every barrel of powder, would enable any country to say that it had cause of complaint. What answer would it be for us to say that we had done all we could to prevent such consequences? The answer would be—"You should have made your Custom House officers more vigilant." By adopting the legislation proposed they would be raising causes of complaint, and we should be debarred from saying that we were acting in accordance with municipal or International Law. If munitions of war were to be made no longer obtainable from this country, they would be procurable from other countries. So long as we were asked to do what no other nation had ever done in respect to this matter we were, in effect, being asked to drive out from this country the trade in the conveyance of arms and munitions of war for the benefit of the other markets of the world. No complaints against us on this head should be allowed to guide the legislation of this country unless they were well-founded and consistent with justice. Now, no one could fairly argue that there was any foundation for the complaint made by Count Bernstorff in his letter to Lord Granville. On the 4th August this matter was fully discussed in that House; the Government, in order to avoid any complications arising from the ambiguity of the Act of 1819, having introduced the Foreign Enlistment Act of last year. In the discussion to which he was referring the Attorney General stated distinctly the opinions and policy of the Government upon this question, which in effect were that the freedom of trade should be maintained in respect to all the markets of the world. That policy was approved of by a considerable majority of the House. Now, although war had then been declared, the first blow had not been struck. Count Bernstorff who clearly had watched the debates in the House, remained for some time silent and dumb, and did not renew his complaint. The fortunes of war having, however, declared in favour of Prussia, the German Minister reiterated his complaint to Lord Granville, declaring that this country was bound to observe "a benevolent neutrality" during the existence of the war. Count Bernstorff admitted that neither International Law, nor the municipal law of this country, had not been broken; but he said that Prussia and Germany being our allies, they asked us, in effect, to cease to be just to France, to break our municipal laws as regarded that country, and to interdict any further dealings with her. If that request had been acceded to it would have been justly said that compliance was an act of hostility towards France, and that we had been coerced into acquiescence by a powerful State. The remonstrance which we addressed to Prussia at the time of the Crimean War was effectual as regarded the transit of arms from Belgium through Prussia, but ineffectual in relation to the trade of Prussia. His hon. Friend opposite said that we were bound under such circumstances to prevent the exportation of arms. Now, what did that mean? It meant simply that in case of war between two other nations every vessel that left our shores during hostilities should be searched. It would be no answer for us to make to any complaint from a belligerent that we had no Custom House force appointed for the purpose of searching vessels, because the rejoinder would naturally be this—"You should have established such a force when you took such obligations upon yourselves." The hon. Gentleman's Motion would break down the simple laws of political economy, and cause great injury to this country if carried out, as well as create a state of things which would be a constant ground of complaint. It was the opinion of many that it was the passing of the Act of 1819, and the evasion of that Act, which involved this country in a contention with America in regard to the *Alabama*, the complaint being, not that international, but that municipal law had been evaded. He asked whether it was advisiable to extend such bonds, and pass a law which would of course be evaded 100 times more easily than the present law—for every evasion of that law would be a cause of complaint against the Government of this country? The opinion of Mr. Jefferson, of Mr. Canning in 1826, and of Mr. Huskisson in 1830, had all been expressed against the principle involved in this Motion, and he trusted that the House, anxious for the prosperity of our commerce and the maintenance of peace, would unanimously reject the Motion before it.

SIR ROUNDELL PALMER wished to observe that to a great extent he agreed with the views so ably expressed by his hon. and learned Friend; but he confessed he did not participate in the feeling which his hon. and learned Friend seemed to have in respect to the value and importance to the artificers of this country of the trade in munitions of war. He rather took in that respect what seemed to him a somewhat higher view of the obligations which he believed to be incumbent upon traders as well as on the Government. When this country was neutral, it seemed to him that all its subjects should be neutral also; and, if so, they would not do those acts which, when they were done, were considered to justify the exercise of belligerent rights at sea against those who had committed such acts. On what principle was it, when British subjects exported articles of contraband of war to countries at war with each other when we were neutral, that we permitted those goods to be afterwards seized, and the persons engaged in carrying this trade on to be treated as having committed acts of hostility against one of the belligerents? Manifestly, it was because those acts really partook of the nature of acts of hostility. He could not think, therefore, that it was sound commercial morality which drove a trade of this description and endeavoured to get profits out of it. Neither did he think it was a kind of trade which the Legislature of this country ought actively to protect. Indeed, he confessed he should not be ill-pleased if the law of this country went a step further than it did at present, and said it would not give the assistance of our Courts to the enforcement of contracts which involved British subjects to that extent in aiding foreign wars, and which made them liable at sea to the exercise of belligerent rights. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Lowther) had justly said that this ought to be considered as a question of domestic interest and policy. The moment the hon. Member said that, he seemed to him to put an end to his own Motion, which declared that it was expedient to endeavour to arrive, in conjunction with foreign Powers, at a settlement of the question. If we told foreign Powers that our domestic interest was the regulating principle with us, we should not be very likely to arrive at a settlement in which they, equally with ourselves, would keep that principle in view. If that were the true principle, we ought to settle the matter for ourselves, without calling in the aid, on that ground, at all events, of foreign Governments. He confessed he should have no great confidence in any agreements of that kind. International Law was a matter depending on the general sentiment and established practice of civilized nations, as to the mutual obligation of States one to another. A convention was of the nature of a treaty; but when war took place between nations all treaties, as between the belligerent parties—though not as between them and neutrals—were dissolved. Looking at our own policy he agreed entirely with the hon. Member opposite that it ought to be our object to avoid increasing to a dangerous extent our responsibilities as neutrals. Well, that was the very reason why he opposed the hon. Gentleman's Motion. There was a growing tendency on the part of all belligerent Powers to quarrel with other nations for being sincerely neutral. There could be little doubt that the great grievance of the United States in regard to us was our assumed want of sympathy with the North. From beginning to end all the differences between this country and the people of the United States had, to say the least, been exaggerated to a great extent by their disappointment at the existence of a considerable amount of sympathy among a portion of the people of this country with those who were unsuccessful in that contest. It was precisely the same in regard to the recent war on the Continent of Europe. Germany was angry because we did not see she was so clearly in the right, and it was said that our neutrality was not benevolent because we did not feel we ought to go out of our way to prevent France profiting by supplies from this country. France also had entertained some hope, though he thought upon insufficient grounds, that she would receive active assistance from us. In reality the exigencies of war were such that, while it was going on, every party at war naturally looked out for assistance from every quarter whence it was possible to obtain it, either by getting active aid for themselves, or by stopping that intercourse, which, according to International Law, might be legitimately carried on with their adversaries. It was obvious that no nation had ever yet persevered after peace had been restored in treating as a breach of International Law the kind of traffic to which he had just referred; but the moment we began to enter into special legislation or stipulations on the subject there would at once arise complications and embarrassments. He would, therefore, strongly advise the Government to steer clear of these special laws, where the nature of the case was such that the want of them was not likely to involve us in controversies, which might lead to war. He quite agreed with his hon. and learned Friend who had just spoken that prior to the Civil War in America no jurist, either British or American, nor any jurist of authority in any nation, had laid down a doctrine favourable to the proposition that any of the things prohibited by our Foreign Enlistment Act were contrary to the Law of Nations. While hoping that the Foreign Enlistment Act of last Session would prove to be a satisfactory measure, he confessed he had not received much encouragement from the first illustration which had occurred of its working. It appeared that during the passing of that Act there slipped into it something which had not been recommended by the Neutrality Commissioners — namely, a provision concerning military telegraphy. The question arose as to what military telegraphy was, and a ship had been seized which was going to lay down a cable between Bordeaux and Dunkerque. The Court of Admiralty released the ship, not holding the case to be within the Act; but he supposed that if the telegraph wire which was being laid down had been of material assistance to the French in the course of the war, the Germans would have found in it a great cause of complaint. Our main object, then, in dealing with this question should be to stand within those limits where we should undertake nothing which we could not perform, and assume no obligations which at present everybody knew were not laid upon us. The hon. Gentleman opposite referred to the present state of things as showing that transactions of this kind were known to the Custom House authorities, and could, therefore, be stopped without difficulty. But, as the law now stood, such transactions being lawful, there was no motive for concealing them. If they were prohibited, we must be prepared for a very different state of things, in which such transactions would take place under all the conditions of blockade running and smuggling; and was it to be imagined that when great profits were to be made by blockade running, or smuggling, or anything else that was not carried on in public, people would not engage in it? In fact, nothing would be more difficult than to prevent them. Why, we had found it most difficult in things so visible as ships. What was the difficulty? To get at the destination of the ships and their warlike purpose. But if there were difficulties in that case, how much greater would they be with regard to the general trade in arms and munitions of war? He apprehended it would be perfectly impossible to prevent people from engaging in an export trade of arms, and then it would be said that we had contracted obligations and had not fulfilled them. Had the hon. Gentleman considered that, to accomplish his object, we must stop the export of arms not only to the belligerent nations, but to every other part of the world; because, if we stopped the trade to France but not to the United States, the arms would go first to the United States and then to France? His hon. Friend limited his Motion to two matters—arms and munitions of war. But everyone knew very well that if we once adopted that principle it would be said—There are other things by which you can assist nations, besides arms and munitions of war. There are loans of money, for instance. In time of war, the belligerent treated as contraband everything which was very valuable, for any warlike purpose, to its enemies. Coal, for example, and military clothing; in fact, there was nothing which, being exported for purposes of war, and being of material assistance to the belligerents, would not be treated as coming within the range of the same principle if once we adopted a new rule. His advice, therefore, was, that we should be content with the rather heavy responsibilities we had already assumed, and by no means enlarge them.

Mr. KENNAWAY said, the object of the Motion of his hon. Friend was to arrive at some satisfactory settlement of the question, and the country was indebted to him for bringing it before the House. We were in this position. We had been arraigned by Germany before the whole civilized world as not being willing to forego the profits arising from this trade, and were told that we should be held responsible for the prolongation of the war, as well as for the loss of life which had taken place, and in his opinion we should have shown a culpable sense of indifference to the challenge if the public attention had not been called to the subject. His hon. Friend must have been encouraged in the course he had taken by some words of the Attorney General in introducing the Foreign Enlistment Bill, for he said that the Bill had been prepared rather for the sake of ourselves and our own dignity than to satisfy any demands which might be made upon us by foreign countries. He hoped that the same tone would be taken on the present occasion. The hon. and learned Member for Taunton (Mr. James) had asked what was the use of re-considering a subject when the House had given a vote on it in August last. But the fact was that France and Germany were then at war, and it was therefore impossible for us to open so vital a question, and to take action which would have laid us open to the charge of shaping our legislation in a direction hostile to one or other of the belligerents. The question was in a very different position now, and was one of such magnitude that we ought fairly to look it in the face. It had been felt that such a traffic was not consistent with our dignity. Nor could it be denied that having so largely engaged in this traffic, our remonstrances would fall with less weight than they would otherwise have done. The hon. and learned Member for Richmond (Sir Roundell Palmer) had alluded to the case of the *Alabama*. But what was the lesson to be derived from that case? It was this—that, in spite of volumes of despatches proving our case in an unanswerable manner, we did not like to resist the outcry of an exasperated people; and it was not impossible that, after all, we might have to admit our liability. Notwithstanding the strong and almost unanswerable arguments of the hon. and learned Member for Richmond, he held that it was worthy of the highest statesmanship to see whether we could not arrive at a settlement of this question.

Mr. STEPHEN CAVE said, he had no sympathy with those who, for the selfish purposes of gain, ran the risk of embroiling us with foreign countries, and, therefore, in expressing his inability to agree with the Motion of the hon. Member for York as explained by him, he did so not in the interest of trade, but from the apprehension that in endeavouring to avoid one evil we might become involved in another and a more serious one. Nothing could be more generally recognized than the right of neutrals to trade with friendly neighbours. It had long, however, been the practice of neutrals to surrender so much of this right, in deference to belligerents, as appertained to what was called contraband of war, stipulating only that this should be accurately defined and fairly limited. Because it might be said that anything was available for warlike purposes—"for want of a nail the battle was lost." If the subjects of neutral States lost property, liberty, or even life in trying to evade blockading squadrons, or otherwise breaking the rules of war, they were very properly considered to have brought their misfortunes upon themselves; but it was not fair that belligerents should ask neutrals, in addition to giving up their acknowledged rights, to act as police for them, and interfere to prevent their subjects doing that which they conceded to belligerents the right to prevent their doing. Neutrals would in this way be only laying a snare for themselves, and be running a risk of belligerents fastening a quarrel upon them for the non-fulfilment of duties which were not duties before they were voluntarily assumed. Then let the House see to what liability such a neutral Power as this country might be exposed in consequence not only of the impossibility, as the hon. and learned Member for Richmond (Sir Roundell Palmer) had stated, of preventing the smuggling of munitions of war, but in consequence of such munitions with forged English trademarks, and even the British Government mark, being supplied from elsewhere to belligerents. The sale of the *Alabama* was not an offence against the Law of Nations, and we should have incurred no liability—supposing we had incurred any, which he did not admit—but we should have incurred no semblance of liability, had it not been for our own municipal law. There was nothing in International Law to prevent a neutral selling a ship of war to a belligerent. This was very different from fitting out an armed expedition from our shores, which would be a hostile operation in time of peace. The distinction was between what might be lawfully done in time of peace—the character of which was, to some extent, altered by a state of war—and what was essentially an offence against the Law of Nations. He thought it was very unwise to include telegraphic apparatus among forbidden articles. It had already caused us trouble. If nations quarrel, the injury that must almost inevitably be done to neutrals ought not to be enhanced by any artificial restrictions which could be avoided. And, looking at the question from a moral point of view, what difference was there between selling munitions of war to a nation actually belligerent or to one contemplating war? Simply this, that you furnished the nation preparing for aggression with the accumulated means of doing so, and left the nation upon whom the attack was made at the mercy of a richer or more unscrupulous enemy. As he had said before, he was not speaking in the interest of trade, upon which he was quite ready to impose the disabilities suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Richmond; but it appeared to him that however natural might be this desire on the part of a large number of people to put an end to what appeared to be taking advantage of the passions and adding to the sufferings of others, yet that, in the interest of the peace and independence of the country, we ought to be very careful before we placed upon ourselves burdens which might be too heavy for us to bear.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said, his hon. Friend the Member for York (Mr. Lowther) had referred to a despatch written by Lord Granville, in which he intimated the willingness of the English Government to consider the present question in conjunction with other Powers, but he had not read the concluding paragraph, in which the noble Earl stated that the expectations of the Government of any practical result "in the light indicated by the North German Government were not very sanguine." As the matter stood, the Government saw no reason to change the opinions on the subject which they had expressed last Session. For his own part he objected to the Motion, because it tended to increase the obligations of neutrals, and to make more burdensome to them that which was sufficiently burdensome to them already. Last year we went a considerable length in taking obligations on ourselves, and his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Richmond (Sir Roundell Palmer) was perhaps right in contending that in one respect we had gone too far in that direction. We determined — not admitting there was any international obligation on us to do so, but for the sake of our own peace, security, and satisfaction—to undertake the duty of stopping every vessel which might be sent from any port in this country with the view to engage in the naval service of a foreign Power. That was going beyond the obligations imposed upon us by any international or municipal law. But they were now asked to incur a stronger obligation. Now, what had occurred to induce the House to accept a proposition which it resisted then? His hon. Friend rested his case on what he had described as the endless controversy and complications which had arisen owing to our having adhered during the late war to the rules of International Law. But although he was prepared to admit that there had been some controversy between Lord Granville and Count Bernstorff, he entirely denied that there had been any complications. Lord Granville had been able, he thought he might say without fear of contradiction, to give a conclusive answer to Count Bernstorff, because he was in a position to refer to one of those landmarks in International Law which was so clear and distinct that no one could venture to dispute it. It was by resting on that landmark that Lord Granville had, in point of fact, put an end to the controversy, and that nothing like a complication had arisen. Suppose it had been otherwise, and that the prohibition proposed by his hon. Friend had been in force, there would have been in all probability not only controversy but complications also. His hon. Friend, he might add, admitted that we could stop only wholesale exportation of arms. But how was a distinction to be drawn between wholesale and retail exportation? How could we expect that an angry belligerent would accept an excuse founded on such distinction? Why, the result of the adoption of the course advocated by his hon. Friend, would be that we should have endless complications, and ever so many claims for damages, because we happened to have failed to prevent the exportation of arms from Liverpool or some other port. As to the distinction between ships and arms, it was one which had been taken a very long time ago. In 1793 we had made a complaint to the American Government on two grounds—in the first place, because they allowed French cruisers to be armed and equipped in their ports; and secondly, because they allowed arms and munitions of war to be exported to France. The answer of Mr. Jefferson was that, so far as the equipping of ships was concerned, our complaints were well-founded, and Washington prevented the exportation of armed vessels. That was before the Foreign Enlistment Act was passed. But as to the other ground of complaint, the reply was that it was impossible to comply with our wishes, for to request the American Government, as Mr. Jefferson put it, to establish a system of espionage over the shops of their gunmakers would be most unreasonable. In that reasoning we had acquiesced, and from that day to the present, the prevention of the exportation of munitions of war by a neutral had never been insisted upon. It was true we had made a complaint to Prussia some years ago; but the complaint was that she had not enforced a municipal law of her own which prohibited the carrying of munitions of war through Belgium—a very different case from that for which his hon. Friend was contending. Under the circumstances, he hoped his hon. Friend would not press his Motion, because we had gone quite far enough in imposing liability on neutrals.

Mr. BIRLEY observed, that whatever might be the result of the Motion, it was quite clear that the law could not long remain in its present condition. International Law was pretty clear. It meant that the subjects of a State were not to levy war as adventurers or freebooters against one of two belligerents. But that view had of late years been widened, and by including ships of war under the Foreign Enlistment Act, and by the Act passed last Session, which so carefully went into the question of prohibition of exports either of ships of war or ships that might be used for warlike purposes, we showed a disposition to avoid the dangers and difficulties which arose in the case of the *Alabama.* It had been said that we might find ourselves involved in greater complications than ever, because of the difficulty of preventing the export of munitions of war. But was it not possible, either by means of a conference with foreign States, or by the framing of our own Act of Parliament, to provide that the Government should not be bound to watch every gunsmith's shop, or to be held responsible for every exportation? Would it not be sufficient to provide that information should be given to the Government by the Consuls or representatives of foreign States; and could we not impose certain restrictions without impeding trade? But whatever might be the decision of Parliament on this point, he was anxious that the law should be made so clear that manufacturers should be able to follow their business without being liable to imputations of unpatriotic or immoral conduct, and without being obliged to terminate contracts with foreign countries suddenly on the outbreak of war. He trusted the day was not far distant when this country, in conjunction with foreign nations would, in the interests of humanity and in the fulfilment of their duty towards each other, remodel and improve the law on this subject in the direction indicated by the hon. Member for York.

Mr. NORWOOD observed, that the wisdom of the action taken last year by himself and other hon. Members with the view of reducing the stringency of the Foreign Enlistment Bill had been shown by what had occurred in connection with a company which had a contract with France for the manufacture and supply of telegraph cables. Under a novel provision of that Act, the steamer *International,* belonging to that company, had been arrested; and although the Court of Admiralty had decided in favour of the innocency of the transaction of the company, its interests had been much injured by the detention of the vessel and legal costs incurred. There was much force in what had been said as to the difficulties of defining what was contraband of war. Arms and munitions formed only a small part of the supplies necessary to carry on war. The Prussians had received in their ports immense supplies of coal and woollen goods from Yorkshire for belligerent purposes, and within the last few months the trade between the manufacturing districts of this country and the near ports of Germany never had been so active. He had heard, with much pleasure, the authoritative statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Richmond (Sir Roundell Palmer), for he was of opinion that it would be extremely dangerous to increase the stringency of our municipal law, which was more secure than that of any other of the Great Powers. He was therefore unable to support the Motion of the hon. Member for York.

Mr. J. LOWTHER, in reply, said he thought it was evident from the remarks of the hon. and learned Gentlemen the Members for Taunton (Mr. James) and for Richmond (Sir Roundell Palmer) that the law was in a very unsatisfactory condition. The hon. and learned Member for Richmond suggested that contracts for the supply of munitions of war should not be recoverable in an English Court of Justice; but with all deference to so high an authority, he believed such an arrangement would cause still further complications. The hon. and learned Member for Taunton boldly suggested the idea of free trade in engines of destruction. That was a tangible proposition. His own objection applied to interference with one branch of trade when another was protected. He was unable to understand why the interests of the shipping trade were to be ignored while those of manufactures were carefully considered. The hon. and learned Gentleman had given excellent reasons for the repeal of the whole of our legislation on this subject. The Attorney General had attributed to him the advocacy of a retail trade in arms on the ground that it was impossible to wholly prevent exportation. But his argument was that whatever law was passed would be infringed to some extent, although he was of opinion that such legislation as he suggested would be evaded to no greater extent than other ordinary enactments. He did not propose to introduce stringent provisions into the Foreign Enlistment Act, but merely to carry out the intention expressed by the Foreign Secretary when he stated that the Government were willing to consider this question in conjunction with foreign Powers. He had not sought to prejudge the result of such negotiations. He would not trouble the House to go to a Division; but he must say that he had received no answer to the question he had raised. In his opinion, no arguments had been adduced on behalf of the Government to show why his Motion should not be adopted.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SALMON FISHERIES BILL—[Bill 75.]

(*Mr. Dodds, Mr. Liddell, Colonel Amcotts, Earl Percy, Colonel Edwardes.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. DODDS, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the subject of the salmon fisheries had been a subject of legislation from Magna Charta downwards, and in late years numerous Commissions had been appointed, and many Acts passed, yet the results were still unsatisfactory. In 1860 a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the whole subject of our salmon fisheries, and the recommendations of that Commission formed the subject of legislation in 1861. The Act of that year, while repealing the old laws on the subject, nevertheless did not embody all the recommendations of the Commissioners, and although attended with a success that could hardly have been anticipated, it became speedily apparent that some further legislation was necessary. Accordingly, in 1865, another Salmon Fisheries Bill was introduced. It provided for the appointment of Boards of Conservancy of an improved constitution; for license duties on engines for the capture of salmon; and for the appointment of special Commissioners for English fisheries, with powers to inquire into, and adjudicate upon, fixed engines and other rights connected with the salmon fisheries. Neither did that measure, though it made a considerable step in the right direction, prove fully satisfactory; and in 1869 two new Bills were introduced: one by the Tyne Fishery Board at their own expense, and the other by the Government. The latter contained many useful provisions; but the Fishery Commissioners, having met to consider the subject, adopted a Resolution to the effect that a more comprehensive measure was required; and consequently the Bill was withdrawn, and a Select Committee, of which he (Mr. Dodds) had the honour to be chairman, was appointed to further investigate the subject. The Committee was re-appointed last year, and after collecting a mass of valuable evidence, presented a Report, the recommendations of which were embodied in the present Bill. In consequence of the pressure of other business, the Government had been unable to take up the question themselves; but, having promised their support to any private Member, he (Mr. Dodds) had undertaken to bring this Bill before the House. The provisions of the present Bill were substantially those which had been recommended by the Select Committee, and he should be able to explain any slight variations which had been made. The Bill was of a comprehensive character, and he would only allude to its main provisions. By the 5th clause, the Secretary of State was to nominate the first Board of Conservators for any new district; but by the 6th and following clauses the subsequent Boards were made elective, instead of being, as hitherto, nominated by the various Courts of

Quarter Sessions of the counties abutting upon the rivers of the district. He had been reluctant to make this alteration; but the evidence given before the Committee had left him no alternative. The Boards of Conservators in future to be elected were—unless otherwise specially determined—to consist of 12 members. The qualification for a member of the Board was that he must either be the owner of a several fishery within the district, or have paid licence duty during the previous fishing season. The qualification of electors was to have paid licence duty and fishery improvement rate within the district for the previous fishing season; a voter might have a plurality of votes not exceeding four, according to the scale of his payments. In order to consult the interests of the upper proprietors, as distinguished from those of the tidal and estuary fisheries, the electors would be formed into two "wards"—the upper and lower. The voting would be by means of voting papers, to be forwarded to each elector by the Chairman of the Board of Conservators. The Bill provided an increased scale of licence duties; but the Board of Conservators were empowered, with the consent and approval of the Home Office, to vary the licence duties payable in their district. They were also empowered, in addition to the licence duties, to levy a fishery improvement rate not exceeding 25 per cent on the licence duties. They were also to make by-laws for the better protection, preservation, and improvement of the fishing within their district; to vary the annual and weekly close time; to regulate the size of nets, and other purposes. But these laws were not to come into operation until they had been confirmed by a Judge of the superior Courts. The Secretary of the Board was required to make an annual return to the Secretary of State of the amount of income and expenditure of the Board, and of the actual and estimated produce of the fishery of the district, and other valuable statistical information. The measure also contained provisions with reference to the removal of artificial obstructions to the passage of salmon from the spawning beds to the sea, and *vice versâ*—a matter which lay at the root of all improvement in their salmon fisheries, and the neglect of which caused the destruction of a vast amount of valuable food, and at one time threatened the utter extinction of that breed of fish in certain of our rivers at no distant date. The 31st clause was of great importance. It gave to the Boards of Conservators compulsory powers of acquiring any weir or obstruction for the purpose of removal only; they must present a petition to the Secretary of State, setting forth the various particulars, and the grounds of their opinion, and the Secretary might thereon make a provisional order, which again must be confirmed by Parliament. Since the voluntary removal from the Tyne by the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Beaumont) of a dam which offered a formidable impediment to the passage of the fish, that river had literally swarmed with salmon. It was not till the Act of 1865 was passed that anything was done towards the removal of those pernicious barriers. Since that period the Special Commissioners had decided no fewer than 526 cases, in 40 only of which had their decisions been challenged and notices of appeal given. In 25 of these cases the notices had been withdrawn, in eight cases the judgment of the Commissioners had been affirmed, in two only had they been reversed, and the remaining five cases were still pending. In three-fourths of the whole 526 cases thus adjudicated upon, the claims of the parties were found to be illegal, and in the great majority of cases the cost had been very inconsiderable. Additional powers were conferred on the Boards of Conservators in respect of matters which had proved deficient in preceding Acts. They or their servants had power to enter on land, after seven days' notice, to repair all fishways, &c., paying of course compensation for any damage done; they might erect hecks and gratings to prevent salmon being led astray into mill-races or artificial channels; they and their bailiffs had power to traverse the banks of salmon rivers at all times; their bailiffs or any constable might secure persons found in the highway suspected of having salmon unlawfully obtained; and penalties were imposed upon persons obstructing them in the performance of their duties. The 32nd section was of some interest, for it gave to the Fishery Commissioners power to try the legality of engines, &c., belonging to the Crown. Some of the later clauses provided regulations in regard to fishing. There was to be no fishing within 50 yards above, or 100 yards below, a weir or mill-race, except with rod and line; all hecks, &c., were to be open during the weekly close time, and removed altogether during the annual close season; no eel baskets were to be fixed in weirs between the 1st January and the 1st July, nor during the day at any time. No draft net was to be shot within 30 yards of another until the latter was landed. Except in lakes no netting was allowed in the night time in the upper parts of rivers; and the same protection was extended to trout and char as to salmon—they were not to be caught or sold during the close season of salmon for rod and line. In conclusion, he said that the importance of this subject was generally admitted, and there was a general opinion that there should be some amendment of the law in the direction pointed out by this Bill. He was far from thinking that it was at present in the most perfect shape possible, and he hoped that considerable improvement would be made in it in Committee, so that they might be able to meet the requirements of the country without doing injustice to any class or interest whatever.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

MR. BRUCE complimented the hon. Member upon the great pains which he had taken with this measure. He could not agree with all the provisions of it; but it accorded with the recommendations of the Select Committee, and also to a considerable extent with the Bill prepared by the Government, and therefore he had no objection to the second reading.

MR. HERMON said, he would not oppose the second reading, it being understood that important alterations would be made in Committee.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday*, 25th April.

COUNTY JUSTICES QUALIFICATION AMENDMENT BILL—[BILL 77.]

(*Sir Roundell Palmer, Sir George Grey, Mr. Spencer Walpole, Mr. George Gregory.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Repeal of the disqualification of attorneys, solicitors, and proctors from being justices of the peace for counties).

SIR ROUNDELL PALMER, anticipating an Amendment which the hon. and learned Member for Ayr (Mr. Craufurd) had placed on the Paper to remove the disqualification of solicitors to act as county magistrates, expressed his opinion that it was in reason and principle a good thing that solicitors practising in counties should not, as a rule, be magistrates in those counties, not because it was to be feared they would abuse that position, but because it was deemed necessary that magistrates should be above suspicion. He therefore asked the Committee to depart from the strict principle only to the extent of allowing solicitors to become magistrates in counties where they did not practice. The clause was identical with one which had been framed by three noble and learned Lords in the Upper House, and he might add that the qualification contained in it was approved by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Morpeth (Sir George Grey) and the right hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Walpole), and by the Incorporated Law Society.

MR. CRAUFURD moved, in line 12, to leave out all after "repealed," to the end of the clause. The effect of this Amendment would be to remove the statutory prohibition against attorneys being appointed magistrates in the counties in which they practised. There was no such disqualification in other parts of the kingdom, and he did not see why it should be retained in England. Why should solicitors be treated differently in England from what they were treated in Ireland or in Scotland, where no such statutory prohibition existed as was proposed in this Bill? Even in England practising solicitors in counties of cities, counties of towns, and in boroughs were permitted to act as magistrates if elected to the mayoralty both during their tenure of such office and for 12 months afterwards. Consequently, the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Roundell Palmer) was obliged to insert an exception with regard to counties of cities and counties of towns; and he justified that exception on the ground that citizens were to be trusted to select the proper men for magistrates; but why not, then, the persons who were to appoint the magistrates in counties? Could not the Lord Chancellor exercise his judgment as well as the inhabitants of a city or borough? Recorders were invariably appointed for towns in the circuit in which they practised. Why should solicitors not be trusted as well as barristers? Formerly the attorney was not a reputable man, and in bygone years he was in common parlance spoken of as the "lower branch of the law;" now he believed that the attorney and solicitor stood at least as high as the barrister; for he was the legal and moral adviser of the family, the barrister being called in by him only occasionally, and then only to act according to his instructions. He trusted, therefore, that this limitation would be struck out, and he moved the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Mr. LIDDELL instanced, in support of the Bill, the case of barristers who, however eminent, were debarred in their selection as chairmen of Quarter Sessions from practising at any sessions in the county.

Mr. Serjeant SHERLOCK said, he saw no objection to solicitors sitting on the bench of magistrates; but he would not permit this in the counties or towns where they were practising. He thought it for the interest of the profession itself that its members should not be open to the suspicion of preparing a case upon which they were called upon to adjudicate.

Mr. G. B. GREGORY said, he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed. He would propose to substitute "and" for "or," and with that modification he would support the Bill.

Mr. HINDE PALMER said, that solicitors made excellent magistrates in Ireland; and he thought the measure would be most useful. He would, however, suggest that the restriction should extend not only to the counties in which they practised, but to adjoining counties also.

Sir HENRY HOARE said, he hoped the Committee would pass the measure as it stood.

Mr. BRUCE expressed his general approbation of the Bill as it now stood, and asked the hon. Member for Ayr (Mr. Craufurd) not to press his Amendment. There was not a single Member who had supported the view he had taken.

Sir LAWRENCE PALK earnestly hoped the Committee would pass this measure, as many members of the profession had long looked upon their exclusion from the Bench as a great grievance—not a sentimental grievance, but a practical one.

Mr. CRAUFURD said, he was perfectly content with the discussion, and would withdraw his Amendment; he was satisfied that the proviso would be found utterly unworkable, and would have to be repealed.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause amended, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* to be *printed,* as amended [Bill 89]; *re-committed* for *Tuesday* 18th April.

TRADES UNIONS BILL—[Bill 28.]

(*Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Mr. BRUCE rose to move, That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Bill that they have power to divide the said Bill into two Bills. With the exception of some legal objections that were taken to a portion of what he might call the civil part of the Bill, there had been, he thought, a very general assent to that part of the measure. But objections were taken both in the House and out of the House to include what was called the criminal part in the same Bill. The criminal part of the Bill embraced certain offences and punishments which were not applicable to trades unionists alone; indeed, these offences were not committed more frequently by members of trades unions than by those who were not. It therefore seemed injurious and unfair that that portion should form part of the Bill for regulating trades unions. He was perfectly willing to give effect to that objection. To the criminal portion of the Bill some objections were urged; but these were not of a very strong or general character. The members of trades unions themselves who waited upon him assured him that the particular mischiefs the Bill was intended to control were, in their opinion, deserving of punishment, and their only suggestion was that the provision should be made applicable to all classes of society. His answer was that the offences were committed generally only by workmen, and that to endeavour to apply the penalties to all classes would be an unnecessary piece of legislation very similar to the proposal to substitute for the stringent penalties of the game laws a general law against trespass, which would include within its operation any person who might wander where he had no right to go. There were well-known offences committed by workmen against each other, and those offences were not within the reach of the ordinary criminal law. The good sense of almost everyone admitted that they were offences which ought to be punished, and severely; and it was no stigma against the workmen, but for their protection, that a law of this kind should be passed. He was willing that it should be done in a way not to offend the feelings of a large class of persons, and therefore he moved the Instruction to the Committee. Should that Motion be assented to, it was his intention to proceed in the first instance with the civil portion of the Bill, and having passed that through Committee he should go on with the criminal portion; and if the House should pass both parts through Committee, he should print the Bills separately, and take the third reading on the same day.

Mr. ORR EWING called the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the recommendations of the Commission which had reported in 1869, and suggested that he should make provision in his Bill for separating the funds of trades unions into two portions: in the first place, the funds to be used for trade purposes, and, in the second, those intended for benefit purposes. If this separation of the funds of unions had been made, great benefit would have been conferred on trades unionists in general, because the funds were applied to most antagonistic purposes, one of which was the conduct of strikes, and the other the relief of the sick and of the sufferers by accidents. He had no desire to retard the passing of the measure by offering any opposition to it; indeed, he approved of the Bill generally, and had to thank the right hon. Gentleman for putting what was now an important institution upon a proper footing. It was very anomalous that we should hitherto have acknowledged the existence of trades unions, and yet not have given to their funds the protection of the law. He must, however, demur to the statements made by the hon. Members for Sheffield and Frome, who said that trades unions had been of much benefit to the working classes, that it was the only way they could deal with trades *en masse*, and that where they did not exist there injustice and oppression prevailed. Far from agreeing with the hon. Member, he regarded trades unions as a blot upon our industrial system, and that instead of being a benefit to the class for whose benefit they were originally intended, they had been a great injury. He denied the alleged necessity for dealing with workmen *en masse*—a course calculated to subvert proper relations between them and their employers; and as to unions preventing oppression and injustice, he pointed to what was disclosed at Sheffield and Manchester as proving that unprecedented oppression and injustice were promoted by the unions. Then the hon. and learned Member for Frome (Mr. T. Hughes) contended that in the absence of trades unions there were found low wages and misery, and the hon. and learned Member went on to illustrate his argument by reference to distress in the East End of London in the tailoring trade. It appeared to him that the hon. Member mistook cause for effect. It was not because there had been no trades union amongst tailors, but because of trades unions. Did the hon. Member forget the great tailor strike of 1867, which was conducted with so much violence that several of the men were punished for breach of the law, and the master tailors brought in men from the Continent and the provinces, and began to employ women and that useful machine—the sewing machine, which had so injured that business? Trades unions had, therefore, been the cause of the present distress among the tailors, and not the absence of them had produced that unfortunate state of matters.

Mr. LEEMAN rose to Order. The hon. and learned Member was not speaking to the Motion before the House, but to the general question.

Mr. SPEAKER said, the immediate Question before the House was simply that it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have the power to divide the Bill in two parts. Next would come the Question that he now leave the Chair, when the hon. Member would be in Order.

Mr. ORR EWING said, he had considered the first Motion to be carried.

Mr. AUBERON HERBERT said, he was glad that it had been decided to divide the Bill; but he could hardly believe that it was the wish of the Government to proceed with the second part of the Bill to-night, before any expression of opinion upon it had been obtained from those affected. Up to the present time they had opposed the 3rd clause altogether, denying that it ought to have any place in a Trades Unions Bill; but now that the Bill was to be divided, and the second part was to be simply an amendment of the Criminal Consolidation Act, and was not to apply specially to trade pursuits and workmen, the whole complexion of the case was altered; it seemed to him that it would be possible to amend the 3rd clause instead of rejecting it altogether. The opposition to it as it stood originally was not based on any desire that the offences named should go unpunished, but simply on the feeling that the clause ought to have no place in a Bill which did the unions a long-deferred act of justice. He hoped the Secretary of State for the Home Department would not ask them to take the second part of the Bill to-night; but would give them time to consider what Amendments they desired to propose upon it.

Mr. C. FORSTER trusted the right hon. Gentleman would accede to the reasonable request addressed to him, and would not ask them to go into Committee on the second part of the Bill.

Sir HENRY HOARE joined in the appeal to the Secretary of State for the Home Department to allow the trades unionists time to consider what amendments they would wish to make in the Bill, and said that they did not oppose it altogether.

Sir CHARLES ADDERLEY said, that, although the hon. Member for York (Mr. Leeman) had called the hon. Member for Dumbarton (Mr. Orr Ewing) to Order because he had gone into the general question, while the Motion was merely for dividing the Bill, yet every subsequent speaker had continued discussing the general question. It had been suggested that the House should postpone the second part of the Bill; but they were entering into its merits before they had discussed the first. It would, in his opinion, be time to amend the postponed clauses after that portion of the Bill first under consideration had been discussed.

Lord ELCHO presumed that it was intended that the two parts of the measure should proceed *pari passu*, so that one part should not become law and the other be dropped.

Mr. MORLEY said, the noble Lord need be under no apprehension on that point. There already existed sufficiently stringent laws against offenders, and he presumed that the penal provision of this Bill was to take the place of another Act of Parliament which was to be repealed. The noble Lord might be assured that the poor workmen would be held in sufficient bondage.

Motion *agreed to.*

Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to divide the said Bill into two Bills.—(*Mr. Secretary Bruce.*)

Mr. ORR EWING remarked that the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) had illustrated the benefits of trades unions by referring to the settlement by the hon. and learned Member for Frome of the differences between the ironmasters in England and the men in their employ. The hon. Member for Sheffield had asserted that this success was owing to the circumstance that in this country the men had a strong trades union; whereas in Scotland, where he said there were no trades unions, there had lately been a disastrous strike. He wished, however, to point out that the ironworkers in Scotland had as strong an union as their English brethren. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) was arbitrator in a dispute between the masters and men of this very trade, which was settled last summer, but subsequently another strike occurred; the men endeavoured to deal with the masters individually, and the latter were compelled in self-defence to combine among themselves:—the result being—as, indeed, it always must be whenever there was a conflict between capital and labour—that the working men were beaten by the united energy and determination of the masters. He himself had a large number of men in his employ; but there had been no strike among them for 33 years. It was impossible to regulate wages by artificial means, as supply and demand would always rectify each other. The most prosperous and the best paid of the working classes in this country were domestic servants, among whom unions were unknown. Now that education was about to be so largely extended in this country, he hoped the working classes would begin to think for themselves, and to find out the only sound principle on which wages could be regulated—supply and demand.

MR. WHITWELL said, his hon. Friend had forgotten that there were trade unions and trade unions. Knowing that they proved of great advantage in some cases, he wished to give his testimony in opposition to the opinion of his hon. Friend. For nearly 40 years he had been acquainted with a trades union formed in every town in the North of England carrying on the carpet manufacturing trade, and during the whole of that time not a single strike had occurred. Every negotiation for an advance or reduction of wages had been conducted at meetings of the masters and workmen; and the results, he believed, had invariably given satisfaction to both parties. In conclusion, he expressed a hope that the two Bills would pass the third reading at the same time.

LORD ELCHO, replying to a remark which had fallen from the hon. Member for Bristol (Mr. Morley), said, he cordially sympathised with those who were anxious to put this question on a right and equitable footing. He had sat on the Trades Unions Commission, and agreed to its recommendations in this respect. He had a few minutes previously expressed a hope that the question would be dealt with as a whole in the course of the present Session, whereupon the hon. Gentleman made a sneering and ungracious remark, saying that the noble Lord need not be afraid, as the law against the poor workman was already sufficiently severe. Some hon. Gentlemen in this House, and some out of the House, tried to make political capital out of the working men. When in his place in Parliament he had been able to do anything in the way of legislation which, in his conscience, he believed would be beneficial to the working classes, he had always done it. Thus he had moved for a Committee to consider a law relating to master and servant, which made the servant the slave of the master; and the result of the appointment of that Committee was that that law was repealed. In the same way no one was more ready than he was to relieve trades unionists from those restrictions which were injurious and unjust; but it should not be forgotten that they formed only a small portion of the working classes of the country. At a meeting over which he presided in favour of the technical education of workmen, Mr. Lucraft, who had succeeded in being, by the votes of his fellow-workmen, elected as a member of the London School Board, said he did not belong to a trades union, and told Mr. Applegarth that there were 17 non-unionists to every one who belonged to a society. That fact ought not to be forgotten; but he would also bring into court a witness with whom the House would not dispute. At a meeting held about two years ago in Exeter Hall, the Chairman said—

> "If the Universities are prepared to receive the assistance of others to acquire their rights they must remember that there are others in their trades who hold views opposed to those of the unionists, and they have their rights also. If 500 men in a trade desire to carry out a certain course, and 50 differ, the majority have no right to break the heads of the minority."

That was the language of the hon. Member for Bristol, and that was what he (Lord Elcho) wished to secure.

MR. BRUCE appealed to the House to go into Committee without further discussion, and said that the noble Lord had been unnecessarily severe on the hon. Member for Bristol. ["No, no!"] He (Mr. Bruce) had understood those remarks in a different light. [LORD ELCHO: No; it was meant so.] In justice to the hon. Gentleman he thought it right to say how the matter had struck him. The Bill consisted of two parts, and many persons objected to the passing of one part without the other. He had stated that it was his intention to leave each part of the Bill to be considered in

Committee, and then to take the third reading.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Trade union not criminal).

MR. KENNAWAY moved, in line 6, after "Trade Union," insert—"registered as hereinafter provided." The issue he wished to raise upon this Amendment was whether the registration under the Bill was to be permissive or compulsory. This Bill made it permissive, certain advantages being held out to those societies which registered—for instance, they were enabled to hold an acre of ground. Under this clause certain advantages were offered to all trades unions. By the common law things done in restraint of trade by combinations rendered them illegal, and the rules of the union were such that they might often be brought under the common-law doctrine. He contended it was not right that those who did not register, and who would not comply with publicity, should share in the immunities and privileges offered by the Bill. Registration was necessary in the interests of the general public, as well as for the unionists themselves, to whom it was proposed to give, for the first time, legal sanction for their powerful combinations. It was therefore but right that precautions should be taken against their misuse of that power. A great improvement had taken place, no doubt, in the character of trades unions since the time when their outrages made such a black page in their history, and he hoped it would continue; but what had happened might happen again. By registration it would be impossible to appropriate funds to an illegal purpose, and without they could not know with whom they were dealing.

MR. T. HUGHES objected to the Amendment. So far as they had to deal with criminal matters, it was desirable they should be put into the other part of the Bill, and so far as ordinary trade combinations were concerned he hoped they had heard the last of "restraint of trade" and "conspiracy" in connection with them. The evidence taken before the Royal Commission should have satisfied anyone who had read it how capricious and bad the application of those old doctrines was. The best feature of the Bill was the getting rid of them.

MR. BRUCE said, the hon. Gentleman who had moved the Amendment had hardly estimated its force and effect. The fact of a man being a member of a trades union under such circumstances rendered him liable to an indictment for conspiracy, from which it was the object of the present Bill to relieve him. A man surely ought not to be subjected to such a disqualification. It was, in fact, a kind of judge-made law, and applied according to the necessities of the day. According to the ablest writers upon the subject, such a power ought to be regarded with the utmost jealousy, and for those reasons he hoped the hon. Member would not press his Amendment.

MR. KENNAWAY said, he would not press his Amendment, but he thought no reason had been assigned against it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 3 *postponed.*

Clause 4 *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Trade union contracts, when not enforceable).

MR. STEPHEN CAVE said, though apparently fair, this clause was rather one-sided in its operation. Masters' and men's societies held their members only by means of fines. The men's directly, the masters' by means of bonds. Both were unenforceable by law. This clause left the law unaltered, and would be fair but for these circumstances. The masters paid a small subscription, the loss of which was trifling; the subscription of the men was one, the loss of which would be the loss of their whole savings. The 3rd section of this clause, by preventing any legal proceeding for the application of the funds of the unions to benefits to members, practically gave them power to inflict fines amounting to their whole subscriptions by merely withholding the money. It was surely impolitic to pass such a clause as this, giving direct sanction to the not very honest system of getting funds on benevolent pretexts and spending them for restrictive purposes. He thought that members of unions ought to have power to recover benefits, and that to do so effectually separate trade and benefit accounts ought to be kept. All power, direct and indirect, of enforcing fines should be taken from trades unions, or similar power of enforcing bonds should be given to masters' associations.

Mr. ELLIOT moved, in page 3, lines 9 and 10, to leave out "but nothing in this section shall be deemed to constitute any of the above-mentioned agreements unlawful."

The SOLICITOR GENERAL opposed the Amendment. He stated that, although the contracts mentioned in the clause were not unlawful in themselves, Government were not prepared to give Courts of Law or Equity the power to enforce them. He had, on a former occasion, shown that, though a contract to marry was perfectly lawful, it could not be enforced by action at law or suit in equity.

Mr. BOUVERIE said, he did not think there ought to be an agreement recognizable by law which could not be enforceable. As regarded the illustration just given, if a man entered into an agreement to marry, and did not marry he would be liable to an action for breach of promise.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM said, that though a voluntary agreement was lawful, it could not generally be enforced.

Mr. BOUVERIE: A voluntary agreement was not an agreement for a consideration.

Mr. CAWLEY said, it was ridiculous to suppose that any agreement could be valid which could not be enforced at law.

Mr. BRUCE remarked that it was necessary to enact that an agreement of the kind contemplated by the clause, though it could not be legally enforced, might yet be lawful for the purpose of being registered.

Mr. LOPES said, that the illustration of a voluntary agreement was not in point, because when there was no consideration the law would not interfere to enforce the agreement. Mere voluntary agreements were not agreements at all in the eye of the law.

Mr. JAMES suggested the case of a physician who, in selling his practice, entered into an agreement not to practice within 300 miles of his former residence. Such an agreement would not be enforceable at law; but neither would it be unlawful.

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS adverted to a very ancient precedent in favour of the words proposed to be omitted. In the Statute of Frauds it was enacted that no action should be brought upon any agreement not to be performed within a year which was not in writing. Such an agreement, while not actually unlawful, was not enforceable at law.

Mr. GATHORNE HARDY said, the question was not whether these agreements were penal, but whether they were enforceable in law. To say that they could not be enforced, and yet that they were not for that reason unlawful, might give these societies the false impression that by some means which were not legal means they might enforce them on their members.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON held there was nothing delusive about the words, which were a necessary safeguard to show that the parties would not be subjected to any penal consequences.

Mr. GATHORNE HARDY said, the 2nd section already provided for that.

Mr. AUBERON HERBERT said, he was desirous the Committee should not lose sight of the fact that whenever the funds of trades unions fell below the point which entitled them to confer promised benefits, they were in the custom of raising large sums for the purpose by a severe levy upon their members.

Mr. HINDE PALMER said, he thought the words in the latter part of the section necessary, as the former part declared that none of the agreements should be enforceable in law or equity.

Mr. STEPHEN CAVE said, he thought it was only right, when members subscribed to a benefit society, that they should know to what purposes the funds were applied.

Mr. BRUCE observed, that the right hon. Gentleman must have misapprehended the object of the Bill, if he thought it was intended to secure the benefits of those societies to their members. The right way of treating the clause was to regard it as one of an exceptional character.

Mr. T. HUGHES said, he feared that by separating accounts, money subscribed for trade purposes might be otherwise appropriated. At present, 5 per cent of the funds were spent in strikes.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Exclusion of 18 & 19 Vict. c.63., 30 & 31 Vict. c. 117., 25 & 26 Vict. c. 89., &c. from applying to trades unions).

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM moved an Amendment leaving trades unions, for registration purposes, either under the Companies' Acts or the Friendly Societies' Acts, in precisely the same position as they are at present, and as if this Bill had not passed.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 7 to 11 *agreed to.*

Clause 12 *struck out.*

Clauses 13 and 14 *agreed to.*

Clause 15 (Regulations for registry).

Mr. ELLIOT moved, in page 7, after sub-section 1, insert—

"All such rules shall limit the operations and funds of the union to the persons who are members thereof, and provide that the decision in all cases shall be arrived at by ballot."

Mr. BRUCE said, he could not accept the Amendment, as the unions had power to apply their funds to the assistance of each other.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 16, 17, and 18 *agreed to.*

Clause 19 (Board of Trade to be registrar).

Mr. BRUCE said, the Board of Trade had declined to accept the office, and he therefore proposed, as an Amendment, that it should be imposed upon the registrars of friendly societies in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Mr. BOUVERIE said, that the office of Registrar of Friendly Societies was now vacant, and that the person who temporarily performed the duties of the office might be unable to undertake the additional labours now sought to be imposed upon him.

Mr. BRUCE said, that under the Act which had been in force for two years, the trade societies had the power of registering, and the Registrar of Friendly Societies was bound to register all the trades unions that applied for registration.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 20 *agreed to.*

Clause 21 (Summary proceedings for offences, penalties, &c.)

Mr. E. POTTER moved, in line 8, after "as follows," leave out to "peace," in line 32, and insert—

"1. In Great Britain the court of summary jurisdiction shall be,—

(a.) In England, the lord mayor, and alderman of the city of London, a metropolitan police magistrate, or a stipendiary magistrate;

(b.) In Scotland, the sheriff of the county or his substitute, or provost or other magistrate of a royal burgh.

If the offence to be tried is alleged to have been committed within a distance of twenty miles by railway, or of six miles by road, from the nearest court-house of such lord mayor, alderman, metropolitan, stipendiary, sheriff, sheriff-substitute, provost, or other magistrate; but if the offence to be tried is not alleged to have been committed within the limits of any such distance as is above-mentioned, then the court of summary jurisdiction shall be—

(a.) In England, two or more justices of the peace sitting in petty sessions at a place appointed for holding petty sessions;

(b.) In Scotland, two or more judges or justices of the peace court;

(c.) In Ireland, two or more justices of the peace, or one metropolitan or stipendiary magistrate for the time being empowered by law to do alone or with others any act authorised to be done by more than one justice of the peace."

Mr. BRUCE said, he desired as strongly as the hon. Member that cases of this kind should be adjudicated upon by stipendiary magistrates. There was often an objection to ordinary magistrates on the ground that they were connected by interest with the class of employers rather than with the employed, and he fully admitted the importance of such matters being decided by a tribunal above suspicion. But he thought the Amendment would not attain the end which the hon. Member had in view. It would probably have the effect of throwing upon a stipendiary magistrate the work of a district beyond his own, and altogether it would be of little practical use.

Mr. ANDERSON said, this objection did not apply to Scotland, where there were sheriffs in every county, and where a strong feeling existed in favour of removing such cases as would arise under the Act from the jurisdiction of justices of the peace. The proposal contained in the Amendment would be of far greater importance in relation to the penal clauses than in reference to the portion of the Bill now under consideration.

MR. BRUCE observed, that at present they were only dealing with cases of defrauding societies of their money, and of issuing false rules. It would be time enough to consider the penal clauses when they were reached.

MR. M'LAREN approved of the proposal to refer cases under the Act to sheriffs in Scotland.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 22 to 24 *agreed to.*

Clause 25 (Repeal).

Amendment proposed, in page 12, line 26, to leave out the word "Acts," in order to insert the word "Act."—(*Mr. Secretary Bruce.*)

MR. AUBERON HERBERT objected to this upon the ground that the effect would be that the penal Act of George IV. would not be repealed by this Bill.

MR. BRUCE said, that the statute referred to would be repealed by the second Bill, which was referred to the same Committee.

Question put, "That the word 'Acts' stand part of the Clause."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 2; Noes 98: Majority 96.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

MARINE MUTINY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DODSON, Bill for the Regulation of Her Majesty's Royal Marine Forces while on Shore, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DODSON, Mr. GOSCHEN, and Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time.

House adjourned at One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 29*th March,* 1871.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (£5,411,900)*.

Third Reading—(£462,580 9*s.* 11*d.*) Consolidated Fund*, and *passed.*

CONSOLIDATED FUND (£462,580 9*s.* 11*d.*) BILL.

Read 3ª (according to order), and *passed.*

CONSOLIDATED FUND (£5,411,900) BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; and to be read 2ª *To-morrow;* and Standing Orders Nos. 37. and 38. to be considered in order to their being dispensed with.

House adjourned at Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 29*th March,* 1871.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—Public Accounts [No. 138.]

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes* [91]; Marriage Law (Ireland) Amendment* [93]; Public Health (Scotland) Act (1867) Amendment* [92].

Second Reading—Parochial Councils [10], *negatived;* Marine Mutiny*.

Committee—Report—Bank Holidays (*re-comm.*)* [88]; Mutiny.

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund (£5,411,900)*, and *passed.* [New Title.]

Withdrawn—Coroners* [20].

PAROCHIAL COUNCILS BILL—[BILL 10.]

(*Viscount Sandon, Mr. Cowper-Temple*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

VISCOUNT SANDON, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, he would remind the House of what passed at the end of last Session on this subject. There was a considerable discussion when he asked leave to introduce a measure with a similar principle to that which was now before them; and the reception his proposal then met with was so encouraging—the tone of hon. Members not only of those belonging to the Church of England, but also to various other religious Bodies, was so friendly to the principle of the Bill, and the expressions of the Prime Minister himself were so favourable to it, that he felt that the House would not consider he was unduly trespassing upon their time, even in this busy Session, if he asked them to consider again, somewhat more in detail, the amended Bill which he now brought before them. During the Recess the principle which he then advocated had received the assent of large masses of the thinking part of the community—namely, that the laity had a right to have a larger share in the management of the affairs of their own parish churches. His Bill had nothing to do with parties in the Church, nor did it affect any question of doctrine, or cast the least slur on the clergy of the Established Church. The character of the clergy of the Established Church was a matter of pride not only to the members of that Church, but to every Englishman who valued the honour of his country. Indeed, a Bill of this kind would not be nearly so much called for were it not for the very fact of the activity, energy, and high qualities of the clergy of the Church of England at this moment. If the clergy were inert and inactive, then there would be very little need for the interference of the laity in the way of control; it was their very activity, at a time which was fertile in ecclesiastical experiments, which, to a great extent, created the necessity of placing additional power in the hands of the laity to control, although not to check, that activity. However, he would wish it to be distinctly understood that the object of the Bill was two-fold. Its first object was to strengthen the power of the parishioners with regard to the conduct of matters in their own parish churches; its second object was to strengthen the hands of the incumbent in the parish. Was there, then, need for a measure of this kind? He would beg the House to consider for a moment the present position of an incumbent in the Church of England, and then that of the parishioners. Before the great change took place in the Poor Law the incumbent was in the constant habit of meeting all classes of his parishioners in vestry as chairman of the vestry, the vestry being then entrusted with the important duty of administering Poor Law relief. In that way, the clergyman was brought into contact with the leading lay members of his parish, and became thoroughly acquainted with the tone of mind which prevailed therein. A whole generation had passed since the change in the Poor Law, and to that change, he believed, was largely owing that want of harmonious working between the incumbent and his people, which they all so much lamented. Again, the mode in which incumbents were appointed tended to make harmonious working still more difficult. For how were they appointed? Some by the Crown, some by the Lord Chancellor, some by the Universities, some by private patrons; but in rare cases had the parishioners anything to say in the choice of their ministers. Further, it should be borne in mind that livings were frequently put up for sale. If anyone glanced at *The Times* of to-day he would probably see from 100 to 150 advowsons, or next presentations, to be disposed of. The question of patronage was most difficult to deal with satisfactorily; he did not mean to cast any blame on the present system, but the mode of appointment of the clergy of the Church of England was of such a character as to make it essential that if the parishioners had nothing to say to the appointment of their minister, they should have strong powers respecting the way in which he conducted the service of their parish church, and the general affairs of their parish. For it must be remembered that as soon as a minister was appointed, he entered into the enjoyment of a freehold, and no one could displace him except for the grossest misconduct—he was a fixture for life, and, practically, the parishioners had no control over him. Then, as to the position of the parishioners. How did they stand towards the incumbent? How far could they interfere in the mode of conducting public worship in their own parish church? He would read an extract from an able paper written by a former chaplain of the Bishop of London, a man of great experience, to show the exact position of parishioners with respect to matters which were left open by the law of the land. The extract was as follows:—

"When I was chaplain to the Bishop, the greatest difficulties were constantly occasioned not by matters of doubtful legality, but by such as were clearly within the law, and as to which the discretion rested with the clergyman alone. Such matters as the intoning of the Prayers, the chanting of the Psalms, the introduction of the offertory, the selection of hymn books, &c., would give rise to a dispute. The parishioners would come to the Bishop, and would refer him to the clause in the Preface of the Prayer Book which states that those who diversely take anything shall resort to the Bishop to resolve their doubts. In such cases, if the parishioners and the Bishop had had any concurrent power with the rector, the dispute might have been easily settled, the Bishop acting as moderator between the various parties. But it was found that no one had any rights at all except the incumbent; and his answer was invariably that he had no doubts to resolve, and therefore there was no need of his resorting to the Bishop. Quite similar is the case with regard to church ornaments, such as crosses, altar cloths, the arrangements of chancels and

> pews, the painting and decoration of the interior of the church. It is true that, technically speaking, these matters are supposed not to be left to the discretion of the clergyman, and that not the minutest thing can be changed in the church without a faculty from the Bishop's Court. But this is a case in which the stringency of the law overreaches itself. It is rightly felt that to go to the Bishop's Court for every little change which may be proposed is impossible; and then, where is the line to be drawn? The consequence is, that one change after another is made on the sole authority of the incumbent, and this becomes so habitual that it is only in exceptional cases, and in those where actual opposition is raised, that the Court is appealed to; thus it comes to be thought invidious to go to the Court at all, and, even where objectionable things have been done in a church, a Bishop can do nothing, because if he had the matter brought before his Court at all, he would have no option but to order things to be restored precisely to their original state."

Now, was it right, was it safe for the Church or the nation, that such a state of things should continue? Surely the parishioners had a much greater right to decide as to what they liked—within the laws of the Church—in their own parish church, to which they were attached by the dearest memories, and where often their forefathers had worshipped before them, than the incumbent, however good and zealous, who had been appointed over them by strangers, or had had the living acquired for him by the money of his relations. He would appeal to every Member of the House—and many Members, since he first raised the subject in this place some 10 months ago, had spoken to him about it—whether, in their own experience, a great amount of dissatisfaction did not prevail in many parts of the country between the clergyman and his flock—of which oftentimes the clergyman was little aware—not dissatisfaction with the character of the clergyman, but with the small changes which were introduced from time to time without the concurrence of the parishioners? Though personally, he was happy to say, he had not suffered in this way, to his own knowledge in London, Lancashire, and Staffordshire, an uncomfortable feeling prevailed in many instances between the parishioners and their clergy, and what he wished to do was to try to remove it. Again, however, he would repeat that the object of the Bill was not to coerce and interfere with the just rights of the clergy, but to increase and strengthen the co-operation of the laity with the clergy. To that principle there was a very general assent. He had received a great mass of communications on the subject from clergymen in all parts of the country, and of all varieties of ecclesiastical views, and there was hardly one of them that did not frankly and freely assent to the principle, although some of them demurred to the way in which he proposed to carry it out. The Press, whether of the High or Low Church, whether secular or ecclesiastical, bore testimony to the value of the principle. It had met with the concurrence of various Church Conferences; had been approved of by leading Bishops in their charges; and had received the sanction of Convocation. He admitted, however, that there was a great difference of opinion as to the way in which he proposed to effect the object in view. The real point at issue resolved itself into this—whether it was desirable or not to trust merely to the voluntary association of the laity with the clergy at the bidding of the clergy, or whether the time had not arrived when it was desirable to give a legal position to the laity in parishes beyond, and in extension of that which they now possessed by the law of the land? That was the real principle on which he should venture to ask the opinion of the House. Was it desirable that the powers the laity now possessed in their parishes should be expanded? Was it right or not that the law should interfere in this matter? Some people imagined that the law had very little to do with the position of incumbents in the parishes of this land. But that was a mistake. The parish itself was created by the law of the land, and if an existing parish was broken up, it was the law of the land which assigned so many thousand souls to the care of the minister of the Church of England in the new district. In that way very large rights were conferred on the new incumbent. He was able to interfere to a very great extent with the erection of new churches of the Church of England, and to curtail the ministrations of any other clergyman of the Church within the assigned district. The next point was—was it expedient or not to legislate? Now, he ventured to say that, having considered the point very seriously, he did not think that voluntary councils—councils chosen by the clergyman, or if not chosen by him, liable to be dismissed or disregarded by him, and therefore necessarily partaking very much of the opinions of those who created or could disregard them—would give satisfaction to the people or remedy the evils which at present existed. He was also of opinion that from councils thus constituted the clergyman would not get the real advantage—the real strength and help which he needed for the work of his parish. The clergyman would only be able to summon those who shared in his opinions, or already were known to take an interest in matters connected with the Church; there would be found great difficulty in getting people to attend regularly, or even to be members of these voluntary councils, for few men would consent, or continue long to belong to them; unless they had real substantive power, and without that substantive power ; and the sense of responsibility which is created by it, these councils would not attract into the service of the Church those leading spirits of the parish, in the various classes of society, whose aid was particularly needed. Again, voluntary councils would be chiefly established by those clergy who had least need of them—by those clergymen of discretion, energy, and tact, who would sway the minds of their parishioners in any case; while the men who most wanted assistance in their work, or who most needed their guidance, would not be those who would be ready to summon them. Such councils he had found existed to a much larger extent than he had previously been aware of — and he rejoiced to know they were daily extending—but they had been called together by the very *élite* of the clergy, who took the broadest view of their position, and who were most anxious to discharge their sacred and arduous duties with the greatest benefit to their neighbours. Among other objections which might be urged against the present Bill was the fear of disturbance and of struggle at the elections; but he was not much afraid of that himself. He believed the Church had much more to fear from remaining too quiet than from taking her part in, and casting in her lot with, the popular life of this time; and considering the high character of the clergy who were generally at the head of our parishes, he had no doubt that they would have nothing to fear from even stormy meetings; and that, even from the clash of different opinions, more zeal would be called out on behalf of the Church, and what was good and wise would ultimately in most cases prevail. He would now proceed to explain those points in which the present Bill differed from the one he introduced last year. There were four important points on which the two Bills differed. In the Bill of last year, it was proposed to establish these councils in every parish in the land; but it was now proposed that they should only be established in those parishes where the parishioners desired it. There was a great difference between the position of country and town parishes, and small and large parishes; and it had, therefore, been thought better to leave the matter entirely optional to each locality. It was also now provided that at each recurring period of election—every two years—the parishioners who had the power of creating the council should also have the power of discontinuing it; for it appeared to be undesirable that a parish should bind itself to have a council for all time, if it were found that such a body in a particular case had done more harm than good. A change was also made in the 6th clause. It was provided last year that the qualification of the sidesmen, who were to be members of the council, should be a declaration that they were members of the Church of England, and proposed to attend the parish church; in the present Bill the qualification required was that the sidesman should have made a declaration that he was a communicant member of the Church of England. The constituency for electing the sidesmen was a very wide one—the same as that for electing churchwardens—being composed of people of all opinions in the parish, including, of course, Nonconformists as well as Churchmen ; and it seemed to him that, with so broad a constituency, it would rightly be felt that considering the matter with which the council would have to deal were the internal affairs of the Church, there ought to be some security that all the members of the council, except the two churchwardens, to whom the provision did not necessarily apply, should be both in communion with the Church of England, and in sympathy with her work and her services. In many of the leading Nonconformist Churches — indeed, in almost all cases—the management of the higher Church affairs was, he believed, only confided to communicant members of those Bodies; and a good number, though not all, of his Nonconformist friends agreed with him that it was only fair that those who managed the internal affairs of the church, even though it was the parish church, should be in full communion with the Church of England; but the door was purposely left open, to some extent, by admitting the churchwardens to the council, who might be, and in fact not seldom were, Nonconformists—and for his part he rejoiced that it should be so. The next considerable change in the Bill was the proposal that one-fourth of the sidesmen should be nominated by the incumbent of the parish, while the remaining three-fourths were elected by the parishioners, instead of the whole as in the former Bill. It seemed well to follow the analogy of the custom—though not of the law—which prevailed as to churchwardens, and it also was important that the clergyman, who would generally be chairman, should be secure of being sufficiently supported by friends in his council, and therefore this change had been introduced. There was only one other alteration of importance in the Bill, and that had been made in the 9th clause, which defined the matters with which the council would have the power to deal. The times of service, and the allusions to the vestments of the minister, were omitted from the clause. It was felt that it was, on the whole, better that the times of service should be left to the discretion of the clergyman, and that the question of vestments had now been so far settled by law that it was no longer necessary that it should be brought at all under the notice of the councils. A second change was made at the end of the clause, by which it was proposed that the council should have power, with the consent of the incumbent, of dealing with a number of additional matters which were taken from the usage prevailing in the voluntary councils at present in existence—such as church collections, Sunday schools, choirs, the support of societies, parish missions, &c. These were the main points in which the Bill of this year differed from that of last; there were various other changes in detail, with which, though of importance in themselves, and the result of careful consideration with hon. Members of more experience than himself, he would not now trouble the House. Before sitting down he would make an appeal to hon. Members belonging to the various Nonconformist Churches of the country, and he felt sure that he might, with confidence, invoke their aid on the present occasion. The measure now in question did not narrow the position of the Nonconformists or trench upon their principles in the slightest degree; its aim was simply to enable the Church of England to discharge the great duties with which she was entrusted more efficiently and with greater satisfaction to the mass of the people; and for such objects as these he was satisfied, from the tone of the leading Nonconformist organs of opinion, that Churchmen might thoroughly rely upon the cordial co-operation of their leading men. Nonconformists knew as well as Churchmen how great was the need of the hearty work and organization of the Church, as well as of that of their own religious Bodies, if they hoped to be able to cope with the enormous difficulties which were connected with the social condition of the vast populations of our large towns. Nonconformists and Churchmen equally lamented the vice and misery that prevailed, and were alike puzzled how to deal with the evils which they all united in deploring. He felt confident, therefore, that his Nonconformist fellow-countrymen would not refuse their cordial and frank assistance to the Church in carrying out her mission. He would also appeal to the clergy of the Church of England. They had made great sacrifices for the good of the people, and were always ready to make such sacrifices, both pecuniary and personal, in a way which shamed the laymen of every denomination. He appealed to them to consider carefully and calmly the great changes which were taking place around them, and especially the great change which was taking place in the education of the people—a change which it was difficult at present fully to appreciate. Let them consider the Education Act of last Session, which affected the whole of the artizans and labourers of the kingdom; and not only that, but let them remember the Endowed Schools Act, which would largely influence the farming and trading classes of the country. The educational legislation of the last few years must, ere long, place the whole population of the country in a very different position from that which they had hitherto occupied; and he asked the clergy whether they believed it possible that that population would be content to remain members of a Church, and to work with it, if it did not allow them a much greater share in the management of their own Church affairs than they had at present. He entreated them, therefore, to weigh the matter carefully, and to give to this attempt to provide for a new state of things, without departing rashly from the ancient usages of the Church, their best and most serious consideration. It only remained for him to say that the Bill now before the House had been most carefully considered not only by himself, but by his right hon. Friend the Member for South Hampshire (Mr. Cowper-Temple), and by other hon. Members of weight in that House; and that many suggestions from clergymen and laymen of experience had been gladly received upon the subject. He wished it, however, to be well understood that, though he was firmly convinced of the soundness and importance of the principle of the Bill, he was not so confident of his own power of dealing with this great question as to be wedded to any of the particular provisions of the measure. It was surely essential for the welfare of the people that all the institutions of the country should be in harmony with each other. The whole current of modern legislation gave larger power to the masses of the people, and a larger share in their own government; all our civil institutions were influenced thereby, and were being brought into harmony with each other. Was it desirable, was it possible, that the Church should alone remain an exception to that harmony? He now confided the Bill to the superior judgment of Parliament, and happily the question with which it dealt was not a party question, either politically or ecclesiastically. This measure would not narrow or contract the happy breadth of the Church of England, which had made her so remarkable among the Churches of the earth; but it was his aim and ambition to expand within, and engraft upon the Church those great principles of local self-government which had enabled Great Britain to be the peaceful founder of Empires abroad, and made it her proud boast, that while other nations were shattered by periodical revolutions, she alone had remained united, happy, and unmoved.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Viscount Sandon.*)

MR. BERESFORD HOPE: I cannot rise on this occasion without thanking my noble Friend for the tone and temper with which he has brought forward his proposition. I must especially compliment him on the great candour with which he has spoken of the free and elastic co-operation which already exists between the laity and the clergy of the Church. In the spirit of his speech I propose, instead of the clauses of my noble Friend's Bill, to substitute a short declaratory Resolution; for I am convinced—and I trust I shall be able to convince the House—that the objects we all have in view will be more wisely, more widely, more completely, and more practically carried out by the unfettered action of voluntary parochial councils, and by the extensive influence of diocesan synods and conferences, than by the clauses of the Bill which we are now called upon to read. These are of a nature so precise and inelastic that it will be impossible to work them with even an approximate success throughout the 15,000 parishes of the land, distinct, as they are, not merely in population—the one characteristic diversity which is recognized in the Bill—but differing in local character, differing in wealth, differing in intelligence, differing in their industrial occupations, differing in the relative proportion of Conformists and Nonconformists, differing in the ecclesiastical tendencies of clergy and laity. All these are differences in the ecclesiastical quality of our various parishes, which cannot be set out in the bald and precise language of a Bill; but which ought to be fully recognized if the various relations of minister and congregation are to be fairly and adequately adjusted not only to the needs of the Church itself, but with regard to the interests of those who are outside its pale. These are considerations which my noble Friend, in his desire to produce a neat, complete, and compact scheme on paper, has somewhat overlooked. But the question is one which invites for its solution something more than abstract theory. There are widespread and deep-seated facts of an external nature that must be dealt with, must be recognized, must be allowed for, if such a scheme is to be framed as shall be worked out satisfactorily. If, indeed, England were everything which it is not; if the Church of England were a rigid, inflexible body, under such a stern discipline as that of the Church of Rome, in which no variety of doctrine, of ceremony, or of administration is permitted, then, indeed, a stereotyped form of council would be a matter of course. If, again, the census roll of the Church of England returned a fixed and definite list of members capable of numerical appreciation, such as hon. Gentlemen opposite would not allow us to obtain—if, I say, the Church arithmetical came out either as a decided majority or as an influential minority—and in either case as a society which both externally and internally could be strongly and sharply limited, defined, and portioned off—then assuredly the Bill of my noble Friend might prove to be an admirable effort of legislation. But with the Church and the State of England interpenetrating as they do—both of them, as I trust they will long continue to be, the truly freest Church and the truly freest State in the world—the mutual relations of the Church and of Nonconformity have remained for all time undefined in theory, fluctuating in fact, and undecided by any formal enactment. Therefore we may assume that this Bill, with its few stiff provisions, is not the remedy which the Church demands. I have used the word remedy—I should have said the machinery. I am sure my noble Friend did not mean it; but there were phrases in his speech which bore hardly upon the Church. In the glowing tribute which he paid to the activity of the clergy, I fully concur; but then my noble Friend went on to say that there was a want of harmonious working. Now, I deny that in any broad or comprehensive view of the whole Church there is anything which can be fairly termed a want of harmonious working. There may be, more or less, want of harmony in this or the other parish; but it would be a most unsatisfactory state of the Church, if among her 20,000 clergymen and in her 15,000 parishes all the clergymen were found absolutely to agree, and that there were no differences among their flocks. If the case were so, the Church would be reduced to a mere *caput mortuum*—eviscerated of doctrine, of life, of zeal; eviscerated of everything but selfishness, and self-abased to that solitude which some people miscall peace—the last, most hopeless state of a Church which sacrifices energy, love of souls, everything earnest and spiritual, for outside uniformity. In contrast with this picture, I assert that the Church of England challenges comparison with every Church in the world as a city at unity with itself. It does so in contrast to that great Church of Western Europe, which has recently been rocked to its centre by the novel assumption of Papal infallibility. It does so if matched with the Dissenting bodies in this realm, on the Continent, or in America, which, as all men know, have often been tried with anxious conflicts within the circles of their own membership. It is in comparison with them that the Church of England may boldly assert the harmony and peace with which it does its Lord's work in the land. My noble Friend has confessed that voluntary Church councils have already been established to a greater extent than he was prepared to expect. Then what is the use of his Bill? His answer is, that he wants to start councils where the clergyman is not fully doing his duty; and then he went on to say that his Bill was of such a tentative nature that he had made provision that in parishes where councils had been tried they might again be given up. An experiment, in short, has to be tried; but, quoting the old anecdote, I ask, if it is wise in such a tentative scheme, is it wise that the Church of England should be made the *corpus vile* on which to try it? It is admitted that tentative councils already exist to a great extent, and under the most favourable circumstances. Is it not wiser and better to let the experiment go on where there are zeal and intelligence and sense to work it? Hereafter, when these councils have been built up in larger numbers, as they certainly will be, experience will have matured the organization best suited for them in places where they may have to be created by some external pressure. But taking the case of a clergyman who is lazy, or ignorant, or infirm—is it not probable that his parish will have become demoralized through his own defects, and that this Bill, if put in force there, instead of revealing the latent good qualities of the place will, on the contrary, bring to the surface all the evils which have silently festered beneath. The council of the clergyman who has left his parish in ignorance, or who has shown it a bad example, is likely to be uncharitable and ungodly in itself; so that with its election the old bad state of things will be succeeded by a worse one, and active mischief take the place of sloth and apathy.

As to the Bill itself, what are the provisions which we find in it? My noble Friend dwells upon the fact that this Bill contains certain principles that were not in the Bill of last year—the members of the council must now be communicants of the Church of England. I congratulate him on that change. I thank him for this great improvement on his former proposal. But I am sure he did not intend to offer what, nevertheless, sounded very like an invitation contained in his speech to the Dissenters to elect the churchwardens from themselves, in order to balance the Church sidesmen. It is no defence to urge that churchwardens may now be, and often are, Dissenters; for the churchwardenship of the present and the churchwardenship of the future, should this Bill become law, would be totally different offices. Future churchwardens would have a voice in matters which would really be of a spiritual character, which does not now belong to the men who bear that name. Read in the light of his own explanations, his plan is open to this miscarriage. But I demur to the relative number of his council. In a parish of 2,000 inhabitants, there are to be 4 councillors; in a parish of 4,000, 8; in a parish above 7,000, 12. I am sure that you will not obtain an adequate representation of a large parish of 10,000 or 20,000 inhabitants in 12 councillors, a quarter of whom are named by the incumbent. I am, in fact, more democratic than my noble Friend; and I am sure that in the large towns of the North and North Midland of England 12 would not be a full representation of the locality. Cliques would be organized, and would prevail; one clique this year, and another clique successful at the election after, with a perpetual faction fight before, during, and consequent on the contests. The stormy petrels may be found in any three parishioners; it is not said that they are to be Churchmen; it is not even said that they are to be communicant members of any Christian body; it is not said that they are not to be absolute and recognized Jews or heathens. This unrepressed and irrepressible triplet may propose that a council shall be elected in any parish of the land. Now, take any of our large seaport towns; take the East End of London, with which my noble Friend is so intimately and so creditably acquainted—places where the most loathsome forms of vice and sensuality abound, and where the only thing that contests the position with these forms of evil is hard, grinding, money-making, and where the clergyman, be he High or Low or Broad Church, is often compelled to stand up alone and fight the battle against sensuality and against greed—who is to elect the council in such a parish? The keepers of public-houses or of worse places, hucksters, petty traders, crimps, lodging-house keepers—any three of these may call a meeting, and whip up men of their own kidney, and women, too, for we have now arrived at the period of female suffrage, and then and there elect a council of persons declaring themselves communicants to resist the work of God. You may say that the clergyman names a fourth of the council; but what is a quarter against three quarters, especially if these have the churchwardens with them? The very fact of a council having been agitated for will, in the eyes of those who know nothing about the state of the case, appear to imply a slur upon the clergyman, and so tend to paralyze his every effort for reformation. The agitators may fail; but they will still claim the credit from outsiders of having made a move on the side of active religion; while the clergyman will be represented as lording it over that zealous portion of the flock who had endeavoured to bring the parish and him into harmonious working, when, in reality, he was only doing his Master's work in striving to stem the tide of vice and immorality, on the profits of which his opponents throve. I appeal to the House to look at this as a matter of common sense. It is not the best people, but the worst who are the most likely to put this machinery in motion. This is not my own unsupported opinion. The Bill has been discussed at more than one Church Conference during the Recess, and no one knows better than my noble Friend how valuable such discussions are. The able and energetic Bishop of Carlisle said of the Bill of last year, that it was a curb, and that the clergy did not only want a curb, but also a spur. But if this year's Bill be any more a spur than its predecessor, then I have misread it. I have also a letter from an eminent Prelate, whose name, if I were to mention it, would carry the greatest weight for wisdom and zeal in this House, in which he says, in answer to some strictures of mine—"I agree with you in your estimate of the Bill." A venerable Archdeacon of wide experience writes—

"I have carefully read over the Parochial Councils Bill, and I cannot regard it in any other light than that of a mischievous measure, especially to country parishes; it will breed discord and dissension among parishioners, and weaken, instead of strengthening, the hands of the clergy, for it will open the way to discontented ratepayers, or aggrieved parishioners, to organize and keep up a vexatious espionage over the clergy, and so hamper and oppose them in their work, as to destroy their interest in it, and make them do as little as possible, and that little in a perfunctory manner, lest they should offend their tyrannical masters, which the small farmers and petty tradesmen of rural parishes would in most cases prove."

The rector of an important town—one of the first towns both in population and intelligence in the great county of Stafford, to which my noble Friend and myself both belong—has also written to me with the experience of a ministerial career universally respected for its earnestness and devotion. He admits that the present Bill is "an improvement on that of last year;" but he goes on to say—

"It is still intolerable that the 'parishioners' should have a voice in the order of the Church's worship and other matters, in which many of them can have no concern."

I have a letter here from one of the most eminent members of the University which I have the honour to represent, and who is also one of the incumbents, and himself Rural Dean, of Cambridge. He says—

"I do not doubt that the promoters of the Parochial Councils Bill are actuated by the desire of rendering more effective our present organization; but, at the same time, I cannot but think that the form in which such desire has expressed itself is likely to be more productive of mischief than of benefit to the Church. . . . I deprecate, as I said before, the passing of the Parochial Councils Bill into a law; but I do not regret its introduction, because I think that the discussion upon it may be useful in promoting the formation of voluntary parochial organizations. The formation of such parochial organizations should, I think, be left to the sense of Christian duty of clergy and people, and should not be spoiled by the hasty interference of Parliament. The details of the Bill are, in my opinion, open to very grave objection; but as I hope that they will not be discussed in Committee, I refrain from making any remarks upon them."

Since I came into the House, and too late to present it at the Table, I have received a Petition against this Bill from the clergy of a considerable rural deanery in Derbyshire, headed by one of the most distinguished of our colonial Bishops—Dr. Hobhouse—which points out the dangers of the plan, and its inadequacy for any good result. The quotations which I have given justify me in opposing my noble Friend. He supposes that in every parish where a council may be wanted, there plenty of the elements suitable to form a working council by uncontrolled election will be forthcoming. But I am for a more free constitution than my noble Friend. In many parishes—especially the smaller ones in the country—I would not elect; I would summon all those whom the clergy might consider qualified to form a council, or even a general meeting of all parishioners who pleased to attend—in fact, I would give vitality to the old-fashioned vestry meeting. I contend that parishes, and especially our rural parishes, are not large enough for the machinery of an election. Instead of making every little town and parish go through the formality of an election, I would call together the men who love the Church, the men who love God, the men who love parish work, and who would do that work with heart and good-will. The Bishop of Ely, who is so much respected for learning, talent, and wisdom by men of all parties, spoke of the former Bill in his address to his Conference held at Ely, in the course of last July, in the following terms:—

"Lord Sandon's Bill would produce a small council which might severely tyrannize over the clergy. Instead of what I have called the paternal government of the Bishops, it would be the government of tenant-farmers and small tradesmen. My own feeling is not to legislate at random—in the dark; but that tentative efforts should be made in various parishes of clergy and laity gathered together. Let us see how such experiments work. Friendly co-operation is what is wanted, not tyrannical government. Thus a double advantage will be secured—the hands of the clergy will be strengthened, and, at the same time, imprudence will be checked. I cannot think that a small number of persons, mechanically elected by vestry, who may be persons hostile to the Church, is a proper council. We want the most prudent and the most earnest of the laity, to act with the clergyman. Just as those who do not work ought not to eat, so, I think, that those who will not work ought not to govern. Those who gather round the clergyman to work with him should be those to govern with him."

The Bishop of Carlisle, whose great ability has been matured by the successive discharge, with great success, of the duties of parish priest and of dean of an important cathedral, in treating of my noble Friend's Bill at his Conference in January last, also dwells upon the short-comings of the Bill of 1870—

> "By a newspaper of to-day he saw that in Manchester two or three parishes had established parish councils. But these councils, which met simply on agreement between the clergyman and the parishioners—these councils, which the clergyman called together for the purpose of consulting with them for the general benefit of the parish—these were altogether different things from a council which would take the initiative, which had legal powers, and which, if constituted as proposed in that Bill, would be a very much more important power in the parish than the clergyman himself. In fact, there could be no doubt that the general tendency of the Bill was to transfer—to a great extent, at least—the responsibility which now rests on the clergy of the Church, to the parochial councils."

A spirited debate ensued upon the subject at the gathering, and I imagine that some main alterations in the present Bill —its permissive character, and the recognition of communion as the qualification for membership—were made in consequence; nevertheless, the evils pointed out in the passage which I have quoted are still to be found in it.

The main defects of my noble Friend's Bill arise from his not having faced in it the great fact which underlies the present social position of the Church of England. He has not realized the fact that in our towns the Church of England is no longer a merely parochial institution, but that while the parish still exists for many important ends, our worship is widely shaping itself in the congregational form. This is a development which we must recognize, or we shall be sure to go wrong in our legislation as well as in our informal arrangements. We know that there are in the Church differences of taste—or of no taste; we know there are extravagances in one direction—yes, and we know also there are extravagances in more than one other direction; we know there are differences of taste in oratory; differences of taste in art; differences of taste in music; and different cravings of Christian souls for varying teachings, according to their many wants. All these must have ample room to develop themselves, if the Church is to do its full work in a busy land. We know that there are extravagances of the High, the Low, and of the Broad Church. It is often urged that such extravagances are forced upon indignant congregations by priggish or tyrannical clergymen. Such may be sometimes the case; but very frequently they are forced upon the clergyman by a zealous and determined congregation, which often drives him to procedures to which his own more educated taste would object. The question here arises—is the permission of these extravagances wise, useful, and helpful to the worship of those persons who certainly find that they warm and sustain their personal devotions; or are they rather evil by the example they set to others, and the aversion which they excite among those who prefer a different system? That is a question which it is not easy to answer in any way, and totally impossible to answer in general terms; but it is one which every day forces itself more and more to the front. It is, in fact, one of the most delicate and difficult problems of human nature. I should rather call it an infinite series of such problems, for each case must be met upon its own circumstances. Still, as we have a National Church, it may be right to attempt an answer. Such an answer will never be given by the cramped machinery which would be created under this Bill. After all, the broad fact remains that the Church of England is accepting congregational liberties, and that a generous system of give and take is growing up among her clergy, who are learning the unwisdom of checking the resort of earnest worshippers to the places where they may best indulge their oratorical, their ritual, or their musical predilections, and feed upon the teachings most suited to their spiritual needs. At the same time, the parish stands with its Church open to that other great class who prefer to accept, without questioning, that which has been provided for them by the constituted organization.

It would be a calamity if all our churches were to be similarly regulated by a series of uniform councils, not elected by the men who enjoyed their services and who took the trouble to attend them, but chosen by people who did not go to these churches, but who took the trouble to go to other churches, where they would probably find other councils elected by men who would pay them off by reciprocally spoiling their enjoyment.

As to the country and town parishes, compared with each other, this Bill inflexibly regulates the number of the sidesmen by ratio of population — for instance, a place of not more than 2,000 is entitled to the minimum number of four. But 2,000 people in the country are very different from 2,000 in a town; their thoughts are different; their times are different; their fashions are different; the distance or proximity of the houses, the variety of occupations vitally alter the condition of public opinion. Yet the same machinery is proposed for both. My noble Friend must not be angry with me, nor think I treat this subject with levity, when I say that his Bill has been forecast by Dean Swift, when he stated that the tailors in Laputa were under strict statutory obligations to cut everybody's coat by mathematical diagram, so as to ensure uniformity of shape and identity of dimension. Everyone who knows my noble Friend knows his deep devotion to the Church of England. Every word which he has said in moving his Bill proves his good feeling towards her; but that very feeling makes him too nervous and anxious about the subject which both he and I have in view. It makes him impatient of the result, and unwilling to trust to the operation of forces which neither he nor I can control. The last objection I have is one which underlies the whole Bill. It breaks up the Church of England into a number of small parochial councils, and leaves it there. It fabricates a number of spindles, and forgets the engines which are to work them as one machine. It would let loose a flood of discussion in areas not large enough for the higher art of deliberation. We want a field broader than the mere parish—we want these petty assemblies to be topped by councils which should be archidiaconal, or, better still, diocesan. Such assemblies — commonly termed conferences — combining the clergy and the laity in joint deliberation, are growing up every day in different parts of England. I have had, during this speech, to refer to two of them which took my noble Friend's Bill in hand. The speech of the Bishop of Ely, from which I have already quoted, was delivered at a diocesan Conference at Ely. I referred to another, held in the cathedral city of Carlisle. Each diocese knows its own wants and its own difficulties; it knows how to meet in these larger assemblies; it also knows how to organize its own parochial councils, much better than we can pretend to do. Do leave the matter in the hands of the diocesan and archidiaconal conferences—those large centres of thought and intelligence—into which the Church is naturally divided, and do not try to thrust upon the Church this series of little disjointed parish juntas. Do not chill the growing zeal of our time by calling out men whose aim will be to perpetuate unspiritual sloth and narrow uniformity. Above all things, avoid creating any inelastic system, and binding it down upon the Church, which is beginning to warm to the new life, by Act of Parliament. These are the considerations on which I hope my noble Friend will be satisfied with the discussion which he has raised —that he will be satisfied with the attention which is now given to the subject in dioceses and archdeaconries, and in many parishes; and that he will allow you, Sir, to put from the Chair, instead of his Bill, the Resolution which I now place in your hands.

MR. BIRLEY seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is inexpedient to hamper the free development of co-operation between the clergy and the laity according to the local circumstances of different parishes by uniform and unelastic legislative provisions,"—(*Mr. Beresford Hope,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. COWPER-TEMPLE thanked the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University for his courtesy in abstaining from meeting the Bill by a direct negative; but the character attributed to the Bill in his Resolution was quite undeserved. The Bill was the reverse of uniform and inelastic; it enacted no perpetual regulations, but created an instrumentality whereby the decisions of majorities might determine various open questions now left to the sole discretion of the incumbent. The Bill would assist the free development of co-operation, and bring the clergy and laity into a new relationship of mutual help and counsel, from which new and vital action would proceed. The hon. Member had referred to an expression of a Bishop that the Bill would prove a curb, and not a spur. In his (Mr. Cowper-Temple's) opinion it was both. It would act as a curb in places where the clergyman disregarded the feelings and opinions of the parishioners; and as a spur when he was timid, and loth to undertake on his own responsibility the improvements desired by earnest and zealous men in his parish. The spontaneous growth of numerous parochial councils proved their adaptation to the wants of the day, but also exhibited their deficiencies. They could not arise where most wanted, and when disagreement existed between the rector and his parishioners. The best men were not attracted by a post which conferred no power or responsibility beyond that of giving advice, which no one was bound to follow; and the people took no interest in the selection and proceedings of a body which was not representative in any real sense. The Bill would remedy a grave defect in the organization of the Church. The details of public worship not prescribed by law, and which affected the congregation as much, and even more than the minister, were decided by the sole will of the latter. If the rector desired to consult the wishes of the parishioners, he had no opportunity of explaining his views and ascertaining their opinions. Many were unwilling to volunteer objections beforehand, who had no scruple in proclaiming their displeasure after the change had been made. The opponents, having no constitutional mode of action, were driven to hostile and irregular forms of remonstrance, leading to painful strife and scandals. But no remonstrance could avail when the incumbent stood on his legal rights, and repudiated the claims of the people to have a voice in matters in which the law had not entitled them to speak. The Bill, if passed, would prevent the evils arising from isolation and misunderstanding; it would promote joint action and co-operation between the clergyman and the parishioners, and many jealousies on the part of the latter might be dispelled when the opportunity for explanation was afforded. Before the Reformation the control of the Bishop could be invoked by the parishioners when they differed in such matters with the rector; now no such effective power was lodged in the Episcopal Office, and the check could only be entrusted to the representatives of the parish. The laity might be safely entrusted with a larger share in the government of the Church. Authorized channels for lay action had been demanded by persons of various opinions, and of all parties who had given attention to the question of how the Church might be made more efficient and better adapted to the wants and spirit of the present day. From the earliest times there had been a representation of the laity in the person of the churchwardens, and the ancient principle of lay representation ought to be applied through extended powers to Church matters that concerned the laity. The mode of electing the sidesmen would follow that of electing churchwardens. Lay representation sprang up spontaneously in every branch of the English Church not trammeled by ancient usages or by legislation. When the Church was planted in the United States or the Colonies, lay councils for the parish, the diocese, and the whole Church were established to act in conjunction with the clergymen; and the Church in Ireland, when it had to form its own constitution, naturally adopted the same principle. He could not doubt, too, that should the day arrive when, as predicted and desired by many, the Church of England should be dissociated from its alliance with the State, the benefits of corporate life arising from parochial councils would be felt. As politicians, the Members of that House could not hesitate to grant these powers to the Church, for they would only be giving to the Church that form of self-government and popular representation which was of such inestimable advantage in the political constitution of the country. Though strife and conflict of opinions might arise in these parochial councils, discussion was the only way to arrive at the truth, and to ascertain the wish of the majority. As Churchmen, they should trust their congregations with more freedom and larger discretion, and must run some risk of disadvantage from the meetings of these councils, in order to secure a fuller co-operation and union amongst the different orders of the Church than at present existed; by these means they might do something to adapt the outward organization of the Church to the wants and feelings that now prevailed, and might hope that the Church would make up for her shortcomings in the past, and become more useful to the people, and more conducive to the great and important ends for which she was established.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that he agreed in much that had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Cowper-Temple), but he thought that his statement that some such arrangement as that the Bill now proposed would probably be effected under a disestablished Church of England, was not likely to recommend the measure to hon. Members on the Conservative side of the House. In the course of last summer he was appointed the Chairman of a Committee formed in his diocese to inquire into the status of churchwardens and the desirability of defining more clearly their position in the Church; and from the evidence that was adduced before them, and after careful consideration, the Committee came to the opinion that it was desirable to extend through them the lay co-operation, but not to the extent recommended by this Bill. After considering the position of churchwardens from the earliest times, and the difference that now existed in that respect in town and country parishes, it was decided that churchwardens, if properly elected, and with proper duties to discharge, were really the best and most efficient representatives of the laity in their different parishes, and that it was not necessary to create a large assembly to regulate these affairs. He differed from the opinion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University (Mr. B. Hope) that the number of the council, as proposed by the Bill, would be too small, but he felt rather that they would be too large, and that great difficulty would be experienced in many parishes in obtaining the requisite qualified number of sidesmen in whom confidence could be placed. His objection to the Bill was founded more on the change that had taken place in it since last year than in any other respect. They had now what he believed to be anything but wholesome in Church matters—permissive legislation suggested. He would urge the noble Lord, under the circumstances, to be content with the discussion that was likely to take place on the Bill, and not press it to a Division. He thought he would do well to trust to the feeling that at present existed in the country in favour of a large amount of lay co-operation in the affairs of the Church; leaving it to those who were working in that direction to take the initiative. He thought that, in that way, the question would be more maturely considered in the country, and, perhaps, the passage of a Bill next Session greatly facilitated. He should, however, prefer the Bill being sent to a Select Committee.

Mr. D. DALRYMPLE said, as a Churchman who yielded to no one on the opposite side of the House in respect for the Church, and in desire for her stability, he approved the scope of this Bill, and believed it would tend very much to promote harmony between the clergy and the laity in a parish; but he thought, nevertheless, its effect would be marred by one single word in the 14th line of the 2nd page—the word "communicant." The introduction of that word would, he thought, tend to the revival of those distinctions and tests which it had been the work of the last 40 years to get rid of. He could not understand how any good could be effected by setting up a new shibboleth. He felt this was something like degrading the rite of the Lord's Supper into a distinction and qualification, and putting a power into the hands of the incumbent which he could not see he had any right to possess. An incumbent with exalted views of the priestly office might declare that the rite of the Lord's Supper consisted in that which he held the Articles of our religion denied to be the case, and might so administer the rite as to repel many from the Lord's Table. Another incumbent might take a low and degrading view of the rite and equally repel others. If, therefore, it was necessary for members of the council to declare themselves "communicant members" of the congregation, the clergyman having otherwise the power to object to their election, the Bill would rather throw the apple of discord into a parish than promote harmonious action between the clergy and the laity. He should, at the proper time, move the omission of the word, which he believed to be wholly unnecessary; but, if the word should be retained, he would then oppose the passage of the Bill in every possible way.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was very sorry to hear what had been just said. For a long time voluntary councils had been growing in use more and more, and they had worked well, because the gentlemen who were upon them had been *bonâ fide* members of the Church of England, who wished to do all they could for her benefit. The word "communicant" had been introduced simply to ensure that the members of the council should be *bonâ fide* members of the Church, who had her interests at heart. From time immemorial, churchwardens had been looked upon as lay representatives of the Church, particularly in council with the clergyman, and the principle of the Bill was to re-affirm lay representation in the Church, and to enact that a legal status should be given to laymen working in connection with the clergyman. He hoped that the House would have no difficulty in affirming this principle, and he would ask his noble Friend (Viscount Sandon) to be content with the affirmation of the principle, and to proceed no further with the Bill this Session. He thought that such a delay was desirable, in order that the laity throughout the country should have an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon the matter. He was by no means certain that a council framed under this Bill would work in many parishes. He had had much to do with associations in which the clergy and laity worked together; but he doubted whether the clergy would be so willing to discuss matters with the laity when that body would be in the position of a legislative council that could act against the opinion of the clergyman. What was wanted was not so much a legislative as a consultative council. If the Bill were not now pressed beyond the second reading, and time were allowed for the country to consider it, the result would probably be that, next year, they might be able to frame a Bill that would really work well. In great towns it had been a great difficulty in the way of the Church of England that she had no position into which she could put laymen who wanted to do something. There was abroad an eagerness to be doing something for good. In the Nonconformist Bodies this element was made very great use of, and this, probably, was the reason why, in populous places, the Nonconformists had so largely increased in numbers. He believed that having a parochial council would do a great deal of good to the Church; but in country districts they would have difficulty in getting people to go to a council, and it would, in many cases, be in parishes where councils were least wanted that they would be brought into existence to thwart the clergyman or put some restraint upon him. He did not think that, at present, the House was prepared to give powers to parochial councils to make any alteration in the services or ministration of the Church; and, certainly, if any such alteration was made against the wish of the clergyman, it would tend to create the greatest amount of discord and ill-feeling.

Sir GEORGE GREY said, he desired to say only a very few words. He would not refer to the details of the Bill, which had been commented on by several hon. Members—he would confine himself entirely to the principle, with one single exception. He desired to express his full concurrence in what he considered to be the principle of the Bill—namely, the recognition by law of the right of the lay members of the Church to take part in the management, in common with the incumbent, of the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish, including the mode of conducting the services and ministrations of the Church—of course within the limits prescribed by law. He agreed with the hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. B. Hope), that it was most undesirable to attempt to impose, in all cases, strict uniformity. If they did, it would be impossible to enforce it, looking to the differing circumstances of different parishes; and, if it were not impossible, such an attempt would be very inexpedient. But within the limits allowed by law, he thought it most desirable that a discretion should be left to members of the Established Church selected freely from the great body of parishioners and acting in concert with the incumbent, and that such discretion should not be exercised by the incumbent alone, who had, he feared, frequently exercised it against the feelings, wishes, and convictions of the great body of the parishioners. This, he believed, would tend very much to prevent those differences which existed in not a few parishes, and which, he feared, had alienated the minds of many parishioners from the ministrations of the Church. The details of the Bill would necessarily require a good deal of modification; and he hoped the noble Lord would adopt the suggestion of the hon. Baronet below him (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) that the best course would be that it should be referred to a Select Committee. With reference to what had fallen from his hon. Friend the Member for Bath (Mr. D. Dalrymple), who objected to the words in the declaration to be taken by each member of these councils that he is a "communicant member of the Church of England," he was quite sure the noble Lord (Viscount Sandon) had no intention of reviving anything like the old test of taking the Communion as a qualification for office; the only object he aimed at—and it appeared to be a reasonable one—was that the persons elected to take part in these councils should be *bonâ fide* members of the Church of England; and he had no doubt his noble Friend would assent to any proposal that attained that object in a manner free from objection. Before sitting down, he must declare his entire concurrence in the opinion expressed by his noble Friend towards the close of his speech in moving the second reading, that it was most desirable and important, in the interest of the Established Church, to bring it into harmony with the other institutions of the country. By creating these councils with a legal status entitling them to take part with the incumbent in the management of the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish, they would bring the clergy and laity into more direct and active co-operation, and thus materially strengthen their action, producing harmony between the constitution and government of the Church and the other institutions of the country. He regarded this Bill as a valuable step in this direction.

Mr. NEWDEGATE tendered his thanks to the noble Lord, on account of the great judgment which he had shown in the general scope of this Bill and in his manner of introducing it. Fault had been found because it was a Permissive Bill; he could not but think that the noble Lord had exercised a wise discretion in making the acceptance of this Bill optional in the first instance. The Bill would impose a rigid rule, for it was, in truth, as elastic as possible in most respects, and especially in this, so that each parish might judge for itself whether it would exercise the powers which the Bill contained. He believed that this was a proper mode of testing the opinions of the country, parish by parish. He regretted the opposition that the hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope) offered to this Bill. One objection which the hon. Member raised was, that the Bill was not to be general, directly enacting its provisions for every parish, with immediate operation. He (Mr. Newdegate) had tried that system for 10 successive Sessions. He had introduced a Bill, entitled the Church Rate Commutation Bill, which would have commuted the average of church rate into a charge upon property. But that Bill contained provisions similar in their object, although somewhat different in their form from those which the present Bill contained, the object being to revive the representation of the laity of each parish in the vestry—an object now admitted to be necessary. But the Bill was opposed by the same section of the clergy who oppose this Bill; and, notwithstanding the support given to it by the present Prime Minister, it was rejected. By the abolition of compulsory church rates the clergy obtained an enormous power as compared with that of the laity who lost by the change, and to replace this loss to the laity he thought that some such measure as this was necessary. So long as the church rate was compulsory the ratepayers attended the vestry to regulate the expenditure of it; but when many of them ceased to contribute through a feeling of delicacy, there grew up a reluctance to interfere in its application of funds contributed by a portion only of the parishioners. The hon. Member for the University of Cambridge seemed to undervalue the parochial system; but the House might depend upon this, that if ever the Church of England ceased to be a parochial Church it would be disestablished. The strongest argument for the disestablishment of the

Irish Church was that in many parishes there were not sufficient communicants. The Church would have no right to continue established if she became merely congregational; that was if she ceased to be the Church of the parish or of all the parishioners, whether they accepted her ministrations or not. He would warn Churchmen against listening to such arguments as those of the hon. Member for Cambridge. It was absurd to suppose that we could have an Established Church in this country if it were not parochial. Parochial organization was essential to the Constitutional freedom of this country; Churchmen would not consent to be governed in Church and other matters, from a few diocesan or archidiaconal centres, such as the Member for the University of Cambridge contemplated. The parochial system was essential to the constitution of this country. If the House broke up the parochial system, or allowed it to elapse, they would disorganize the people.

Mr. H. RICHARD said, he desired to pay his humble tribute of admiration to the tone and spirit of the speech with which the noble Lord (Viscount Sandon) had introduced this question to the notice of the House. He especially thanked the noble Lord for the manner in which he had alluded to the Nonconformists of the country; and he thought he might, on behalf of the Nonconformists, cordially respond to at least one part of his appeal, and assure him that, as long as the principles held sacred by the Nonconformists were not compromised, they were most willing and anxious that the Church of England should be placed in the best possible position for discharging her spiritual duties. There was work enough for all religious Bodies in coping with the ignorance, vice, and practical heathenism which still unhappily dishonoured this professedly Christian country. It might appear unseemly that a Nonconformist should wish to take part in the discussion of a matter relating to the internal economy of the Church of England; but it was one of the conditions, and some might think one of the inconveniences, of connection between Church and State that it obliged every member of the State to be a member of the Church, and that not only gave the right, but imposed it as a duty on Nonconformists to watch even a measure of this description and see that they were not deprived of their rights by a side wind. Therefore, it was that he rose to object to that sub-section of Clause 6 which said—

> "No person shall be elected a sidesman under this Act unless he shall have signed and delivered to the incumbent and each of the churchwardens of the parish, at least five days before the day of election, a declaration under his hand that he is a communicant member of the Church of England."

The hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) had just said that, theoretically, the Church of England was the Church of all the parishioners; but by this sub-section the rights of Dissenters as parishioners were wholly ignored and left out of account. Of course, if power were given to them to sit in the council, the instances would be very rare in which a Dissenter would desire to become a member of it; but still Dissenters were bound to protect their legal position. To the main provisions of the Bill he had no objection, believing, as he did, that the giving of larger powers to the laity in the government of the Church would place it more nearly in harmony with that form of government which was nearest to the primitive and apostolic model—namely, the congregational form. He had long been surprised that many of the best supporters of the Church, both in money and effort, were content with so little share in the management of matters in which they and their families were vitally interested. Whether this was to be done by legislation the members of the Church of England in that House must decide; but he hoped the day was not far distant when the Church of England would throw off her fetters, would exercise that liberty which belonged to every other ecclesiastical Body in this country, and would not be exposed to the humiliation of seeking legislation at the hands of a House of Commons composed of persons of all religions and of no religion at all, and asking such a body to provide a legislative means of enabling her to fulfil her functions as a spiritual and Christian institution.

Mr. GATHORNE HARDY said, it was with very great regret that he found himself, on a question of Church government and of Church discipline, differing from the noble Lord who had introduced the measure. He concurred with every speaker who had preceded him that the noble Lord had spoken in such a way as not to give rise to any feeling of animosity; but he could not but consider that the time had not arrived when they could come to a conclusion on this measure, which had neither been sufficiently considered by the country, nor especially by the lay members of the Church of England. The Bill proposed to carry lay co-operation much further than it was now carried by the appointment of churchwardens; for the duty of these officers was confined to such matters as ordering the affairs of the Church with respect to ornaments, providing the surplice, and so on; and Lord Stowell had laid it down that they were not to interfere with the ministrations, which were the province of the clergyman, subject to the supervision of the ordinary. Sidesmen were practically the same as churchwardens. Lay organization was proceeding rapidly already, and the clergy were associating themselves with laymen who were anxious to assist in parochial work; but he feared that if the interference of laity, without intelligence, and without zeal, and without genuine co-operation, were permitted, so far from its being a benefit to the clergy, it would tend to thwart their efforts. One hon. Member who had preceded him had said that in many parishes it would never come into operation; but he could assure him that in many parishes it would come into operation simply with the view of thwarting the efforts of the clergyman, and of permitting the vulgar and ignorant to stop the efforts of the enlightened, and the labours of the Church at large. Did they suppose that the revivals—and he spoke of no excesses—which had taken place during late years in the dignity and decorum with which the services were conducted would have taken place if there had been a power in the laity, by the side of the clergyman, to interfere with them? Did they suppose that if a clergyman had gone to a parish conducted on the old system—psalms sung to a violin, or brought to an end in the middle of a sentence—and wished to put a stop to such an indecorous state of things—did they think that no body of his parishioners would have impeded or obstructed his efforts at improvement? He feared that a council would only end in stereotyping a state of things to which they had become wedded by long use. He also objected to the mode of election altogether, and he did not think the time had come when elections could be prudently or safely made in the manner proposed by the Bill. The hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil had told the House that the Nonconformists were members of the Church of England. The hon. Member must excuse him if he differed from him on that point. Indeed, the Nonconformists had come to that House and applied for special legislation on the ground that they were not members of the Church of England; and in the time of William III. they applied on that ground for power to appoint deputies, when they were made churchwardens, in order that they might not take oaths which violated their consciences. Seeing, then, that they could not exercise all the duties of a churchwarden, it was not a fit thing that a Dissenter should fill that office. It was not to be supposed that the Church of England was unwilling that they should return and take part in the offices of the Church; but while they removed themselves from the Church, they were certainly not to be considered members of it. It was not to be forgotten that they had asked the House for leave to celebrate their own rites in burying grounds, on the ground that they were not members of the Church of England, but dissenting communities. It could be no grievance to them, therefore, if they were not allowed to take part in the election of persons who were to form the council of the Church. Neither ought the clergymen to be hampered by this opposition. In reply to those who alleged that the clergy took less interest than formerly in the affairs of their parishes, he asserted that in proportion to the decline of the secular influence had been the increase of their spiritual influence, and that this was the explanation of the revivals within the Church and of the cordial co-operation of the clergy with the laity. The House would find, also, that it would be only legislating in a way that would kindle feelings of animosity if the council were to be elected in the manner proposed. It was no doubt in the power of Nonconformist Members of the House, and of Scotch and Irish Members, to legislate in the internal affairs and management of the Church of England. It was no doubt in their power, as they were here in the House; but surely the time had come when the Church, without interfering with anybody's liberty, should have some liberty of her own. He did not wish to stop any Member of the House from interfering with the temporalities of the Church; but when it came to purely internal matters these might be left to the Church herself. He objected also to Parliament enacting that the Church should do something in a way different from that in which she now did it under the law; for the Bill gave power to the sidesmen to stop anything within the law, not that which was beyond it—and in that respect its provisions were entirely novel. He ventured to say there was springing up in the country means by which a Bill like this could be fairly tested. The Bill had been put into the hands of Members only last Friday morning, and it differed in many respects from that of last Session. There had been no time for the Bill to circulate among the parishes, or to obtain the views of the clergy upon it. Even now, diocesan synods and ruridecanal chapters were meeting constantly and discussing all Church questions, and the laity was found to have a voice quite as influential as the clergy. And that was not confined merely to the synodical meetings, as there was a very strong desire on the part of the clergy to ascertain the views of the laity, and that principle was growing into practice throughout England every day. If he objected to this Bill being referred to a Select Committee now, it was because he felt that a plan would be matured in the Church itself which would by-and-by more effectually carry out its object. As to the details of the Bill, these formed practically the principles of the Bill, and these principles were the principle of election and the principle of appeal. What was the principle of appeal? It was to the Ordinary—to the Bishop, and the clergyman—who could now do anything within the law, would, under the Bill, be bound by the caprice of the Bishop, irrespective of the law. [An hon. MEMBER: By the discretion.] Discretion was caprice—not that he accused the Bishops of being capricious; but if a man had power to decide without reference to law, he decided according to his own mind or feeling. Let things be settled by the law, and by the law only. There was one remarkable thing in this Bill which had struck him more than anything, and it was that a clergyman had no appeal. Suppose a congregation were singing the so-called Psalms of David, and the clergyman wanted to sing something else, if the council decided against him he was to have no right of appeal to the Bishop. This would prolong the state of things under which a clerk, on Assize Sunday, struck by the apparent appropriateness of the first lines, selected the Psalm beginning

> "Speak, O, ye judges of the land,
> If just your sentence be;"

without seeing that there followed the lines—

> "And shall not earth to Heaven appeal
> From your unjust decree?"

Another remarkable thing was, that in the council proposed to be given to the clergyman he was to have only one member, and the laity were to have three, which seemed a very strong measure, not called for by the occasion. It was trebling the lay element, and giving it a power which was supreme in parish action. This would work with great severity in some cases against the clergymen, and against the parish itself. But he was quite sure such a quorum as was proposed would not in most cases be got out of the members, and in that case everything would come to a standstill—for the Bill was most explicit that no change was to be made without the consent of the council. Again, there was nothing in the Bill to distinguish between the different parts of the church. Every church had its chancel, and many churches private chapels. Was it proposed to give to everyone who thought stained-glass windows idolatrous the right to use every power his position gave him, to pull down a stained window in the chancel or private chapels? All these things were serious questions, and it was necessary to consider what it was they were about to do. Public opinion had gained force now as it had never done before. With newspapers everywhere, if a clergyman did anything which was contrary to just and public opinion, he was at once brought before the public, and there was sufficient control over him in that way, and by the law. By this Bill they would be taking away not only from the clergyman, but in some degree from the Bishop also, the power which they already had. Reverting to the remark of the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil that Nonconformists were members of the Church of England, he asked if it was reasonable that parishioners, who were not worshippers in the congregation, even though they belonged to the Church of England, and who disapproved of the services of another church, should be elected to the council of that church, and interfere with its services? Was it reasonable, whether such people were connected with the Church of England or not? He thought not. He thought the time had not come for this legislation, though he also believed that there was at present growing up in this country a strong feeling that the laity had not sufficient power in the Church of England. There were those who thought that even in the Convocation of the Provinces the laity should be represented. All he said with respect to that was that Convocaton had asked, upon more than one occasion, for permission to reform herself. This House would always have control over any attempt the Church made to reform herself; and it was a little hard upon Convocation to speak of it as had been done, both in the House and out of the House, as a mere debating society, and to dwell on the necessity of reform without giving it the power to make any change. That there was a desire throughout the country for more lay co-operation in the Church, he was prepared to admit; but they should not go into precipitate legislation. But that desire to give the laity more power than they had at present was, in a mode, very different from what was done by this Bill. He did not think the Bill would be brought into shape by means of a Select Committee; but if the House decided on giving more power to laymen than they at present possessed, he trusted time would be given for disseminating the Bill throughout the country, and he, for one, believed that the Church of England had not anything to lose by free and ample discussion.

MR. RATHBONE said, that, as a Dissenter himself and a Churchman through his "better half," he was brought into contact with both Churchmen and Dissenters. He was bound to admit that the clergy were doing a good work at the present time; but it appeared to him that the laity were not as actively cooperating in the work as they ought to do, and he could not help thinking that if the laity were called upon to take a more prominent part in the affairs of the Church they could not, for very shame, allow things to remain in their present condition. In the interests of the Church and of religion he would oppose any strengthening of the hands of the Church in the matter of endowments and privileges; but he thought they were all bound, as members of the Church universal, to give every assistance they could to the Church of England as a religious Body. In former days persecution was a stimulus to the zeal of Dissenters, and now, considering the mass of misery, crime, and irreligion around us, it would be well to substitute for that stimulus competition in good works. As members of the Church Universal Dissenters had a vital interest in everything which would enable the Church of England to do its work more efficiently.

MR. BUXTON said, the first thing which struck him on looking at this Bill was that it tends to transfer to individual parties the power of legislating for the Church of England within their limits. It should not be forgotten that the Church of England was under the control of the State, and he could not perceive that the parochial councils proposed to be established by the Bill could have anything to do except to trespass upon those liberties which the nation had granted to the clergy. Such a power would be placed in hands wholly unfit to exercise it, for, as a rule, the laity were not so liberal and unprejudiced as to allow a clergyman to deviate a single inch from the old routine; consequently, a clergyman might be seriously annoyed and deprived of such freedom as he might fairly claim by these parochial councils, which would sit in judgment on his acts. He was quite sure it would be impossible for this Bill to stand if the word "communicant" remained in it.

VISCOUNT SANDON said, that the word referred to had nothing whatever to do with the elective body.

MR. BUXTON: But those who were elected must be communicants. He was convinced that the time would soon come when the Established Church must have a real representative assembly of its own, in which the laity belonging to it should have their just influence; but that end, in his opinion, could not be obtained by this measure. He believed it would be a good thing to sweep away Convocation, which, after all, was little more than a debating society, and which had displayed an amount of bigotry unequalled in this country in modern time; and which was totally unfitted to rule over the Church, because it did not contain any representation of the laity. It would be, he thought, the better to do away with it altogether, and to substitute for it a real representative Church assembly in which the laity should have their due influence, but which should have no legislative power without the express sanction of Parliament.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, his noble Friend the Member for Liverpool (Viscount Sandon) might fairly congratulate himself that, with the exception of those of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University and of the hon. Member for East Surrey, all the speeches hitherto delivered had been favourable to his Bill. Other hon. Members seemed to him to have directed their arguments against the details rather than the principle of the measure. For his own part, while he cordially gave his support in favour of the principle, he was unwilling to bind himself to all its details, which he considered to be fairly open to discussion, either in a Committee of the Whole House or in a Select Committee. He supported that principle for reasons similar to those so well expressed by his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford. He had a conviction that the laity had not sufficient power in the government of the Church of England; and that feeling was largely shared in by the laity themselves. Speaking of the Church of England as an institution necessary to the well-being and happiness of the State, he thought, in order to fulfil that character, it was of the utmost importance that the laity should have a larger share in its management. Such a system would tend to give them a deeper sense of their responsibility, and would teach them to recognize the difficulties with which the clergy had to contend, to respect them, and sympathize with them in all their works. An objection had been urged to the Bill because it was said it imposed a "hard-and-fast line." Now, he gave the measure his best support because it did nothing of the kind. As he understood the principle of the Bill, it left the various ceremonial observances and particulars connected with the services of the Church to the discretion of the council, who would afford its assistance to the clergy whenever the latter thought it necessary to consult it. It seemed to him advantageous to the Church that there should be some differences and variety in those respects. He should deprecate every attempt to lay down a hard-and-fast line, believing that nothing would more tend to alienate earnest clergymen from their congregations, and to lessen the interest of the laity themselves. He could not, however, disguise from himself that there were many able and devoted clergymen strongly opposed to the Bill, and this feeling ought certainly to be recognized, and therefore it appeared to him that ample time should be given for the consideration of all its details. He hoped that his noble Friend would consent to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, where both sides of the question might be urged, and if it should be found upon due deliberation that any of its details were impracticable, or unwise, or such as were likely to work with harshness or to ignore the rights of the clergy, then, of course, they could be modified in such a way as to make them as satisfactory as possible to all parties. It was impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that the rights of the clergy, if strained to their utmost limits, constituted a danger to the Church, and that those rights would be much better secured and rendered more permanent if such a system as proposed were established, whereby the co-operation of the clergy and laity in the government and management of the Church was recognized by law. Even without that sanction parochial councils had proved of great benefit during the last few years. There were cases unfortunately where clergymen claimed to do absolutely what they pleased, without the slightest reference or respect for the feelings of the laity. Now, it appeared to him that the present measure was absolutely necessary to meet such cases and to reconcile the views of the clergy and laity with the object of promoting the general interests of both. He thought, therefore, that it was desirable that the House should concede the principle involved in this Bill; but he would not support it if he thought it would interfere with the rights of the clergy, or cast any reflections upon them whilst they were discharging the sacred duties of their office.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, that though a Nonconformist, following the definition given by a high authority that a Churchman was an Englishman in his ecclesiastical capacity, he ventured to claim the right of offering some observations upon the question before them. The Church was the possessor of national property. Now, every institution which was sustained by national property was subject to the interest of the whole, and of every part of the community, and must submit to the control of Parliament, and to the interference of the representatives of the various denominations sitting in the House of Commons. This led to only one conclusion—that the Episcopal Church must receive from Parliament the entire management of its own affairs. Nothing had struck him more than the antagonism of opinion which existed on this matter. It was urged that in dealing with this question it was necessary to keep in view the principle of homogeneity. But how, he asked, was it possible to secure homogeneity in councils which would include such a variety of opinion? Though not a Churchman, he entertained not the slightest feeling of antagonism towards the Episcopal Church. It was only in its peculiar relations to the State he was disposed to find fault with it, and if that objection were removed, it would be a matter to him of the slightest regret if every individual in the country were to enter within the limits of the Episcopal Body. He would ask the noble Lord (Viscount Sandon) whether he really thought he should gain the object he had in view by limiting the qualification to those councils to the communicants of the Church? If so, he could tell him that he would find himself egregiously disappointed. The noble Lord would not, indeed, find anything captious or unworthy in the conduct of the Nonconformists; but the fact was that the majority of people in many parishes in this country were neither Nonconformists nor earnest Episcopalians. Consequently, he feared lest, under the provisions of the Bill, the councils should not be elected by earnest religious men, and lest the clergyman might be compelled to work with a body altogether inimical to religion. Then, indeed, would we regret the day that the House of Commons had allowed itself to be influenced by the persuasive speech of the noble Lord in giving its assent to this measure.

SIR CHARLES ADDERLEY said, he had to remind hon. Members that the proposed councils would have nothing to do with the property of the Church, nor would they have power to interfere except in respect to matters connected with the mode of conducting the services of the Church. Many practices, distasteful to the congregations, had been introduced in churches, because those who were interested in the decent performance of the services had no means, except annual violent altercations in vestry elections, of from time to time assembling and consulting together on the subject. It was upon that point that the assistance of parochial councils, in which clergy and laity could meet in quiet and orderly discussion of matters of order, was needed. The support so generally given to the Bill by the Nonconformists was, no doubt, owing to the fact that it tended to popularize the services of the Church, and to carry out their own principle of congregationalism, which, as had been remarked, was the original principle of the Church; and he wished the Church to be able to realize that element of strength in the conduct of its own services. Amongst all the speeches that had been made on the subject he had not heard the principle of this measure contested. Even his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford, though he warmly criticized its details, admitted its principle. All he alleged was the inopportuneness of bringing it forward at the present time. But surely the subject was ripe for legislation now—if not, when did his right hon. Friend think the time would arrive? The Bill had been for two years before the House. [MR. G. HARDY: No!] Well, some modifications had been introduced; but it passed a second reading a year ago; this was at least the second year of its discussion; and the time had surely arrived for dealing with the question. Parochial councils had been successfully tried on the voluntary principle in various parts of the country, and therefore the House had a good means of judging of the probable working of the measure. It could not be doubted that there was a necessity for more co-operation between the clergy and laity in respect to questions relating merely to the Church services. The very existence of Nonconformity proved that there had been a want of unanimity between the clergy and the laity. Schism and separation were bred in the great interests of a common religion by these minor disputes, having no regular means of settlement. If that evil were to be cured it could only be by authorizing and allowing the people to have such a voice in the management of the affairs of the Church as would bring the ministry more into harmony with the feelings of the laity. The hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. B. Hope) approved the principle of the Bill, but would prefer to see voluntary councils carry it out all over the kingdom. But the sole distinction between voluntary councils, and those provided for by the Bill, was that the latter would be initiated by the people and the former by the clergy. A voluntary council invited by the clergyman would only endorse his views, or those they had agreed to support, whereas a regularly constituted council would represent all views, and give force to that which really predominated. No valid objection, he maintained, had been urged against the principle of the Bill, and points of detail could, of course, be considered by a Select Committee. He trusted, therefore, the noble Lord would take the sense of the House on the second reading, and afterwards propose to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

Mr. KNATCHBULL - HUGESSEN was of opinion that more harm might be done to the Church of England by precipitate legislation of this kind than by further delay. They were all satisfied with the manner in which his noble Friend introduced this Bill, and of the purity of his intentions; they were also agreed on the point that if the laity could be given a larger share of the government of the Church it would be most desirable. But before any measure of this kind were passed he should like to be satisfied that both the clergy and laity had thoroughly considered all its provisions, and that it avoided the difficulty of doing something which might afterwards turn out to be opposed to their wishes. He would suggest that the Bill be read a second time, upon the distinct understanding that by so doing the House was only pledged to the principle that a greater share of the government of the Church should be given to the laity. The advocates of this Bill spoke of it as intended to assist the clergy, and the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles Adderley) had said that the experiment of these councils had already been tried. This was an entire mistake —the experiment which had been tried was that of voluntary councils, which only existed with the goodwill of the clergyman, and as assisting councils to him. But the moment you gave a legal status and power to such councils, they became not assisting but controlling councils, and the clergyman would, in fact, become the servant of the council, and his position in the parish be entirely changed. Now, it behoved them to take care that the powers they proposed to vest in the councils were not of such a character as would justify the latter, not only in assisting the clergymen, but also in dictating the course they should take in the administration of the services of the Church. The discontent which arose in parishes in consequence of the adoption of change by the clergyman subsided in the course of time; it generally proceeded from some small changes introduced very often by the order of the Bishop, and objected to chiefly from that dislike of change which was so common in Englishmen. But if every such change was to be accepted or rejected by the vote of a council he feared that every evil would be magnified. There were some objections to the clauses of the Bill, and particularly to the 6th clause, which required the person elected to make a declaration that he was a communicant of the Church of England. Such a provision would be opposed to the tendency of modern legislation, which was to remove qualifications of that kind. Moreover, his noble Friend attached great value to the broad nature of the contemplated constituency, which was to embrace all ratepayers. This was quite right, if the council were to have the powers given in the Bill to deal with matter "affecting the general interests of the parish," but in that case it was equally right that no such restriction as that proposed should be placed upon the persons to be elected. The 13th clause directed that appeals should be made to the Bishop within 21 days, and that the appeal should also be decided within 21 days. He thought it would be impossible to impose such a restriction upon a Court of Appeal. It had been said that the Bill had been before the House two years, but, as a matter of fact, it was only introduced for the first time on the 28th of June last year; and although it had been brought in during the early part of the present Session, it had not been printed more than five or six days. More time ought to be given for the consideration of a Bill which proposed to make such vital changes in the Church of England. He did not admit that parishioners required to be given by law more opportunities of meeting, and he believed that the great majority of clergymen were anxious to consult the feelings of their parishioners. Much had been done within the last 30 years by voluntary exertion; and there had been a gradual improvement in the relations between clergymen and parishioners. The former were awakening to the exigencies of their position, and knew that if the Church was not supported by public opinion, it must cease to exist as an establishment. It might be true that in former times there had been much neglect, and clergymen were rarely to be found meeting together, unless, indeed, in the hunting field or at the cover-side. Happily, however, all this had changed. The Diocesan meetings already alluded to had been of the greatest service, and although there might here and there be instances of extravagant conduct, the great body of the clergy zealously laboured to do their duty. He believed that public opinion was the best controlling power, and he should be sorry to see the position of the clergy in any way degraded. He should not be disposed to vote for the second reading of the Bill, unless upon the understanding, suggested by the hon. Member for South-west Lancashire, that there should be no attempt to proceed further with legislation this Session, and that time should be given to ascertain the views of the clergy and of Churchmen generally upon the Bill.

Mr. MOWBRAY joined in the appeal made by the Under Secretary for the Colonies, and would entreat the noble Lord (Viscount Sandon) to be satisfied with the full discussion his measure had received. He agreed with his right hon. Colleague (Mr. G. Hardy), that the time was not ripe for legislation. Only nine months had elapsed since the first introduction of the Bill, and in that period the noble Lord had been induced to make considerable alterations in it. Could it be said that the House was agreed upon the details or the principle of the Bill? Indeed, he should like to ask the noble Lord, what was the principle of the measure? The principle was usually stated in the Preamble; but in this case there was no recital or Preamble at all. Under these circumstances was the House prepared to go to a Select Commitee? This was legislation affecting the Church; and, therefore, he might fairly ask what was the public opinion of the Church, and whether there were any petitions on the Table of the House, from which that opinion might be gathered? The hon. Member for the University of Cambridge had received one Petition against the Bill, and he (Mr. Mowbray) had presented another; but there had been no time for the clergy or laity to express their opinions on the matter. It appeared that the constituency which should elect the council was to include every parishioner, whether attending the Church or not; but was it to be supposed that members of the Church would consent to have its ministrations directed by those who did not believe in the truths it taught? Great confusion of ideas existed, apparently, as to the test which was proposed to be applied, for some hon. Members protested against a revival of the old Test Acts. In questions involving the exercise of political power, there was a strong objection to tests applied by a particular denomination; but it would be only acting in accordance with the commonest principle of justice to require that those only who took part in the services of the Church should direct its ministrations. They could not legislate until they knew what was thought in the country on this matter; and a Select Committee could only obtain that information by communication with the Church. He trusted, therefore, the noble Lord would not act with precipitation on this momentous question.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I do not intend on this occasion to deliver any opinion on the part of the Government respecting the present Bill. I feel strongly—and I think that is the sentiment of my Colleagues—that no advantage is gained by premature interposition of Administrations in ecclesiastical questions. By premature interposition I mean this—it is not expedient that they should interfere at all until they see, or think they see, that their interference will materially conduce to bring about an early and complete settlement. Their interposition at an earlier stage is apt to communicate the character and colour of party to that which it is eminently desirable to keep from, and separate from such association. Next to that, I feel it is our duty to avoid inflaming any of these questions by the mode in which we discuss them. I hold that not only upon the general ground that heat should not be needlessly imparted into controversy, but it is almost an axiom of Parliamentary conduct in modern times that when an ecclesiastical question proper—not a secular question with an ecclesiastical aspect—or a religious question touching the Established Church, comes to be greatly inflamed by passion, the settlement of it becomes entirely hopeless. I think the House has acted upon that principle in the manner in which this question has been discussed. The expression of opinion that has proceeded from all quarters of the House, irrespective of party connection, has been such as to give a good omen that, if the question is one that admits of effectual legislation, no obstacle will arise to that legislation from the state of mind in which we approach the subject. I had not the pleasure of hearing the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Viscount Sandon) to-day, for I have been elsewhere; but I can well believe, from my recollection of the manner in which he introduced the question last year, that he has well deserved the eulogies which have been passed upon his motives, and upon the zeal and ability with which he addressed himself to the subject. It is very much on account of the tone which has characterized the consideration of the measure up to this time that I should feel indisposed to vote against the second reading of the Bill. We all think the noble Lord has every claim upon our forbearance and our assistance which his zeal and his many qualifications can give him. We also are prepared, I think unanimously, to admit that it is desirable that a greater active influence should be possessed by the laity of the Church of England. My right hon. Friend the Member for Morpeth (Sir George Grey) has gone one step further, and said that it is, in his opinion, desirable that greater influence should be secured by legal enactment. There it is, I think, that we come to the point of difficulty in the case. I own to being unable, up to the present time, to make up my mind as to whether we ought to prefer that sort of progress which we may undoubtedly observe in the country in connection with the voluntary system, so far as lay co-operation is concerned, or whether we ought to attempt to legislate upon the matter. I think that the balance must be decided between these two modes of proceeding by what we find to be practicable in the way of shaping the provisions of the Bill. It is admitted that we cannot take the provisions of this Bill as they now stand as exhibiting the conditions of a satisfactory measure. The criticisms upon them which we have heard have been delivered in no uncandid spirit; as to details, they have remained, to a considerable extent, without answer, or without sufficient answer. And it must be observed that it is idle to push beyond a certain point your approval of the principle of a Bill on account of your reserved objection to details; because it can only be decided in each case for itself how far the details enter into the principle and are inseparable from it. Now, upon that question I do not think we have, as yet, received sufficient light. Let us look at some of the objections taken to important provisions of the Bill. I shall not dwell upon the objections which have been taken to the clause respecting appeals, because it appears to me totally impossible that that clause can stand as it is now framed in the Bill. If I remember it rightly, 21 days are given to the incumbent to appeal to the Bishop; and, strange to say, the judgment of the Bishop must also be delivered in 21 days. It does not require us to reason upon such a provision as that to see that it must be greatly altered; but that would be no very difficult matter. There is, however, I think, much difficulty in determining the question with regard to the composition of the constituency which is to elect the council. My right hon. Friend the Member for Staffordshire (Sir Charles Adderley) says that, objections having been taken from both sides, we may assume that the Bill is a *juste milieu*; and in that way he satisfies himself with regard to this very important portion of the provisions of the Bill. But what does my right hon. Friend himself say? In discussing the condition that the persons elected shall be communicants, he says the meaning of that provision is, that they shall be really an assembly of Churchmen, because only Churchmen are concerned in that which they are to do. But if only Churchmen are concerned in that which they are to do, why are they to be elected by persons who are not Churchmen? It is impossible to fail to observe that there is a very wide discrepancy between the character of the elected body and the character of the electing body. I must own, for one, that it would be with great reluctance that I should again see the word communicants introduced into an Act of Parliament. It would be in the nature of a backward step. I doubt very much whether it is necessary for the object which the Bill has in view, and unless it were so necessary I should not like again to see it become the subject of legislation. But, as I have said, I have great doubts in respect to the necessity. First of all, I have doubts in point of general principle. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. G. Hardy) has referred to the case—the only case, I believe—in which parishioners in this country can be said to act as an ecclesiastical constituency—namely, in the election of an incumbent in those parishes where that right is in the parishioners. In those cases—and they are very few—the parishioners, irrespective of religious distinction, act as the constituency; and it is impossible to describe in too strong language the unfitness which the constituency upon every occasion exhibits. The term "scandalous" is the only term which can with propriety be applied to the manner in which these elections are conducted. That certainly does constitute a reason for considering very seriously indeed before we proceed to give another distinctly and purely ecclesiastical function to that very body. Now, I must observe that there are a great number of cases in towns in this country where the Church has only recently become the church of the parish. It was erected in the first instance as the church of the district, and modern legislation has converted those districts into parishes; but the churches, to all intents and purposes, were voluntary and congregational churches—in many cases with no public endowment whatever. Therefore they are exempt entirely from the reach of that rule which my hon. Friend the Member for Merthyr (Mr. H. Richard) laid down in his able speech. I am not prepared to deny the principle. I admit that it is impossible, in regard to national property, to exclude Parliamentary control; but I ask you to look upon this as a local case. It may be desirable—I will not say it is not—to increase by law the power of the laity of the Church of England; but it does not follow that therefore in all parishes, entirely irrespective of their circumstances, it is desirable to increase the power of the laity in that particular parish. And why? Because in the class of parishes to which I now refer there is no laity whatever. There never has been a custom to vote a church rate, and in many of these cases churchwardens have never been elected, or if they exist they are nominally churchwardens; and there is no tie except that of a religious community between that congregation and the national Establishment of the country. The residents of the parish, not being members of the congregation, are just as foreign to the affairs of the Church as they are to the concerns of any church situated 500 miles away from them. Therefore it would not be a rational or expedient method of proceeding to give a purely arbitrary and fictitious legal character—a sort of corporate existence—to those persons, in order that they may take part in the direction of a church about which they care not one rush. All these matters are indications of the difficulty which attaches to this subject. The hon. Member for Merthyr, commenting upon the first proviso of the 6th clause, observed that there was a total neglect of the claims of Nonconformists. My hon. Friend observed a certain amount of reserve, and did not fully develop his idea as to the method in which he would recognize the claims of Nonconformists—and he acted, I think, with very considerable judgment. In putting forward his abstract objection he made a somewhat good point, for it is perfectly true that the noble Lord (Viscount Sandon) begins by recognizing the claims not only of Nonconformists, but of persons who may be totally disassociated from religious observances of every kind; but when he comes to the elected body he declines to recognize any except those who are members of the Church of England under the strictest test which it has ever been attempted to apply. Still, I think my hon. Friend the Member for Merthyr himself, who approves of the Bill, would find a certain amount of difficulty if he were to endeavour to frame such a Bill consistently with his own principles, and devise provisions for regulating the composition of an elected body which was to manage the services of the Church of England in all their details, and which, at the same time, was to give what would be considered a full and handsome recognition of the claims of Nonconformists. These are very difficult matters; and of such difficulties the question is full. I cannot myself say that I think the case is one of primary necessity. At the same time I admit that there is quite enough of expediency in good legislative provisions for the increase of the legal power and influence of the laity of the Church of England to make it worth our while to search and probe the question to the very bottom, in order that we may not leave it unless upon proof that we cannot make way. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Staffordshire (Sir Charles Adderley) spoke strongly of discord in the affairs of the Church of England in different parishes. I admit that there has been a sensible, although an inconsiderable, number of cases in which the feelings of the laity with regard to the conduct of the Church services has been lightly interfered with; and that is a great public evil. I am disposed to go further, and say—though it may seem paradoxical to say that there can be a vested interest in abuses—that the laity have a *quasi*-vested interest in the services of the Church, and that improvements ought not to be forced down their throats. But this Bill carries us entirely off the ground of merely defensive provisions to prevent precipitate and insufficiently considered changes. On the other hand, it is fair to admit that, apart from controversies about excess—which may have been produced by one side or the other, or both—-those of us who can carry back recollection to 30 or 40 years ago, have lived to see a marvellous change in the conduct of services of the Church of England. I do not scruple to say that, when I was a boy, in the bulk of the parish churches of England, so far as my experience goes, the service was carried on with a coldness, deadness, and irreverence which would hardly have been tolerated by any other body of Christians upon earth; and I am sorry to say that what we call the laity of the Church of England were for the most part but too well contented with that state of things. It is not by their action that the Church of England has been delivered from that condition, but on the whole by the zeal, devotion, and perseverance of the clergy; and it was a matter of course that in the development of that zeal, devotion, and perseverance, many errors, and some grievous errors, should be committed. I think the clergy are perfectly aware that they ought to conciliate the parishioners, and to obtain their co-operation. They have every motive for doing so. Take the position of a clergyman merely with reference to his schools. How is it possible for him to support them without the aid of his parishioners? But I hope there are many higher and better motives than the desire of obtaining pecuniary gain. I do not think, on the one hand, that our case is desperate if for a time we have to trust to the further development of the voluntary system, and the various modes and forms of lay co-operation which we see now in action. On the other hand, I agree that if we can devise a good legal system it ought to be done. With regard to the practical course which is to be adopted, it has been suggested by the hon. Member for South-west Lancashire (Mr. Cross) that the noble Lord might take the second reading of the Bill and prosecute it no further. I should be perfectly prepared to concur in that course, and I am not at all sure that it would not be the best course that could be taken. It has also been recommended by the right hon. Member for Morpeth, and the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee. But if we concur in the second reading, with a view of referring the Bill to a Select Committee, another important question will arise. What is the Select Committee to do? Is it merely to consider the clauses of the Bill? That is a course which may be pursued with perfect propriety when a question has become matured, and Parliament is in possession of all the information bearing upon it. But when a question has not reached the degree of maturity, and when the public mind has been very little stirred upon it—and the great merit of the noble Lord in this matter is that he is a pioneer and forerunner and stirrer up of the public mind—it is not expedient that the Select Committee should confine itself merely to clauses. It should by examination of witnesses endeavour to place itself in fuller possession than any of us, except the noble Lord, can say we now are, of the real mind of the country on the subject. I think that if this Bill is read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee, that Committee ought not to be debarred from inquiry; and I am glad to see that is likewise the view of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mowbray) who suggested a reference to a Committee. I need not say that if that is done, we should, when the Bill returned from the Committee, again meet to discuss it, I hope, in the same spirit which has been displayed to-day, and with minds perfectly free and unprejudiced. We should then be at liberty as much as we are now to form a deliberate judgment upon the question which lies at the root of the whole matter—whether, upon the whole, it is better for us to attempt to face the hazards for the sake of gaining the advantages of a legislative system, or whether it is wiser, at least for the present, to rest contented with the continually growing and improving state of opinion on this subject in the Church, and the disposition of that opinion to manifest itself in various forms of lay co-operation, which, being perfectly voluntary and free, hold out the best possible promise of curing any errors or deficiencies in the methods adopted, and of preserving unbroken the confidence which exists amongst members of the Church.

VISCOUNT SANDON said, considering the lateness of the hour, and the length of the debate, he would not trouble hon. Members by replying to the various criticisms on the Bill, but would proceed at once, after the many appeals which had been made to him on both sides of the House, to state the course he proposed to take upon this question. In the first place, he had to thank hon. Members on both sides of the House, and belonging to various religious Bodies, for the considerate spirit in which they had approached the subject. He was much gratified by the friendly reception which had been accorded to the measure, and was sure that the long debate upon it would be productive of the best results. While heartily thanking the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government for the way in which he had received the Bill, he must observe that he thought he could not fairly be considered to have shown undue haste in getting a discussion upon the question, for it had been largely considered at most of the clerical meetings during the Recess—at the Church Congress, at Convocation, and other gatherings; and had also been ably and fully discussed not only by the ecclesiastical Press, but also by almost all the leading journals of the day. He assured the House, however, that he was most unwilling to urge hon. Members to express a definite opinion upon the subject, which had not yet, he was willing to confess, been before the country for a full year, and which was both a grave and a difficult one. He gladly, therefore, accepted the proposition of the Prime Minister that the Bill be now read a second time, with the understanding that all it committed the House to was the admission of the legal right of the laity to a share in the government of the affairs relating to the Church in their respective parishes. He believed the adoption of that course would be most accordant with the wishes of hon. Members; would be most advantageous to the cause; and would fully answer the present purpose, by showing the country that the House was earnest in the matter. With regard to the question of referring the Bill to a Select Committee, it would be but a waste of the time of the House to go into the subject in Committee at this moment, as they had agreed that there should not be legislation upon it this Session. It would be much better before doing so to allow it to be further discussed both by the clergy and the laity throughout the country; and he was confident that further examination of the Bill would show the country that it had been framed with care and consideration, and that many of the apprehended difficulties had been met and provided for. After the very favourable expression of opinion in this House as to the main principle of the Bill, and the acknowledgment of its value and of the need of some such action, even on the part of those who did not agree with the measure, he hoped, should circumstances allow, to be able to re-open the subject in the next Session. He was, however, extremely anxious not to push the matter too rapidly; and if it should appear to the country—as he believed, after full discussion and consideration, would be the case — that some legislation was needed, it was his earnest desire that legislation should take place with the hearty assent not only of the laity, but also of the great body of the clergy, to whom was due from the nation a very great debt of gratitude.

Mr. COLLINS hoped, after what had fallen from the noble Viscount, the hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. B. Hope) would not deem it necessary to press his Amendment, but to allow the Bill to be read a second time. He believed that, on reflection, the author of the Bill would find it desirable entirely to re-cast the measure, as at present it imposed upon the members of the Established Church a degradation to which no religious Body had ever been subjected.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE said, he would withdraw his Amendment on the understanding that, by the second reading of the Bill to-day, the House was committing itself only to the general principle of the measure.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for this day six months.

MUTINY BILL.—COMMITTEE.

(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Cardwell, The Judge Advocate.*)

Order for Committee read.

Mr. MOWBRAY called attention to the delay that had taken place in giving effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission which sat in 1868, and reported in May, 1869, that the military law was in an uncertain and ambiguous position; and that it was desirable a new Mutiny Act should be introduced by the authority of the Government. It was understood at the time that a Mutiny Bill, in two shapes—one prepared at the Judge Advocate's office, and the other at the War Office—was under the consideration of the Government; and it was stated, on the part of the Goverment, in reply to a Question, that they had such a Bill in preparation. Nothing, however, appeared to have been done to give effect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission. By the Army Regulation Bill it was proposed to bring the Volunteers under the operation of the Mutiny Act; and it was fair, neither to them nor to the House, that after the recommendation of that Commission, the military law should still remain in an unsatisfactory state.

Mr. DAVISON wished to explain that there had not been any extraordinary delay in the matter. 1869 was certainly the first year when any such Bill could possibly have been introduced. The state of public business did not, however, admit of the consideration of the measure at that time; nor could it have been passed last Session, with such important measures as the Land Bill before the House. Having personally had the Mutiny Bill before him, he could assure the Committee that he had given his best attention to the subject, and that if the state of public business would admit of the introduction of the Bill this Session, with a reasonable probability of its being carried through, he should be prepared to bring in the Bill on the part of the Government.

Bill *considered* in Committee, and Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time upon *Friday.*

BILLS OF EXCHANGE AND PROMISSORY NOTES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Baxter, Bill to abolish days of grace in the case of Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes payable at sight, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Baxter and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 91.]

MARRIAGE LAW (IRELAND) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Bill to amend the Matrimonial Causes and Marriage Law (Ireland) Amendment Act, 1870, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland and the Marquess of Hartington.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 93.]

PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) ACT (1867) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of The Lord Advocate, Bill for amending the Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, *ordered* to be brought in by The Lord Advocate and Mr. Secretary Bruce.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 92.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 30*th March*, 1871.

MINUTES.] — *Sat First in Parliament* — The Lord Ker (The Marquess of Lothian), after the death of his brother.

PUBLIC BILLS — *First Reading* — Promissory Oaths * (64).

Second Reading—County Property * (35); Public Parks, &c. (Land) (55); Fairs * (44); Consolidated Fund (£5,411,900) *.

Committee—Report—Poor Law (Loans) * (50).

Report—Lunacy Regulation (Ireland) * (47).

Royal Assent—(£462,580 9*s.* 11*d.*) Consolidated Fund [34 *Vict.* c. 6]; Stamp Act (1870) Amendment [34 *Vict.* c. 4]; Income Tax Assessment [34 *Vict.* c. 5].

PUBLIC PARKS, &c., (LAND) BILL.

(*The Earl of Harrowby.*)

(NO. 55.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF HARROWBY, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, explained that the purpose of the measure was to relax the statutes of Mortmain so as to permit the gift or bequest of land or money to be laid out in land for public parks, elementary schools, or public museums, provided that every such deed of gift or bequest shall be made 12 calendar months at least before the death of the granter or testator, and shall be enrolled in the books of the Charity Commissioners within six months after the time when the deed or will shall come into operation. The grant or bequest was limited to 20 acres of land for any public park, two acres for any public museum, and one acre for any school-house.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Earl of Harrowby.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR saw no objection to the measure, as it did not go beyond the principle already recognized with regard to gifts of land for public purposes.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

ARMOUR-CLAD VESSELS—COAST AND HARBOUR DEFENCES.

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE rose to move for a Return of the number of Armour-clad Vessels at present available for Coast and Harbour Defence, not drawing more than 16 feet of water, and capable of resisting shot from the present guns of 12 and 18 tons at 500 yards, direct fire, right angle. His reason for desiring this information was that the inaction of the French Fleet in the late war was owing, according to the French Admiral, to the absence of any iron-clad vessels of light draught which could go near the shore, and he feared that this country was in much the same position. *The Navy List*, periodically published, gave the number of ships, their tonnage, guns, and horse-power, but did not show their draught or the strength of the armour-plating, without which it was impossible to judge what service they were fit for. Unless we had light draught vessels we could not chase and cut off an enemy in-shore, and unless their plating was strong enough to resist at least the smallest broadside-guns of the present day, we could not attack powerful batteries on the coast. The Russians had 20 of this class of vessels, the Americans upwards of 30, and the French, according to a letter in *The Times* of to-day, written by the late Controller of the Navy, had 30. This last statement was, of course, inconsistent with the excuse offered by the French Admiral. He did not believe we had above two or three—a very unsatisfactory state of things. He should like a Return, not only of the number of such vessels available, but of the number manned, for a very extraordinary disclosure was made the other day. The present First Lord of the Admiralty had recently stated that since the loss of the *Captain* the Navy had been 500 men short, and that only 50 had been obtained, and this in the days of voluntary enlistment. The Navy was usually styled the popular service, yet in nearly six months only 50 blue-jackets had been obtained. To talk, therefore, of being able to man ships in a hurry by voluntary entry was a farce. In 1859 the Government undertook the consideration of the armaments necessary for the defence of our coasts and harbours, and appointed the Defence Commission to inquire into the subject. The Defence Commission obtained the assistance of a Committee of naval officers, of which he (the Earl of Lauderdale) had the honour to be Chairman. The upshot was that after taking the advice of eminent naval architects, such as Mr. Scott Russell, the Committee recommended the construction of a powerful vessel, not drawing more than 16 feet water, of about 2,000 tons, with strong armour-plating, carrying the heaviest guns, capable of going eight or ten knots an hour, and so constructed as to turn easily, be manœuvred in narrow waters, and strongly built to enable them to run into an enemy's ship. Their Report went up to the Royal Commissioners, who consisted of Engineer and Artillery officers of the highest rank, and civil engineers. Mr. Scott Russell designed a vessel answering the required description, and estimated to cost £100,000. The Commissioners, adopting the Report of the naval officers Committee, recommended the expenditure of a very considerable sum — £7,000,000, he believed — on land defences, and £1,000,000 on the floating batteries. Not a sixpence, however, had been laid out in building the vessel recommended —the floating batteries had never been built. He was told at the Admiralty the other day that the officers there had never seen and never heard of such a plan— the Secretary to the Royal Commission had never seen it since it was sent in to the office. No doubt the plan went to the War Office, that it was put into a pigeon-hole, and that it never came out again. He asked Mr. Scott Russell concerning the plans; and Mr. Russell's reply was that he had carefully thought over the matter, and that he had hopes to find the drawings or memoranda of the work; but that when he retired from business he gave up his papers to his son who was now abroad; but Mr. Russell distinctly remembered its leading features, and thought it a national misfortune that no action had been taken upon it. At the time in question turret-ships had never been tried. Captain Coles had at that time only just started turret-ships; but the Committee perceived their suitability for coast and harbour defence, and recommended that if the experiment answered these vessels should be fitted on that plan. Had the recommendation of the Commission been acted on we should now have had 20 or 30 of these vessels, and they would not have had very low freeboards—that point having been carefully considered. The Government were now building vessels of a new description with low freeboards—such as the *Devastation* and the *Thunderer*. Now, two years ago, when these plans were drawn out, the then First Lord asked him, together with seven or eight brother officers, to give an opinion on them. On being told that these vessels were to be regular sea-going ships, he said that, according to his experience, these ships were not fit for general sea service— that if forced out against a very heavy head sea they would founder, and he objected not only to the low freeboard but to the absence of masts and to the draught of water, which was 26 feet. To his surprise, however, all his brother officers expressed a different opinion; but his own view was endorsed by Sir William Fairbairn, who said he was not a sailor, but that such vessels, if forced against such a sea as he (the Earl of Lauderdale) described, would go under, as they could not go over it. It would, he (the Earl of Lauderdale) said, be a sort of submarine navigation. While offering these objections, he himself signed his name to the Minute, remarking that whenever a dispute arose between naval officers and naval architects it should be settled by building a single ship as an experiment. Shortly afterwards the First Lord asked him to inspect some documents in the Controller's office which would be likely to alter the very strong opinion he had given. These papers were the logbook and journals of the American monitor the *Minatonomah;* but they showed that the vessel had had a fair wind throughout its passage across the Atlantic, and had been towed almost the whole way. He accordingly informed the First Lord that he still thought such a vessel could not face a strong south-wester in the Channel or a heavy monsoon or trade wind. Under these circumstances, he had been rather surprised to observe, in a Minute recently laid on the Table, his own name heading a list of persons as unreservedly approving these vessels. He gave this explanation lest it should be supposed that he recommended a low freeboard except for coast and harbour defence. Sir Spencer Robinson, in his letter in *The Times*, said—

"I read in a report of a debate in the House of Commons the other day that the iron-clads now building were not of a satisfactory type, and that a Committee had reported of some of these vessels that they would be in very great danger of rolling over and going down like the *Captain*, and were unanimously of opinion that these vessels were not of the type which ought to be adopted."

Perhaps the noble Lord the Chairman of the Naval Construction Committee would inform him whether this was a correct representation of the report.

Moved that there be laid before this House, Return of the number of Armour-clad Vessels at present available for Coast and Harbour Defence not drawing more than sixteen feet water, and capable of resisting shot from the present guns of twelve and eighteen tons at 500 yards, direct fire, right angle.—(*The Earl of Lauderdale.*)

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN said, there would be no objection to granting the Return if it were possible to make it; but he doubted whether there were at present either in commission or in reserve any vessels meeting the somewhat peculiar conditions of the Motion—namely, iron-clad vessels with a draught of not more than 16 feet and capable of resisting shot from 12-ton and 18-ton guns. Guns of that size, it must be remembered, had only been adopted within a very recent period. Four vessels of the *Cyclops* class, fulfilling all the noble Earl's conditions, were at present in progress. Passing to the other points alluded to by the noble Earl, he must admit that, since the lamentable loss of the *Captain*, the number of blue-jackets was 500 short; but this was easily explained. 300 were lost in the *Captain*, and these it was not very easy to replace; while one or two other causes had also tended to reduce the number—there had been a considerable number of desertions from the ships composing the flying squadron when on the Australian station; it was usually found that when a ship went to Australia the number of desertions was much greater than in any other quarter of the globe. The only satisfactory way of making up the number was by training more boys. In time of peace merchant seamen did not volunteer from the merchant service into the Navy, though the food and accommodation were better than in merchant vessels, as they preferred, after completing one voyage, and after going ashore for a time, and perhaps entering the Navy Reserve, to take service in a different vessel. This had been the case for a long time. The officers, moreover, objected to the entry of a large number of blue-jackets from the mercantile marine, on the ground that boys trained for the Royal Navy made far smarter seamen. He could not enter into the question of high or low freeboards, as this had been repeatedly discussed in Parliament and elsewhere. He could not explain why the plan recommended by the Defence Commission had remained in the pigeon-holes of the War Office, and why their suggestions had not been carried out. He would call the attention of the Admiralty to the absence, in their monthly return of ships in commission or reserve, of any information as to draught and thickness of armour-plating, without which the Return was obviously imperfect.

The Earl of LAUDERDALE remarked that some information it might be prudent to keep secret; but so much notice being taken of Navy matters in "another place," he thought their Lordships also should know something of them. As to the reluctance of merchant seamen to enter the Navy, this was the case not only in time of peace, but in time of war. During the Crimean campaign we got land-lubbers and ordinary seamen, but not a single able-bodied seaman from the merchant service, though an immense bounty was offered by the Admiralty. He mentioned this circumstance in reference to what was called the "voluntary system" of entering. He held there was no such thing as the "voluntary system" in real existence. That which we adopted should rather be termed the trepanning system, or public-house system. We hoisted a flag over a public-house, and persuaded those who were attracted by it that if they entered the Army or the Navy they would have good pay with little to do, and plenty to eat; and that was the "voluntary system." The men only entered the Army or Navy when they could not support themselves by other work, or when a large bounty was offered.

Lord DUFFERIN rose to answer a question put by the noble Earl (the Earl of Lauderdale), whether a statement made by a very distinguished officer—Sir Spencer Robinson—in a letter to *The Times* of that morning, was correct. The statement in question was merely a repetition of one made in "another place" on

Monday night, when its correctness received an explicit denial from the First Lord of the Admiralty. So far from the Committee having reported in the sense indicated by Sir Spencer Robinson, their Report—though he could not quote its exact terms—was in a totally opposite sense.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, he would confine his part in the discussion to the main point of the noble Earl's Address—namely, that a Commission was appointed in 1859 to consider our coast defences, and that it recommended the construction of vessels of a certain description armed with very heavy guns, and available for shallow water. The question here naturally arose—what is a ship of war? A ship of war, unless used as a ram, was a floating gun carriage, and the first thing to be considered was the kind of gun which the vessel should carry—a matter of no little importance, when only one gun was to be put on board. It then became evident that this gun must be the largest of its kind. In 1859, the largest gun we had was about seven tons. He recollected that when he spoke of 7-ton guns, a noble Earl (the Earl of Hardwicke) asked how he could be so foolish, as such a gun was too heavy to be worked or properly handled. He was at that time having 12-ton guns made; but as he did not wish to bring more censure upon himself, he said nothing about it. In 1859, moreover, 4½ inches was the maximum thickness of iron-plates, because we had not adequate machinery for the manufacture of thicker plates in this country. Then there was some talk of putting two plates together; but it was found they did not give the strength of a single-thickness plate. Some plates were even obtained from France, and our manufacturers at home being stimulated by the circumstance managed to get machinery which rolled a thicker plate, and in some two or three years more they succeeded in making a plate of 12 inches. Now, he asked what would have been the use, at this time, of a number of vessels with plates 4½ inches thick, had the Admiralty been required by Parliament in 1859 to make vessels of that strength. They would have been perfect rubbish. There was always this difficulty in connection with these questions. We had advanced from a 7-ton to a 12-ton gun. When he was directing the alteration of the *Royal Sovereign*, he began with a 9-ton gun; but, before the turrets were ready, the 12-ton gun appeared, and so the 12-ton gun was substituted. We had since advanced to 25 and 30-ton guns, and 12 inches was now considered to be a moderate thickness of plate for ships of war. What, then, would have been the use of building a great number of vessels with plates of less thickness? This showed the difficulty in which the War Office and the Admiralty were placed; the former went on increasing the size of the guns, and the latter the thickness of the plates. It was proposed "elsewhere" the other day that 100 gunboats of a particular class should be built. Now, this would be very foolish; first, because a small gunboat will not give a steady platform; and, next, because in a year or two there would probably be some other invention, and the money would prove to be ill-spent. He admitted that we ought to be on an equal footing in these matters with other Powers, and he did not, therefore, ignore the difficulty of determining what we ought exactly to do. It was impossible for outsiders who had not the opportunity of knowing what other countries did, to decide what our Government ought to do, nor could they confidently throw out suggestions on this subject, since they could not take upon themselves the responsibility of advising a public Department what course it should take.

THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE explained that the Defence Commission recommended that the vessels should have the largest guns and the thickest plates which were in use, and one be built on trial. Had their Report, therefore, been carried out, the size of the guns and the thickness of the plates would have gone on increasing as the ships were built each year, and in two or three years the proper standard would have been reached, and we should now have had a considerable number.

Motion *agreed to.*

PROMISSORY OATHS BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to repeal divers enactments relating to Oaths and Declarations which are not in force, and for other purposes connected therewith—Was *presented* by The Lord CHANCELLOR; read 1ª. (No. 64.)

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 30*th March*, 1871.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—John Peel, esquire, *for* Tamworth.

SELECT COMMITTEE — East India Finance, Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Robert Fowler *added.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered—First Reading*—Rectory of Ewelme * [96].

Committee—Report—Trades Unions * [28-94].

Report—Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen) * [28-95].

Considered as amended—County Justices Qualification Amendment * [77].

Third Reading—Mutiny *, and *passed.*

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) — CAMBUSNETHAN ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOL.

QUESTION.

MR. O'REILLY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Parochial Board of Cambusnethan, Scotland, have refused to pay for the education of Roman Catholic children in the Roman Catholic school there on the ground, as stated in their Resolution, "that the Parochial Board have no voice or control in that school," and "that the teacher there is quite unable to undertake their secular education:" whether a Parochial Board is justified in refusing to pay for children at a school on the ground that they have not control over that school: whether this Roman Catholic school, the inefficiency of which is so alleged, has an average attendance of three hundred pupils taught by one certificated teacher and seven pupil teachers, and was reported on by Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools in the following terms in 1869: "The very satisfactory state in which I found the school last year is fully maintained;" and in 1870, "A very well taught school:" and, whether the decision of the Parochial Board of Cambusnethan is in accordance with the Regulation of the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland of the 13th February 1862, which says—

> "When there is a properly conducted Roman Catholic school in the parish, the child of Roman Catholic parents who is boarded out ought to be sent to that school, if it be within a reasonable distance of the Roman Catholic family in which the child is boarded?"

MR. BRUCE said, in reply to the first Question, the parochial boards had no right to refuse to take a child to a Roman Catholic school, on the ground that they had no voice or control over the school. But it was true that the parochial board in question had assigned that as a reason for refusing to pay for the attendance of a Roman Catholic pauper child at the Roman Catholic school, which, as pointed out in the Question, had received satisfactory notices from Her Majesty's Inspectors. The decision of the parochial board in respect to the matter was not in accordance with the rule which had been quoted by the hon. Gentleman. The subject was brought to the notice of the Board of Supervision by the Presbyterian minister of the parish, and his protest against the decision of the parochial board was sent back to the parochial board, with a recommendation that they should at once rescind the resolution referred to. No answer, however, had as yet been received by the Board of Supervision from the parochial board.

MIDDLESEX REGISTRY OF DEEDS—THE VACANT REGISTRARSHIP.

QUESTION.

MR. CUBITT asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the disposition of the fees of the vacant office of one of the Registrarships of Deeds for Middlesex, which has not been filled up by the Chief Justice of England in deference to the opinion of this House, remains the same as stated by the Secretary of State for the Home Department on 19th July last year — viz., that these fees are divided in three equal portions between the two surviving Registrars and the Consolidated Fund, so that in 1869 each Registrar received £640 additional in consequence of this vacancy: and, whether Her Majesty's Government, pending the abolition of these sinecure offices, the principle of which has been sanctioned both by them and this House are prepared to take any steps to secure that the fees of this vacant office shall be applied to lessen the compensations which may be payable to the Registrars on the abolition of their offices, in order that the public and not the surviving Registrars may obtain the main benefit of the vacancy?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said, there were originally four Registrars for the Middlesex Registry, and they divided the fees equally among them. When a vacancy occurred among the Registrars the Lord Chief Justice of England, in whose gift the office was, declined to make an appointment on the ground that the office was a sinecure, and supposing that so much money would be saved to the public. But the effect of the non-appointment had been that the three Registrars had divided the fees among them. One of these Registrars happened to be the Queen's Remembrancer, and therefore his share went into the Consolidated Fund; and he (the Attorney General) concurred in the opinion indicated in the Question of the hon. Member that the public and not the remaining Registrars should have had the benefit of the non-appointment. Whether that could be effected without the intervention of Parliament, or whether the Government had legal power to interfere, were questions of some difficulty; but he would take care that they should be inquired into.

SCOTLAND—SUPERANNUATION FUND OF THE GREENOCK POLICE.

QUESTION.

MR. GRIEVE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will make provision in the Bill for a "Superannuation Fund for the Police Forces," for the protection of the Force in Greenock, who have contributed to a superannuation fund in that town since 1859, amounting to upwards of £2,000?

MR. BRUCE said, in reply, that the police force of Greenock would stand in the same position with respect to superannuation as that of the other boroughs throughout the country. What that position would be he could not inform the hon. Gentleman without anticipating the statement which he would have to make on introducing the Bill providing a superannuation fund for the police forces. No injustice would, however, be done to the police in Greenock or any other locality.

IRELAND—CLOTHWORKERS' COMPANY.

QUESTION.

MR. MAGUIRE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether the Clothworkers' Company of London, which holds an estate in the County Londonderry, has agreed to sell that estate without giving the tenants an opportunity of purchasing their farms under the "Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870;" and, whether, in the event of the sale being made, Her Majesty's Government intend to see to the application of the purchase money?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, he had no information as to the agreement in question. In the event of the sale being held, it would, he believed, be held under the ordinary conditions. He was not aware that Her Majesty's Government, as a Government, had any power to interfere with the application of the purchase money.

THE WAR AND DISPUTED INVENTIONS OFFICE.—QUESTION.

MR. CANDLISH asked the Secretary of State for War, If, in the usual course of business at the War Office, questions of disputed inventions and patent rights, involving points of law as well as matters of fact, are referred to the Law Officers of the Crown only, or to Military Officers only, or to both?

MR. CARDWELL: When questions of invention involve points of law they are referred to the solicitor, and in case of necessity I refer them to the Law Officers of the Crown.

IRELAND—SILVER COIN.—QUESTION.

MR. DUDLEY FORTESCUE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, considering the deterioration from wear of a large proportion of the silver coin in Ireland, any arrangements have been made, or are in contemplation, for the exchange of worn silver coin by the Bank of Ireland, in the same manner as is done by the Bank of England?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Yes, Sir; we have been for some time in communication with the Bank, and I have no doubt that arrangements will be made in the direction indicated.

ARMY—BREECH-LOADING SMALL ARMS FOR ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS.

QUESTION.

MR. HEADLAM asked the Secretary of State for War, When the issue of Breech-loading Small Arms to Artillery Volunteers will be commenced, and what time will be required to complete the issue; and, whether the issue will be arranged according to a roll showing the per centage of efficients in the various corps?

MR. CARDWELL: The artillery have been the last armed with the rifle, because their weapon is the heavy gun. It is intended to issue the ordinary rifle in the order of their efficiency as artillerists, and the issue will commence as soon as the other forces are armed—that is, shortly, and will occupy from one to two months.

COLONIES—RELIGIOUS EQUALITY.

QUESTION.

MR. CRUM-EWING asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he is aware that at the opening of the Legislative Council of Barbadoes, on the 19th of January, the Governor of the Colony is alleged to have addressed the Council as follows:—

> "The prompt recognition of the claims of the mission of the United Brethren to the sympathy and support of the Legislature has given proof of your desire to admit all religious bodies existing in the Island to a share in those advantages which it has been the policy of the Local Government, from its earliest formation, to extend to the principal and primitive church of the inhabitants. You will be in a position during the present Session to extend your aid in like manner to the Wesleyan Methodists, and thus to satisfy, as far as this Island is concerned, the policy and desire of Her Majesty's Government to establish religious equality throughout the British Possessions in the West Indies;"

whether the Government has correctly described the policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the mode in which it proposes to establish religious equality in the West Indies; and, whether the Government will lay before Parliament any Despatch in which such policy is described, for the guidance of the Governor of Barbadoes, or of any other Governor of the British Possessions in the West Indies?

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN: Sir, the Governor of Barbadoes has correctly described the policy of Her Majesty's Government in stating that they wish to establish religious equality in the West Indies. This may be effected either by impartial disendowment or concurrent endowment upon equal terms. The choice of the alternative to be adopted must in every case depend upon the special condition and the feelings of the particular Colony with which we are dealing, and Her Majesty's Government will always endeavour to consult, as far as possible, the wishes of the colonists. There is no objection to the production of Papers, if the hon. Gentleman thinks it desirable to move for them.

POST OFFICE—MONEY ORDERS.

QUESTION.

MR. STACPOOLE asked the Postmaster General, Whether there will be any objection to extend the time for issuing and paying Money Orders at the various Post Offices throughout the United Kingdom when the new Money Order system is brought into operation?

MR. MONSELL said, in reply, that in the metropolitan and in the larger provincial post offices the hours for transacting money-order business were from 10 to 4 o'clock, except on Saturdays, when they were from 10 to 1; but in smaller offices the hours were from 9 to 6, and on Saturdays they were extended to 8 o'clock. Those hours afforded quite sufficient time for granting and paying money-orders, and the time could not be extended with advantage to the public or without entailing considerable inconvenience and expense on the Post Office.

ARMY—MILITIA DRILL.—QUESTION.

LORD GARLIES asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended that the quality of the Militia force is to be improved by an extension of annual drill in addition to that of preliminary training, as stated in a leading journal on Monday 27th instant; and, whether those Regiments of Militia ordered out for their annual training next month are to have the benefit of being brigaded with any regular troops for drill purposes?

MR. CARDWELL: It is intended that the Irish Militia, and that portion of the English who are to go into the large camp of instruction, proposed to be held in the autumn, shall have an additional week of annual drill. The regiments that go to Aldershot will be brigaded with Regular troops, and in other cases endeavour will be made to brigade the Militia with Regulars as local circumstances enable the authorities to do so.

ARMY—VALUE OF BREECH-LOADING FIELD GUNS.—QUESTION.

Colonel SYKES asked the Controller of the Ordnance, Whether any official or other information has reached the War Office that the Breech-loading Field Guns in use in the late campaign of the Prussian Armies in France have partially failed; and, whether such reputed failure has influenced the War Office to adopt the principle of Muzzle-loading for Field Artillery for the British Army?

Sir HENRY STORKS, in reply, said, no official or other information had reached the War Office that the breech-loading field guns in use in the late campaign of the Prussian Armies in France had partially failed.

NATIONALITY OF BERWICK-ON-TWEED QUESTION.

Mr. STAPLETON asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the liberties of Berwick-on-Tweed will be included in the Ordnance Maps (1-6 inch) of the county of Northumberland?

Mr. AYRTON said, in reply, that a map had been made of the district; but Berwick-on-Tweed had, unfortunately, been treated in the map as part of Scotland. He was not now prepared to order another map making the town English, and for the present he hoped the hon. Gentleman and the public would be satisfied with the map they had got.

ARMY—SMALL-POX AND THE MILITIA. QUESTION.

Mr. BUXTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Small-pox is raging in certain districts of London from which certain Regiments of Militia are annually recruited; and, whether the right hon. Gentleman will delay the calling out of these Regiments till the Small-pox subsides?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, the only metropolitan regiment coming out within the next month is that from Hounslow. It is intended to call out the remainder later in the year. It is the practice to take the precautions which may seem to be necessary under the circumstances, whenever there is an alarm of infectious disease.

POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPH SYSTEM IN ESSEX.—QUESTION.

Colonel BRISE asked the Postmaster General, If he will be able to comply with the terms of a Petition presented to him by the inhabitants of the Dengie Hundred, in the county of Essex, in reference to the extension of the Telegraph system into that district from Maldon viâ Latchingdon and Burnham?

Mr. MONSELL, in reply, said, the proposed route was now being surveyed by the engineer of the Department, and next week the consent of the landowners would be sought to laying down the posts and wires. If there was no difficulty in obtaining that consent the system in that district would be completed about the 1st of May.

ARMY—RETIREMENT OF COLONEL SHUTE.—QUESTION.

Mr. ANDERSON asked the Secretary of State for War, If it be the fact, as stated in the newspapers, that Colonel Shute is about to retire from the command of the 4th Dragoon Guards, and that the promotion is to be allowed to go in the Regiment; if he has taken steps to prevent the result of such an arrangement being, that Colonel Shute, who has already recovered all he was entitled to on retiring from the Inniskillings, and who received his position in the 4th Dragoon Guards without purchase, should receive a further bonus now at the expense of the public, who would eventually have to compensate those Officers who should pay for Colonel Shute's retirement; and, if he has considered the possibility of issuing such orders as may prevent Officers from making use of the interval between the introduction and the passing of the Army Regulation Bill to make arrangements that would add to the burden of compensation eventually falling on the public?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, Colonel Shute has withdrawn his application, and is not about to retire from the command of this regiment. The rules of the system will be strictly observed, and the Bill contains a provision that no officer shall receive in pursuance of the Act a greater sum in respect of his retirement than he would have received if the Act had not passed.

IRELAND—CIVIL SERVICE.—QUESTION.

Mr. PLUNKET asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that Memorials have been forwarded to the Treasury by various departments of the Civil Service in Ireland, containing a comparison of the duties performed by these departments with those performed by corresponding departments of the Civil Service in England, and praying that the Irish departments may be placed upon an equality as to salary with those performing analogous duties in England; and, if so, whether he will state why it is that in many instances the prayers of these Memorialists have not been entertained by the Treasury?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, in reply, that he was aware that certain memorials had been forwarded to the Treasury by various departments of the Civil Service in Ireland, containing a comparison of the duties performed by these departments with the duties performed by corresponding departments in England. When he was asked, however, that the Irish departments might be placed upon an equality as to salary with those performing analogous duties in England, he was obliged to answer that although a correspondence of service was *primâ facie* a partial index to remuneration, yet it was by no means the sole test. The Treasury must take into account the whole circumstances of each case, and each case must depend on its own merits.

ARMY REGULATION BILL—INDIAN ARTILLERY AND ENGINEERS.

QUESTION.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD asked the Secretary of State for War, Why the late Indian, now Royal Artillery and Engineers, are not included in Clause 4 of the Army Regulation Bill, inasmuch as the bonus system prevails in those corps equally with the twelve Regiments of Infantry and Cavalry transferred from the service of the East India Company to that of the Crown?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, the late Indian Artillery and Engineers are not within the provisions of the compensation provided by the Act, because they are dying out, and their promotion is provided for, as a seniority corps, under the Act of 1860.

CONFERENCE OF LONDON.

RESOLUTION.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Mr. Speaker—When, Sir, three weeks ago, this Motion stood fixed for debate, it was postponed upon a statement by the Premier that, so far as the Government were concerned, they could not adequately discuss its terms until the publication of the proceedings of the Conference had supplied them with their answer. At the same time it was declared that a day would be given to its consideration. After that, Sir, I must be allowed to express my deep regret that the Prime Minister should have attempted to throw on me the responsibility of the postponement of a measure, the success of which I have very much at heart. Sir, we have now before us the proceedings of the Conference, and if I refer to the point at all, it is only because I wish to repeat now, what on the former occasion I said—namely, that the case that I have to lay before the House was not affected by the fact that the Conference was sitting, and is not now affected by its termination. The Motion calls in question the policy, under all the circumstances of the case, of going into the Conference at the outset. What, Sir, were those circumstances? They were these. A great Power declared her intention of violating her treaty engagements. On that declaration, never withdrawn, but, on the contrary, expressly declared to be "irrevocable," we went into a Conference. We went into that Conference—as I shall attempt to show—without necessity, and with indecent haste. We accepted it on the suggestion of the friend of the violating Power, and at the worst moment of an appalling war, in which the Power proposing the Conference was engaged. We went into it without concert with the Power who was our chief ally in the war closed by the torn-up treaty, and on the suggestion of her enemy. Those, Sir, are the circumstances to which the Motion on the Paper alludes. I shall attempt to show that it was both unwise and unjust to accept the Conference without concert with each of our allies, and that it was fatal to the respect in which treaties should be held, that, at such a moment, and in such haste, we should go into a Conference at all. By accepting the proposal of Prussia we have weakened, I maintain, and

I think that it can be proved—we have weakened the securities of peace. It is, I should hope, hardly necessary to discuss at length the character of the Russian Note. We are, doubtless, all agreed that Earl Granville was right when he said of it, that it was "a declaration of an intention to violate" a treaty. The Turks called it a "denunciation." Austria called it a "repudiation"—which is better still. Repudiation is a harder name than even violation. Violation may be the act of a Power that is only violent and grasping; but repudiation is the crime of a Minister who, like the Russian Chancellor on this occasion, displays a cynical contempt for public law. We are agreed, then, as to the Circular. Violent, however, as was its language, I admit that our condemnation of it was sufficient. I admit that nothing could have been better than Earl Granville's reply. I have not to-day resorted to warmer words in describing the doctrine of the Russian Chancellor than those which, throughout the Correspondence, Earl Granville habitually made use of. Well, our allies agreed with us, and we marked our reprobation of the Circular in an answer which everyone approves. But, a week or two later, we marred the effect of our answer—we destroyed the utility of our answer, and we compromised the dignity of the country and the security of peace by going into a Conference upon that Circular, and that a Conference suggested by Prussia, which in this case meant—suggested by Russia herself. Well—but we made a bargain. We extorted, I shall be told, a promise that there was to be "no foregone conclusion as to the result." Well, I know we said so. We said so very often. I asked a gentleman, who is addicted to arithmetical calculations, if he would kindly tell me how many times the phrase occurs in the Papers. This eminent authority informs me—

> "That 'no previous assumption' occurs 10 times in 8 despatches; 'no foregone conclusion' 9 times in 7 despatches, and 'no assumption' once, making a grand total of 20 such phrases in 16 despatches, not to mention 3 'foregone conclusions' in the index, and 2 'foregone conclusions' in the Protocols; or 25, in all."

There can be no doubt, then, that at least we said that there should be "no foregone conclusion." Why, not content with saying so ourselves, we made everybody else repeat our shibboleth. Indeed, Earl Granville, in the character of Jephthah, obtained Biblical results; for Prince Gortchakoff, for one, could not pronounce his shibboleth at all at the first time of trying. In No. 57 we made Count Bismarck telegraph to Prince Gortchakoff, to make him telegraph back again to say that there was "no foregone conclusion." The first time he said, by telegraph to London—

> "The formula is to be that the Conference shall meet without the previous assumption of any foregone conclusion. That is also our view. Each one will bring to it his own unfettered opinion."

This was all wrong; so we applied to him again, when, in order to be quite sure, he dictated the words in English, as the House will find at No. 116. He did not exactly know what the phrase might mean; but, whatever it was, he was ready to swallow it whole and agree to it at once, in order to get into the Conference. Count Bismarck was more frank with us. He told us plainly, that the phrase upon which we plumed ourselves was so unnecessary as to make our anxiety about it appear ridiculous. At No. 82 he said—

> "A Conference without a clear understanding that it was subject to no previous assumption as to its results would defeat its own objects and be useless."

For my part, I think that, understanding or no understanding, it was useless, in face of the Czar's official declaration that his decision was "irrevocable." Why, Sir, Russia would not have gone into the Conference unless there had, in fact, been a "foregone conclusion." Why did she indignantly refuse to go into a Conference on the subject in 1867, upon the suggestion of Austria, and yet accept at once when Prussia proposed one now? Because, in 1867, there really would have been "no foregone conclusion;" whereas on this occasion everybody knew that there was one. Look at No. 112. General Ignatieff is a great authority on foreign affairs in Russia. He is admired as a skilful diplomatist throughout all Europe. Well, in No. 112, General Ignatieff, Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, is asked by Sir Henry Elliot if he knows the "basis" fixed for the deliberations of the Conference. I must, in passing, say that General Ignatieff is as famous for frankness as Count Bismarck, and that in consequence he is the *enfant terrible* of Russian diplomacy. Did he know the basis for the Conference? Of course, he did. He says—

> "The basis must, of course, be the late declaration of my Government that the neutralization of the Black Sea is at an end."

Of course, it must. But, what every diplomatist knew, General Ignatieff alone was found to speak. The form of the Russian Circular might have prevented any doubt as to the "basis" upon which the Conference would meet. As the Turks said of it, at No. 67—

> "In it Russia does not invite the assent of the other parties, but merely signifies to them her decision."

It was on the 30th November that Russia said that there should be "no foregone conclusion." If the House will allow me to speak for one moment of myself—I only do so because it bears upon the question—two days after that date I was myself in St. Petersburg. What did I find? I found the whole official Press declaring that though Russia had said that there was to be "no foregone conclusion," yet that she had not the smallest intention, in any event, of withdrawing from the position that she had taken up. *The Journal de St. Pétersbourg*—the Foreign Office paper—a paper the proof sheets of the political part of which are daily read by one of the chiefs of that office—that paper reprints articles on foreign policy from the semi-official papers, and those reprints are read in Russia as official utterances, just as much as though they were signed "Gortchakoff" or "Alexander." Now, reprinting an article from *The Gazette of the Academy*—itself a semi-official paper—the Foreign Office journal said, in announcing the agreement for a Conference—

> "We believe that the Russian public will await with confidence the result of its deliberations. There is no ground for believing that the Russian Government yields one iota of its just demands. Let Europe, which admits their justice, clothe them in a legal dress by the decision of the Conference. The stability of Europe will gain thereby, and the dignity of Russia will not be lowered."

This was early in December, and the article appeared, I believe, on the same day on which Prince Gortchakoff assured us, in our own familiar English, that the "formula" for the meeting of the Conference was "no foregone conclusion." This is not all. Some weeks later—long after Russia had accepted our so-called "basis" for the Conference, a paper more official still, if that were possible—the official journal published a few out of many addresses that had been put into the mouths of the peasants in different parts of the Empire. By so doing, it gave, in the opinion of all Russians, an official recognition to those selected. Well, the one placed in the very first position, and honoured by large type in the "official journal," was one in which England and Austria were coupled together as the "insolent Powers," whom the Czar was thanked for "humbling." This was just before the first meeting of the Conference that met "without a foregone conclusion." There is only one thing more that must be said upon this point of the "foregone conclusion," and that is this—one of the grounds on which I have often heard the policy of the Circular defended in Russia was, that England could not be expected to resent it, when governed by a Cabinet presided over by a Minister whose opinion was contrary to neutralization. Well, it does seem to bear upon this point of the "foregone conclusion" that, in the debate on the Address, that Minister should have stated from his official place, and, as it were, almost in his official capacity, the view that he had held as a private Member. At all events, we seemed to see from his speech that England went into the Conference with a "foregone conclusion." This was the view taken of the speech in Russia. The most important independent paper in Russia, *The Moscow Gazette*, of the 7th of March, says of it—

> "Thus it was once more proved out of the mouth of the English Government, that the neutralization of the Black Sea had no importance for England."

Now, there is another defence, that is made for our conduct in going into the Conference. It is said that Earl Granville's answer to the Circular was couched in terms so severe that, seeing that it was followed by a second Note from Russia, more courteous than the first, the whole correspondence amounted to a virtual withdrawal of the Russian claim. As to that statement, I have only this to say—that the Russian second Note contained no withdrawal from the position taken in the first, and that at the time at which it was written a conversation took place between Prince Gortchakoff and Sir Andrew Buchanan, in which the Russian Chancellor said—you will find it at p. 16—"The decision of the Czar is irrevocable, and I cannot, therefore, discuss the point of form." More than this:—the Russian second Note was explained away by the official papers at St. Petersburg; and in explaining it they resorted to terms as offensive as any that had been made use of upon the first occasion. The article on this subject in *The Golos* was ascribed by rumour —but well-founded rumour, I have reason to believe—to a very high functionary of the Russian Foreign Office. I need not quote these articles to the House; but will only say that in St. Petersburg no one could be found who ever heard of the Russian second Note being meant for a withdrawal. Now, I assert distinctly that our Government was aware of this. Why, even now it is afraid to print the communications which its own Ambassador addressed to it, as to what was said and thought in Russia. At p. 16 there is an extract, five lines long, from a despatch. When I turn to the index I find that we are supposed here to be given—"Rumours and opinions at St. Petersburg." Yes! But there is not one word in the extract about either "opinions" or "rumours." There are several places in the Papers where the Foreign Office index-maker has behaved in this tantalizing way; but on this occasion one is really tempted to ask seriously what can be the nature of those opinions which were prevalent in St. Petersburg in November, and which it was "prejudicial to the interests of England" to reveal in February? I am not experienced in these matters; but I really begin to believe that the much-used phrase "prejudicial to the public interests," means "prejudicial to the interests" of right hon. Gentlemen who sit on that Bench. I can tell the House what was the opinion at St. Petersburg, and that was, that England had agreed to a Conference, in order that it might attempt to save its honour by a farcical formality. We are now offered, by apologists for the conduct of the Ministry, a fresh defence. We are told the Protocol signed at the first meeting of the Conference is a virtual withdrawal of the Circular. [*A cheer.*] It is a fact, not without interest, that there should be found hon. Gentlemen who take that view. I may say, in passing, that we told France in a despatch that "nothing but mere formal matters were discussed" at the first meeting; so I had thought that this Protocol was "a mere formal matter." It seems, however, that it was more than that, and one newspaper has called it "a landmark in the development of international morality," and many fine names besides. Still, after all, when we come to read it, the only remarkable thing about it is that it tells us nothing we did not know before. Russia herself —whatever her acts—has always had for the principle of the efficacy of treaties what may be called a Platonic love. Each time that she has broken treaties the violation has been accompanied by a declaration that nobody was more ready to observe them. Did Russia make any difficulty about signing this declaration? None whatever; no more than she did about the "foregone conclusion." Provided she got all she asked, she was very glad, indeed, to set her hand to any number of declarations, which could always be repudiated at a future date. Russia is far too sensible, and far too cynical a Power, ever to stick at declarations. There were, I believe, two forms proposed—the milder one, of course, by us; the stronger one by Austria. If we are to trust the semi-official papers of Vienna, we positively put pressure upon Austria to make her consent to a Protocol, which would have been—I was going to say a sham, but the whole Conference is a sham—not merely a sham, but an open and notorious piece of humbug. Austria refused, and insisted on the stronger form—at least, so say the Vienna papers of January 18. But, after all, what does even the stronger form amount to but a declaration that in international morality a principle exists which nobody has denied? Prince Gortchakoff himself wrote, in his answer to the Austrian reply—

> "It is well understood that a transaction concluded by common consent cannot be modified but by common assent:—"

as the House will observe, almost the very words of the Protocol. But he went on to say that the Treaty in question having been violated, had ceased to exist. This refers to the hollow pretexts alleged in the Circular; but such pretexts can always be found by a Power that wishes to find them. They could hardly be weaker than in this case. Russia had "slept upon her injury." She had treasured up these pretended breaches of the Treaty, to bring them out at what she herself had the audacity to call "a favourable opportunity." Sir Henry Elliot called the pretexts "extremely futile;" and I agree with him, for I consider that their futility was only exceeded by the arrogance with which they were expressed. Still, as I say, such pretexts can always be found. What is needed is that the other Powers should refuse to recognize them when they are found. On the very same day on which Prince Gortchakoff wrote that treaties "could not be modified but by common assent," he wrote also to Austria "the Russian declaration has solved the Black Sea Question by a unilateral act," a statement which well illustrates the worth of declarations such as these. I will say no more about the Protocol. It lays down no new principle; it is implied in every treaty; and may be said to be actually expressed in that Treaty which Russia—respecting the principle—declared she meant to break.

I have now shown, as I venture to think, that we went into the Conference on a declaration by Russia that she intended to violate her treaty obligations, and without that declaration having been in any way withdrawn. This is certainly the Russian view. *The Golos*—an inspired paper of great authority—said on the 21st of this month, eight days ago, that an article in *The Times*, on the result of the Conference, though clever, is untrue, inasmuch as it asserts that Russia has practically withdrawn the Circular. *The Golos* goes on—

> "Some think it well that the English should amuse themselves with such a view, but we cannot agree in this opinion. Our adhesion to any Conference was announced beforehand in the Circula ritself; and in going into one we did so, only to allow Europe to make our declaration into a treaty and harmonize it with the Treaty of Paris. From the moment of our declaration the restrictive articles ceased for us Russians to exist, but they were not yet abrogated by the other Powers. The Conference converted our unilateral Circular into an act of universal obligation, and made it a part of International Law. It is, then, out of the question to talk of any withdrawal of our Circular."

Even the official papers—if one may use such a phrase as to a portion of the Press of a country in which all papers are more or less official—even the official Press does not attempt to disguise the completeness of the Russian triumph. *The Journal de St. Pétersbourg* of the 15th of March, for instance, says—

> "Let us hope that the foreign newspapers will end by admitting how much wisdom and moderation there was in the step which Russia took four months ago, and of which the assent of Europe has now admitted the complete justice."

For my part, I frankly admit the wisdom—the worldly wisdom—but I have my doubts about the moderation. The same paper on the next day—the 16th—sets to work to show how the victory was won, and ascribes the result to physical force—

> "However wise the intentions of the Great Powers, it is doubtful whether those intentions would have borne fruit had the language of the Imperial Cabinet been less firm, and had it not been backed by a knowledge of the vast progress made by Russia since 1856, and which would give her in the event of a struggle, far greater power than she possessed at the time of the Crimean War."

The Golos of the 17th of March was even more jubilant than *The Journal*—

> "Russia has won a great victory, and her triumph is the close of the struggle of 15 years ago. Her enemies beat her in arms, but in agreeing to destroy to-day that which they built up then they themselves pronounce their condemnation. One cannot even conceive a more brilliant triumph than this victory of reason. Every stipulation that restricted our rights in the Black Sea is struck from the Treaty of Paris; Russia enters once more on her right of having in that sea a war fleet, unlimited in size and strength, and of erecting naval arsenals. This is the grand result obtained by our diplomacy. If some cowards have feared that we should have bought it only by concessions on our part, the event shows that their fears were totally ungrounded. Russia could not have hoped for a more glorious solution of the question left unsettled by the Crimean War."

Well, in spite of all these repeated statements, I suppose that we are to be asked to believe that Russia has repented, having seen the error of her ways. For my part, I do not think so, and I repeat that the Russian declaration—never in any way withdrawn — was the basis of the Conference. I have now to show that we went into that Conference at a moment when, of all others, our doing so was undesirable: I shall attempt to show that the invitation of Prussia was really that of Russia, and that there was also no previous concert with our allies. As for the Prussian origin of the Conference, I do not know that any attempt will be made to-day to deny that. It has been denied, and I will consider the denial presently; but for the moment I wish to consider the action of Prussia in detail, and to try and see how far Russia was behind Count Bismarck. According to the latter—at No. 54—the Conference was to be one "to take into consideration the question raised by the overtures made by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg in the Circular." The word "overtures" is superhuman in its excellence. What we called a "violation," what the Turks called a "denunciation," what the Austrians called a "repudiation" and an "abrogation," Count Bismarck called "overtures"—a far prettier word. Well, we jumped at this proposal, and in No. 184 we warmly thanked Prussia for having "assisted to obtain some of the results which Her Majesty's Government had desired," though what those results were I cannot conceive. We had previously thanked Prussia with effusion, as the French would say. The index *précis* of No. 37 says—"Her Majesty's Government pleased with friendly conduct of the Prussian Government." Now, what had been Earl Granville's view of the position of Prussia? What I have just quoted is the view of the Cabinet as a whole; but what was Earl Granville's first impression? We find it in No. 35, where he thrice expresses his disappointment. I do not wonder that he should have done so. Count Bernstorff had just informed him that Count Bismarck "advised the avoidance of polemical despatches circulated in the Press"—referring, of course, to Earl Granville's publication of the English answer. I do not know that a more insulting piece of advice was ever given to a great Power. Well, as I say, in No. 35, we have only Earl Granville's opinion before he had consulted his Colleagues. In No. 37 we have the opinion of the Cabinet. Earl Granville had expressed "disappointment" at the conduct of Prussia. The Cabinet did not express disappointment. On the contrary, they expressed "pleasure"—that is to say, that on the very same day on which Earl Granville had expressed his "disappointment" at the conduct of Prussia in the afternoon, on the same day, in the evening, he had, in the name of the Cabinet, to express his "pleasure," and to agree to the idea of a Conference. It appears that Prussia took the Russian side in this matter from the first. She continued to take it to the last. Those Protocols show us the Prussian Ambassador declaring that his instructions were merely to support the Russian view. Perhaps there was no treaty; but there was at least an understanding. At all events, from the public newspapers themselves, we know that the Emperor William is the Czar's "devoted friend," and that the Czar stands towards the Emperor William in the relation of being "yours till death." Not only is there now proof of an understanding, but the Papers show us that our Government knew it at the time. No. 11 is a singular despatch. Earl Granville relates the first conversation between Count Bernstorff and himself, which took place after the receipt of the Russian Circular. He asked—"Whether Count Bernstorff supposed the Czar of Russia had reason to hope for support from Prussia or any other Power?" That is a question as direct as any of those that are put here at torture time, and, like some of those, it remained without an answer. The despatch contains no answer. The index contains no answer. There was no answer. There was no answer—that is, at the time; but on the 17th of January there was an answer. There was an answer in the Protocol of the first sitting of the Conference, and that answer is contained in the Prussian Plenipotentiary's speech—for his first statement to assembled Europe was—

> "That his Court had instructed him to support and to recommend the desire of the Imperial Government of Russia to see the stipulations of 1856, relative to the navigation of the Black Sea, submitted to a revision, which should eliminate certain clauses."

That was the answer. I am no enemy to Prussia; but I maintain that on this particular occasion, thanks to the necessities of the war, the invitation of Prussia was that of Russia herself. Not only, Sir, did we go into the Conference upon an invitation such as I have described, but we went into it in so great a hurry that we forgot even to consult our allies. I am not speaking of our going into the Conference without the presence of a Plenipotentiary of France. That is, comparatively speaking, a trifling matter, and one on which I lay less stress. I am speaking of the absence of previous concert. Take, for instance, our preliminary dealings with our chief ally in the war terminated by the Treaty of 1856. France had, with singular disrespect, been left by Prince Gortchakoff to hear of his Circular from the newspapers. It was held back, and only communicated to her—10 days later—on the 19th of November. No cause is assigned for this insulting and extraordinary delay. The first communication that France received from us was, when she suddenly learnt by telegraph that we invited her to attend a Conference, proposed by Prussia and accepted by us without inquiry. The facts are startling when stated in this naked way; still, I think that each clause of the proposition is capable of proof. No. 37 shows that we, in reality, agreed to the Conference on the 25th November. On the 27th we telegraphed to France for her "concurrence." On the very same day, however, on which this telegram reached Tours—that is, on the 28th, and long before we had heard the views of the French Government—we instructed our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and Mr. Odo Russell, at Versailles, to state that we accepted the Prussian proposition. On the 30th November only was it that Earl Granville received a telegram from France, expressing her amazement at the Prussian origin of the Conference that we asked her to attend, and by No. 55 we see that Earl Granville did not venture to deny that Prussian origin. Lord Lyons was more bold. In No. 79 he wrote that he had said—

> "What Prussia proposed was a Conference to be held at St. Petersburg, without any special conditions. This proposal Her Majesty's Government rejected, and made a proposal of their own, in which it was expressly stated that the Conference was not to be held at St. Petersburg, and in which certain preliminary conditions were laid down as indispensable. It is not to the Prussian proposal, but to this English proposal that the French Government is asked to consent."

These words were afterwards approved by Government in a despatch. We see, then, that having in writing to St. Petersburg, and in writing to Versailles (No. 85), distinctly admitted that the proposal we accepted was a Prussian proposal, in our communications at Tours we asserted the very contrary. What did the Cabinet mean when they approved of Lord Lyons' saying that Count Bismarck having proposed a Conference at St. Petersburg, we had "rejected" this proposition? I suppose it will be said that we rejected St. Petersburg, and proposed London. But rejecting St. Petersburg would not amount to rejecting the Prussian proposal, and St. Petersburg was not the Prussian proposal at all, nor London ours. At p. 24 we see that St. Petersburg was the suggestion of Russia, not of Prussia; and by No. 58 we find that London was the proposal of Turkey. I repeat that St. Petersburg was not the Prussian proposal, and I fear that Lord Lyons' statement, that we "rejected" the Prussian proposal, is one of those which the Prime Minister calls "unauthorized;" but in this case it was approved by Government. Well, there is another way in which to escape from the dilemma. Lord Lyons said that the Prussian proposal which we rejected was for a Conference "without conditions," and he says that we, in what he is pleased to call "our proposition," made certain "special conditions." I am afraid that the plural here must be looked upon as another of these "unauthorized statements." We never laid down but one condition, and that condition was a self-evident proposition, as far as words went, and a mockery as far as facts. It is our old friend "no foregone conclusion." Still, we can hardly have "rejected" the Prussian proposal on this ground, inasmuch as Count Bismarck very gravely said to Mr. Odo Russell—

> "That, in his opinion, a Conference with a foregone conclusion would defeat its object, and be useless;"

so that this can scarcely have been his proposition. If we were right when we told M. de Chaudordy that we "rejected" the Prussian proposition, Prussia certainly did not know of the rejection, for long afterwards, in No. 82, we find Count Bismarck saying that—

> "As the Powers have accepted his proposition, he leaves the day for the meeting of the Conference to us."

Russia, too, thought it then, and thinks it still, a Prussian proposition, for as late as the 16th of March—last week—the official journal said—"In spite of the English Press, a Conference proposed by North Germany was accepted." I think that nothing more discreditable was ever revealed in a diplomatic correspondence; and, for my part, I consider that we were guilty of the meanest equivocation. On discovering the Prussian origin of the Conference, France began to hesitate, and finding cajolery in vain, we in turn commenced to bully her. On the 15th of December we entered upon a course of telegrams, and on the 19th Earl Granville sent Lord Lyons that mysterious despatch, of which an extract is given in No. 119. I do not know whether the index to Parliamentary

Papers is intended to contain a *précis* even of passages which have not been printed; but, at all events, it is so here. I do not know, I repeat, whether this is the customary course; but it is certainly a convenient course for those who are not in the secrets of the Administration. Possibly in this case, and in the others to which I have already made allusion, some portions of the despatches which seemed dangerous were struck out only at the last moment, and the index was forgotten. The gentleman at the Foreign Office who corrects the proofs must take warning for another time. No. 119 is an extract which has no guile in it at all. Nothing can be more moderate than its tone. It expresses Earl Granville's wish that the Conference should no longer be postponed, and that is all. But when we turn to the index we find—

> "Russia and Prussia urge the early meeting of the Conference, which must take place even without a French Representative."

In the extract there is not one word about Russia; not one word about Prussia; not one word that is imperative; but from the index it seems that France was right, and that the co-operation of the confederates was carried even to the point of insisting that the Conference must take place with or without France. Why were these parts of the despatch struck out at the last moment? Because we let them pass without remonstrance — that is the reason, without doubt. Probably this imperious missive was hid from France. At all events, such was our pressure and such her misery that she consented to send a Plenipotentiary, provided we asked for a safe-conduct. I will not go into the history of this negotiation. The whole narrative is a commentary on the policy of going into a Conference of this character in the middle of the most horrid of modern wars. It was on the 17th December that France consented to be represented at the Conference. It was not till the 10th January, at night, that M. Favre was permitted to receive Earl Granville's letter. On the 14th he sent to Count Bismarck a request for a safe-conduct. No answer was returned, although the safe-conduct had been promised us. On the 18th we wrote a begging-letter, No. 178, repeating our request to the Prussians to let out M. Favre. On the 21st we wrote again, No. 186; but our only answer was that on the 23rd Count Bismarck telegraphed to all the German papers one of those wondrously vexatious paragraphs which he knows so well how to compose—

> "Count Bismarck has now declined to furnish M. Jules Favre with a safe-conduct."

I need hardly add that we did not remonstrate. But we had not waited for M. Favre. Five days before he got our letter we pressed the Government at Tours to name another Plenipotentiary. We did not think the Government of Defence sufficiently solid to be recognized as the Government of France; but we did think it solid enough to compromise, if need were, French interests, or to help us barter away our honour. When asked to recognize the Government of Defence, we often answered that when France should recognize that Government, then would we. We were not sure, we said, that these men could speak in the name of France. Yet all the time we pressed with humiliating persistency for the attendance of their Representative at a Conference at which the highest interests of Europe were at stake. Anybody would do. Anybody might come. If not M. Favre, then M. Tissot. If not the head of the Government, then the Secretary of an unrecognized Legation. Anybody—provided that the Prime Minister would be enabled to walk down to the House of Commons and to say—"France was invited, and France came." There is only one more point in the Papers to which I will allude. The last of all the Papers, and the last words of that! This is not a case of "all's well that ends well." I must say that, looking to the fact that this Paper is far later in date than any of the others in the series, it certainly was tempting fate to keep back the Papers in order that this one might be printed. I have shown already how we tried to cajole France into coming to the Conference. I have shown how we tried to bully her. By this Paper I am enabled to show that not only cajolery and bullying, but even bribery was tried. This was a Conference either upon the Eastern Question or upon the validity of treaties; it was not a Conference about the war. Prussia would have refused to go into a Conference about the war. Why was France invited to attend? Because she is, as the Queen's Speech at the beginning of this Session told us, an "indispensable member of the European family"—though in this case she came near being dispensed with altogether. She was asked because, without her consent, the acts of the Conference would have had no value. This is why France was asked. She was not asked because of any private advantage to be gained by her in coming, but for European objects. Yet we see by this Paper that our Government told France, and wishes it to be known that it told France, that any day after the meeting of the Conference was formally over, but before the members had left the table—at which, I believe, by the way, they always lunch—the French Plenipotentiary might raise a discussion on the terms of peace. Can anything be more discreditable than such a bribe? I have now, Sir, attempted to show total want of concert with one of our allies. With the others, the concert was only partial. As to the absence of France, I do not lay stress on it—still, it was our fault for going into such a Conference at such a time. Earl Granville himself said "that he would not have consented to enter the Conference unless France had been invited" to attend. But there are invitations and invitations, and if you invite a man to dinner on the day on which he is to be hanged, that can hardly be considered a very serious invitation. You will tell me, no doubt, that France has come in now. Yes. Four months later, under peace; under a different Government; under a set of circumstances—that is, which you cannot have foreseen. Yes; France has come in and has given an unwilling assent to your proceedings. Yes; unwilling — as you may see by page 38 of the new Papers or Protocols —that is, by the Duc de Broglie's speech at the only meeting of the Conference which he attended.

I believe that I have now shown that which I set out to prove—namely, that we went into the Conference on the Russian declaration, without that declaration having been in any way withdrawn, and that we did so in an extraordinary hurry and at the worst of moments. Why? Why did we go into the Conference? Did our allies ask us to do so? Not one of them—not one. Was there any need? Did we go into the Conference to avoid an otherwise immediate war? Not a bit of it. Russia was not less desirous of peace than we ourselves, although glad, of course, to get without fighting all that she would have gained by a successful war. Why, I repeat, did we go into the Conference? The Prime Minister has lately made some statements on this subject, to which, with the permission of the House, I will allude. He said that—

> "To have declined a Conference would have been to have kept open a European quarrel with one ally prostrate—namely, France, and with Austria, our next best ally, in the position of actually having taken the initiative some years ago, in proposing the abrogation of the condition now in question."

That was one of the Prime Minister's two defences, and one which I will ask the House to consider. This statement, in plain words, can only mean that in refusing a Conference we should have stood alone. Is that so? I do not dwell upon the fact that, at the moment of the issue of the Circular, France was far from prostrate, but was coping upon almost equal terms with Prussia. I do not dwell on this; but I come at once to our other allies. Now, as for Austria, she answered this attack for herself—Count Beust answered by anticipation our Prime Minister when he answered Prince Gortchakoff. Look at No. 28. This was a reply to a confidential despatch from Prince Gortchakoff, in which he reproached Austria with now leading the anti-Russian party among the nations, although in 1867 she had taken the initiative in the opposite direction. Count Beust, No. 28, answered this statement at great length, and he afterwards said to Lord Bloomfield—

> "That he was glad to have been able to answer Prince Gortchakoff's observations regarding his despatch to Russia, now three years old, on the subject of a revision of the Treaty of 1856."

This was made as an official communication to Lord Bloomfield, and is contained in No. 43. Austria herself, we see, was indignant at the allegation with regard to her views, which was made confidentially by Prince Gortchakoff, and repeated here publicly long after it had been contradicted — repeated by the Premier. I must go further. This argument about Austria was worth nothing if it did not mean that we should have stood alone. Now, not only was Austria with us, but so were Italy and Turkey too. If those who are going to speak on the other side of this question are willing to confine themselves to what appears in these Papers, I am willing. The Papers show that Austria was more firm than we were, and that Italy and Turkey followed steadily in our steps. If, however, you are going beyond the Papers —if we are to be told that other Powers advised us to accept the Conference—then I must ask leave to go outside the Papers too, and to show how firm was the language of the King of Italy; and language, too, which must have been brought to the knowledge of the Government. At the same time, the Papers are strong enough—I want nothing more. All of them tell one way. Nothing can be stronger than the language of Count Beust to M. de Nowikoff. Turkey, as we see at pp. 14 and 18, was as firm. At p. 29, Italy formally contradicts a rumour that her policy differs in any way from that of Austria and England, and by No. 50 we, in the most formal way, thanked both Austria and Italy for their "prompt and cordial" co-operation. At No. 41 Austria, and at No. 44 Italy, and in numerous places Turkey, told us that "the views of the Governments were identical;" but none of these said so after we had agreed to the Conference. Indeed, so emphatic is the line taken by all our allies in support of our original position—and, consequently, rather against than for our subsequent action — that Government have strained every nerve to try and find something that makes the other way. At p. 56, under the No. 101, we have their only success; and it is certainly a ridiculous abortion—an extract three and a half lines long evidently picked out of a parenthesis in the middle of a despatch—

> "Austria," Count Beust said, "is far from desiring to prevent a peaceful settlement of the question in dispute, and has not the slightest wish to encourage the Porte to take an energetic line."

That is all! Not another word! One of those gentlemen of the road, known as Queen's messengers, and who live in fear of my hon. Friend the Member for Warrington, was hardly sent all the way from Vienna to Whitehall with those three lines and a half in a large bag. If I thought so, I would gladly vote with my hon. Friend for their total and immediate suppression. Certainly that innocent document might have gone by post, and even on the smallest and most public of postal cards. No, Sir, that is a short bit from a long despatch—a despatch relating a conversation between Lord Bloomfield and Count Beust. What can have been the character of this conversation, of which it was detrimental to the public service — that is, to the right hon. Gentlemen on that Bench—that a word should be revealed to an expectant Parliament beyond these three lines and a half? Now, in this case, it is not necessary to call rumour to one's aid. It is plain, from the tone of even these three lines, that we urged Count Beust to lower his tone, and consent to condone the offence of Russia; and he replied, in terms of commonplace conventionality, that his tone was not immoderate, and "that he was far from desiring to prevent a peaceful settlement of the question in dispute." Of course, he was "far from desiring" that which no one desires—war; but he believed — and, as I think, justly—that the course taken by our Government was of all courses the most likely to lead to war, if not immediately, at any rate in the future. So much for the Prime Minister's statement as to our allies. Now, to turn to his other singular defence for his policy in going into the Conference upon the Russian Note. These were, I think, his words—

> "If we had said to Russia that she must take the consequence of her act, we should have placed ourselves in a position of estrangement from that Power at a time when we had a most sacred duty to discharge—namely, to keep together in co-operation the neutral influences of Europe, in the hope that at some happy moment we might be able to contract that range of destructiveness which we had long seen extending."

Well, I think, Sir, that the right hon. Gentleman had best not have made that statement. It is strange that, with the knowledge he must necessarily possess of both the sets of Papers, which he has advised the Crown to lay before Parliament, he should have used such an argument as that which I have quoted: that he should have argued that we were bound to co-operate with Russia in respect to the war at that moment of time, when only a few weeks earlier she had, in the most insulting manner, declined co-operation. I must say, Sir, that I think that the right hon. Gentleman forgot the date—I do not know whether he ever forgets dates—I hope he forgot the date. Why, the Russian Circular was issued on the last day of October; but on the 16th of October—that is, a fortnight earlier — we had addressed to Russia that extraordinary despatch which is numbered 202 in the Papers relating to the war. That was the despatch of which my hon. Friend who sits near me, the hon. Member for Nottingham (Mr. Auberon Herbert), once said, that it was—"like a toad in a rock—the wonder was how it came there at all." That despatch was one in which we invited Russia to come to an understanding with us, as to the terms on which peace between France and Germany might be made, and to co-operate with a view to joint action. This despatch was telegraphed, and was communicated to Prince Gortchakoff on the 17th of October. What was the result? Our Ambassador was "snubbed." The Russian Chancellor said—

> "That he could not see that any advantage could be hoped for from England and Russia agreeing as to what might be reasonable terms of peace."

Our Ambassador insisted, and the Prince finally agreed to submit our telegram to the Czar. What did the Czar say? The Czar said that he thought "that any agreement between the neutral Powers would prove a barren and impracticable measure." So much for the chance of co-operation with Russia. If the Prime Minister had borne the dates in mind when he was speaking, he would have found that two days after our attempt at "co-operation with Russia," the Czar called his Ministers together at Tsarskoe-Seloe, and declared his intention of denouncing his treaty obligations. Really, Sir, I am at a loss to conceive how a Minister can assert that the chief reason why we ought to have forgotten our dignity and closed our eyes to future danger to European peace, was that a fortnight after this we were bound to use all efforts to try and secure the co-operation of Russia in respect to the war. Why, then, I ask again—why did we go into the Conference? I cannot, for the life of me, imagine why. The pretexts of the Premier are not worth much, as I have shown. Why, then, were we in so terrible a hurry? Russia hesitated. She promised not to act. At page 26, she called her own Circular—"the abrogation of a theoretical principle, without immediate application;" and, in No. 63, we find General Ignatieff — usually bold enough — telling the Grand Vizier that—

> "The Czar's honour being satisfied by the step that he had taken, he had no intention at present of proceeding further by the creation of a fleet in the Black Sea."

No wonder that Russia hesitated and took this humble line. She was without allies. Our allies were all Europe except Prussia, and the Prussian arms at that moment were taxed almost beyond their powers. The odds were so overwhelming that Russia could not, for a moment, have ventured to brave a struggle. The country was not aroused. Addresses, it is true, were voted by many of the towns; but I have it on the authority of distinguished Russians of all parties, that enormous pressure was put on to secure congratulations that should have been spontaneous. In Moscow, where alone in Russia a true public opinion exists, there was no enthusiasm. The subscription which was started to pay for the Black Sea fleet collapsed. *The Golos*—one of the most popular papers in St. Petersburg—opened a list, and at the end of two days had collected 38 roubles—that is, not £5. So dead did the whole thing fall, that the Imperial Cabinet had to trump up a ridiculous story of an American alliance, and to exile to Olonetz, on Lake Ladoga, the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Independence Belge*, for revealing this "State secret," which never, in fact, existed. Men talk of Russia's colossal power. Colossal size; but not colossal power! It is as easy to exaggerate the strength of Russia at the moment as it is difficult to over-estimate her future might. Russian statesmen know their weakness. They know that they are far more vulnerable in Central Asia than we in India. They know that in Poland, which as late as 1863 required 200,000 men, and a long struggle, Austria has a weapon against them, which, if pressed, she knows how to wield. The truth is, that Russia was frightened, and that we were frightened too, and that we stepped out of her way and gave her a success which was not merely a diplomatic victory over us, but a conquest of the international principle, and a triumph over public law. How sad must be the consequence of our step. There was an opinion growing fast before the war, and which would have grown again after its cessation, which had for direction to extend the sphere of treaties. What becomes of that opinion after the startling success of the Russian Chancellor? This declaration was an attempt to carry into public matters that kind of open cynicism which shocks in private life. What becomes of all our treaties —not political only, but commercial too —if such a doctrine is to prevail? I do not suggest that we should have insisted that the Russian Note should be withdrawn. It would not have been necessary that it should have been withdrawn. It would have been enough for us to have shown that we looked upon it as an empty threat. It would have been enough for us to have rested our case upon Earl Granville's Note until the times had changed. What do you think that Russia would have done? Would she have invaded Austria in the depths of winter? If so, Austria was prepared to take the consequences. Would she have invaded Turkey? If so, Austria and Turkey, supported by our fleet, were there. She would not have invaded either. I have no wish to fight for the neutralization of the Black Sea. I am not, indeed, myself a partizan of neutralization, which has, however, in my opinion, no bearing on the question. It would not have been necessary to fight. I do not wish to fight for Turkey. We should not have had to fight for Turkey. These are not the points. The point is, that the Executive Government has, through an exaggerated timidity, permitted the obligations of treaties to be publicly released. I know that in these times it has become the fashion to mock at treaties, and that a cynical view is taken of their obligations. It would be a sad day, however, and one to be deplored, whenever our Government should back that view with the weight of its approval. How are you ever to have peace—except the peace of exhaustion—unless you have an adequate sanction to enforce international agreement, and where are you to find that sanction except in treaties? Yet treaties will habitually be broken by certain Powers, unless the breaking of them is habitually discountenanced by the moral and peaceful Powers. A great deal has been said of late of the decline of England. For my part, I believe that this country was never more rich in all the elements of power. If, owing to our action in the present case, some discredit may have attached to our name, it is no fault of ours. It is none of the fault of England; but comes of the timidity of her statesmen, and the weakness of her rulers. It is said that the policy of the Government has been a peace policy. I do not think that it has been either a peace policy or a safe policy. It may be a policy for a time cheap—although your Estimates do not show it; but it is not a truly pacific policy, if it is neither calculated to maintain the present dignity of this country, nor the security of any in the future.

Mr. SOMERSET BEAUMONT said, he was glad the hon. Baronet had called the attention of the House to a matter of such great interest. The results of the Conference were two,—first, the abrogation of the clause which ensured the neutrality of the Black Sea; and, secondly, the Protocol which affirmed that no Power could liberate itself from the obligations of a treaty. As to the first point, he did not think that the principle of neutralization had been treated with due respect. It should not be forgotten that it was that principle which kept inviolate the frontiers of Belgium and secured the safety of Switzerland. He was not going to express an opinion whether we were right or wrong in assenting to the abrogation of the neutrality of the Black Sea. That neutrality stood condemned since, in 1867, Count Beust gave his consent to its abrogation in a confidential manner, first to France, and afterwards to the other Powers. But that was a very different thing from assenting to such a proposition at the very time when Prince Gortchakoff allowed himself to say that the Emperor's decision on the subject was irrevocable. It was a great misfortune that our Government, before going into the Conference, had not come to a preliminary understanding with Austria and Italy, as to what equivalent should be given in return for such important concessions. There was an equivalent of great importance which had not been referred to, and which we might have asked for. Besides the Treaty of 1856 there was another of the 16th of April of the same year, by which England, with Austria and France, were jointly and severally bound to support the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. There was a good opportunity for asking Prussia to join in that joint and separate guarantee; and if she refused we might infer that she had an understanding with Russia contrary to the general freedom of Europe.

On the other hand, if she consented, we should have divided the responsibility with a Power to which the independence of Turkey was even of greater importance than it was to ourselves. As to the second point of the Protocol, which recognized that it was an essential principle of the Law of Nations that no Power could liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty unless with consent of the contracting Powers, that seemed to him to be a pompous piece of unmeaning solemnity. We had lately had some experience of the manner in which Protocols of an abstract nature were treated. In July last the right hon. Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) appealed to the Prime Minister, to know whether he had reminded the belligerents of the engagements of the Treaty of 1856, and the Prime Minister's reply was to the effect that, though he had reminded Prussia and France of "that great European Act," they told him pretty nearly to mind his own business. Very much importance, therefore, could not be attached to a Protocol for which we had sacrificed so much. Indeed, no Protocol of such a general character could have any great value, unless there was some tribunal prepared to enforce it, or some spirited Government ready to resist its abrogation. His belief, drawn from a perusal of the Papers, was that Government had gone into this Conference with the intention of taking the advice of Austria, and of asking for some equivalent; but for some reason, which could not be ascertained from these Papers, they had not insisted upon the equivalent which they intended to ask for, and they had adopted this Protocol as a makeshift, so as to conceal an ignominious failure. He appealed to the Government to state what their policy was with respect to these Treaties of 1856. His impression was that this was the first nail in the coffin of these Treaties. He had never been any very great admirer of them, because their object was to guarantee the independence of the Ottoman Empire, which was not a very wise object. At a moment when we were discussing Army Re-organization Bills and increased Estimates, the House had a right to ask the Government to state what they considered their obligations to be under the Treaty of 1856, which had now been so much altered by the concession made. He should like to know also whether Government, which now sought protection under the ægis of the hon. Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands), intended to maintain its treaty obligations with respect to Belgium, against which the hon. Member voted in August last? If that was to be the policy of Government, he thought it would be much better, and much more conducive to the honour of this country, if the Prime Minister were to state it at once, and not leave our allies to be betrayed in the moment of danger. He had great pleasure in seconding the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That this House regrets that Her Majesty's Government accepted a proposition for the assembling of a Conference under the circumstances disclosed in the Papers relating to Prince Gortchakof's Circular Note, which have been laid before Parliament."—(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

MR. RYLANDS,* in rising to move as an Amendment—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the course taken by Her Majesty's Government in accepting a proposal for the assembling of a Conference upon the Treaty of Paris of 1856 was consistent with the honour and interest of this Country, and calculated to promote the maintenance of the peace of Europe."

said, that the Government had not in any way accepted his Amendment; he moved it entirely as an independent Member of the House, and he was the more encouraged in the course he had marked out for adoption, because he, unfortunately, felt compelled to vote against the Government in certain matters of policy which they initiated. He felt still more freedom of action because the hon. Baronet, who had moved the Resolution, agreed with himself on many of the great political questions of the day, and because even now he did not despair of finding the hon. Baronet in the same Lobby as himself on many future occasions. If it was thought that the Motion would be better met by a direct negative, he did not wish to stand in the way of the disposition of the House; but, so far as he was concerned, he was so satisfied with the course the Government had taken, believing, as he did, that it was not only consistent with the honour and interest of England, but calculated to make for Europe a peaceful future, that he could not hesitate to put before the House an Amendment, which he sincerely hoped would be accepted. He did not wish to go into the old question, which had been debated very much in this House a few years ago, and which had some bearing on the present Motion —he meant the policy of the Crimean War. He thought that there had been a great change of opinion since the Crimean War, and that many persons were now inclined to think that it was a great mistake, and that the Treaty did not compensate for the sacrifices of the war in which we were involved. A very strong opinion had been held that the Crimean War might have been entirely prevented if the proper steps had been taken. But the nation drifted into war because public opinion was excited by the Press, by which the most inflammatory statements were issued; and the Leaders of the Government—Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell—made the gravest charges against Russia and her Emperor, amounting even to fraud and falsehood. In addition to this, his right hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Horsman) made one of the most eloquent speeches ever delivered in that House, but that speech was calculated to rouse the unreasoning passions of the people of this country, and almost to madden them. The war was commenced and carried on, and it had to be fought to the bitter end. He did not wish to raise the whole question of that war. He was willing to take this Motion upon the assumption that the policy of bolstering up Turkey and curbing the power of Russia was the right one in the interests of this country; but even then it became a question how far the neutralization of the Black Sea was an essential part of the policy recommended by Lord Palmerston's Government, and carried out by the Crimean War. There had been an attempt made to show that the policy of the neutralization of the Black Sea was the turning-point of the whole affair, and that, when the negotiations proceeded at Vienna in 1855, though three Points in dispute were agreed to, the war was continued for 12 months on the question of the Black Sea. He thought it was most unfortunate that the war was then continued. If any reasonable arrangement had then been made, the continuance of the war would not have been necessary. But it did not appear that the question of the continuance of the war was, as the right hon. Member for Buckinghamshire had said, the gist of the whole affair. The Four Points discussed at Vienna were very important points, and included the question of the Danubian Principalities, the question relating to the Greek Christians, and the opening of the Danube under the regulation of the Treaty Powers—all points of material importance to the integrity of Turkey. When the negotiations were pending the present Bishop of Winchester, then Bishop of Oxford, said in the House of Lords that all the main objects for which this country had engaged in war had already been gained; that the question upon which the negotiations had failed was that of limitation, and he thought that to require any sovereign State to limit the number of its ships of war was an indignity to which it could not be expected to submit. And then the right rev. Prelate said no peace could be lasting or secure with a great nation which had inflicted upon it —even though its humiliation for a time should be ever so complete—terms which it felt to be unworthy of its inherent greatness. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli), when the negotiations were being carried on at Vienna, did not tell the House that the Point as to the limitation of Russian war vessels in the Black Sea was the gist of the whole affair. On the contrary, the right hon. Gentleman, speaking of the proposal of that limitation, said Lord John Russell, who had been Plenipotentiary at Vienna, proposed the most humiliating conditions that could be made to any Government, and that it was a humiliation which a great nation must necessarily struggle against till the last. Let us place ourselves in the position of Russia. Let us suppose that after a great war we were put, by a combination of other Powers, in the humilating position of having to sign a peace limiting the powers of our fleet in our own Channel. If such an indignity were put on this country, he, for one, would join with his patriotic fellow-countrymen at any time, and on the first opportunity, to strike off that humilating badge. How was it that the Plenipotentiary of England held such a tone at Vienna in 1855? He could not help calling attention to the fact that the course which Lord Russell took at Vienna was not calculated to promote peace. The speech which Lord Russell made in the House of Commons on his return from the Vienna Conference showed that it was not probable he would come to terms of a moderate character. The noble Lord said—

> "What is the position of Russia? It may not be such as would have justified us in making war; but, being at war, it behoves us seriously to consider. Russia has increased her power more than any other Power in Europe. She has 60,000,000 inhabitants, an army of 800,000 soldiers, six or seven fortresses in Poland, and a great plan of fortifications in the Baltic, which, if undertaken, would have given her a complete predominance, so much so that neither Denmark nor Sweden, nor any other Power, could have held up a finger against Russia in the Baltic."—[See 3 *Hansard*, cxxxviii. 1082-3.]

Lord John Russell went on to give other reasons why we should fight the battle out. Russia, he said, by distributing distinctions among German Princes, and by contributing money to pay their debts, had undermined the vital strength of Germany, which ought to be the seat of independence, and which should stand forward for the protection of Europe against Russia. The fact of Russian progress and power was a sufficient justification in the eyes of many for this country entering into and carrying on the Crimean War; but there was a small party in that House, at that time in a hopeless minority, headed by the present Prime Minister and by the right hon. Member for Birmingham—whose absence from that House he deeply regretted—who were of a contrary opinion. Was it because that party had not been listened to in a time of excitement, occasioned by falsehoods which had been circulated with reference to the supposed designs of Russia, that the House was to be told that, now that our state of mind had become calmer, the policy of Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell was to govern the country for ever, and that, even in view of eventualities arising out of the great changes that had occurred in Continental politics, that policy was not to be altered? Since that time there had been a great alteration in the opinions entertained with respect to the position of Russian power in the Black Sea; and the change had taken place not only in this country, but also in France and Austria. His hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke) referred to Austria, and gave the impression that Austria was not prepared to maintain an attitude similar to our own. But he (Mr. Rylands) thought that Austria by no means acted in that sense. Count Beust, the Austrian Minister, had admitted that Russia was placed in a humiliating position with reference to the Black Sea. The complaint of Austria was, that when she proposed a modification in 1867 her proposal had not been received with gratitude by Russia, but rather the contrary. Austria went to Russia then for a purpose, and with a design to enlist the sympathy of Russia. So long as this humiliation existed, it offered to other Powers an opportunity of intrigue. He thought there was no doubt that there had been an understanding between Prussia and Russia, before the outbreak of the war, that in consideration of Prussia helping Russia to get rid of this humiliating condition, Russia should not interfere in preventing Prussia from carrying out her policy. France, some time since, sought to bribe Russia by consenting to her being rid of such a humiliating condition. We had no special interest, nationally, in preserving this condition. His hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea said that a great blow had been aimed at the Treaty. That he (Mr. Rylands) admitted. He was not prepared to dispute that the course taken by Prince Gortchakoff in this matter was a great blow to treaty obligations, which had not been cured by the Protocol, and could not be cured by any subsequent events; but it was not the first, nor the greatest. We had had nothing but blows at treaty obligations for the last half-century. It was little more than half a century ago when the Plenipotentiaries of the Great Powers signed a treaty which was to settle the condition of Europe in such a way as to be everlasting. Yet that treaty, which cost this country a hundred millions of money and hundreds of thousands of lives, had been torn to shreds, and in many cases we had been consenting parties to its infraction. He agreed with Mr. Mill that treaties were not made to be eternal, but were often transient in their character. George Washington, who was one of the greatest statesmen and wisest men that the world ever saw, remarked that, whatever might be the nature of the convention entered into, his experience taught him that nations and Governments rarely abided by such agreements longer than it was their true interest to do so. Almost all experience showed this. When we were in strict alliance with Prussia and with France, and thought we could place reliance upon them, those countries were secretly plotting. He was not concerned with the question whether Benedetti or Bismarck was the worse; but neither of them considered himself to to be bound by treaty obligations. The lesson which these blows at treaties should teach this country, was to have as little as possible to do in the future with treaties and guarantees. When we joined in treaty engagements with other Powers, it was like a partnership in which we incurred unlimited liability, while the other partners came in upon the limited liability principle. The Money Article in *The Times* was not a bad exponent of the effect that this blow to treaty obligations had had upon the commercial circles in this country. One of those articles contained the following statement:—

> "The Russian Note has caused a hope to be entertained in the City that the warning thus given will cause England for the future to have as little as possible to do with treaties or guarantees. Her position in such affairs is compared to that of an established merchant, who might in good faith enter into a transaction in joint account with a number of partners, every one of whom would simply intend to take any benefit that might accrue, and, in the event of loss, to break off from their liability, and throw upon his shoulders the whole reponsibility."

The hon. Member for Chelsea argued that we ought to have taken our stand upon Lord Granville's Note, and have declared war, if the Russian Government went from a technical to a practical violation of the Treaty. His hon. Friend thought she would not proceed to that extremity; but then they were bound to look to the possibility the other way. His hon. Friend said that if war had ensued a few months back Russia would have had no ally; but he (Mr. Rylands) thought that if Russia had commenced building ships in the Black Sea, and we had declared war, we should have been puzzled to know where our allies would come from. He need not point out to the hon. Member for Chelsea the numerous cases in which treaties had been broken, and in which England had been left without allies, and had not felt herself bound to go to war. He regretted that Mr. Odo Russell should have been led to make the unauthorized statement, that if Russia persisted in her designs we should be bound, either with or without allies, to go to war to support the Treaty of 1856. When Cracow was occupied by Austria in 1846, in violation of the Treaty of Vienna, Lord Palmerston refused to go to war to protect its independence because, as he declared, England, being deserted by her co-signataries of the Treaty, was not obliged to fight single-handed in its support. Lord Russell being then Prime Minister, had the responsibility of governing the country; and under those circumstances there was a difference between the tone of the speeches he then made and that of his recent letters to *The Times*. Lord Russell then said, that—

> "England ought to have been invited to a Conference, and that the violent seizure and occupation of Cracow was a violation of the Treaty of Vienna, and Her Majesty's Government had directed Lord Palmerston (then Foreign Secretary) to protest against it individually and collectively."

But at that time we did not go to war, because we stood alone, and Lord Russell himself declared that so far from losing honour or prestige on that occasion, "though our protests had been disregarded, our moral force had been increased and fortified." And why? Because, as Lord Russell said—"there was no Treaty, ancient or modern, which we had either violated or set at naught." It was upon that that our honour and prestige depended; and if we kept our own engagements we need not fear that we should lose our honour or our prestige. Again, there was the case of Schleswig-Holstein, in which England, though, with other Powers, she had guaranteed the integrity of Denmark, held back from maintaining that so-called treaty obligation, on the ground that other Treaty Powers were not prepared to support her in that action. On that occasion Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, on the 27th of June, 1864, said—

> "That while feeling that, from first to last, in these late events, Denmark had been ill-used, Her Majesty's Ministers would have been glad to recommend their Sovereign to take part with Denmark in the approaching hostilies. But, on the other hand, considering that, as both France and Russia had declined active co-operation, the task of driving the Germans out of Schleswig-Holstein would have fallen on this country alone, Her Majesty's Ministers had not thought it consistent with their duty to recommend their Sovereign to undertake such an enterprize."—[See 3 *Hansard*, clxxvi. 349-50.]

Lord Russell, in defending the Government from the Vote of Censure then proposed against them, and for which, indeed, there was some ground — for Denmark had partly been led into the position she took up through "the meddling and muddling" policy of Lords Russell and Palmerston—said—

> "It would have been most unwise for England to enter into hostilities with Germany without the aid of France, Russia, and Sweden. They were equally parties to the Treaty, and England was not bound to act alone."

Then the right hon. Gentleman now at the head of the Government also said—

> "That our Government had done all they could to preserve the peace of Europe in conjunction with France, Russia, and Sweden; and having failed, were they to act single-handed? There were abundant reasons against so Quixotic an enterprize, and none for it."

Lord Brougham likewise expressed the opinion that it would have been absurd for us to go to war without allies; but the most remarkable speech of all on that occasion was made by Lord Palmerston, who, answering the observations of those who alleged that the honour and prestige of England had been lowered by the conduct of the Government, "maintained that this country stood as high as ever in the estimation of Europe." And referring to the Vote of Censure, the noble Lord continued—

> "The Motion asserts that the just influence of the country has been lowered. This is not the fact; it is a gratuitous libel on the country by a great party who hoped to rule it."—[See 3 *Hansard*, clxxvi. 1279-80-81.]

Lord Palmerston went on to show what his Government had done during its five years' tenure of office in reducing taxation and expenditure, and promoting the trade and prosperity of the country, contending that they had administered its affairs with honour and advantage. That was a just line of defence to take; for the first duty of the Government of this country was not to Denmark, Belgium, Turkey, or any other foreign State, but to the 30,000,000 of population immediately under its care, and the many more millions in distant lands whose interests it affected. No doubt when that question as to the Black Sea lately arose there might have been found a number of Gentlemen, like the hon. Member for Chelsea, who thought Russia would have been afraid, and would have knocked under to us; but Her Majesty's Ministers were bound to recognize the possibility of a different eventuality, and but for their wisdom and prudence public opinion might have become so inflamed, and the position of the Government so difficult, that they might have again drifted into war for objects in which we had but slight interest, and to the destruction of objects in which we had the deepest interest. Under the circumstances he thought it was the best possible course that there should have been a Conference held, at which the great Powers could consider and determine what should be done to prevent future complications of, perhaps, the very gravest character; and that opinion had been expressed by the leading organs of the Press. He had in his hand an extract from *The Times*, which said—

> "It has been admitted from the beginning, by every organ of opinion in England, that Russia had a perfect right to lay her grievance before the Powers which were parties to the Treaty of Paris, and call upon them to discuss the propriety of releasing her from her engagement respecting the Black Sea."

He thanked Her Majesty's Government for the course they had taken. And he thought they had every reason to be satisfied with the result of the Conference. It had cleared away the source of danger to the peace of Europe. Had we sullenly and obstinately refused to go into the Conference, resting upon Lord Granville's protest, no doubt some persons would have thought they had adopted a spirited policy and occupied an impregnable position, but they would have been responsible for the consequences. Probably, the hon. Member for Chelsea supposed Russia would not immediately have taken any active step and might have contented herself with raising her standard before Europe, and leading her own people to believe that she was prepared to brave, if need were, the animosity of Europe in order to maintain her inherent rights. But a fertile source of future danger would have remained open; and they could hardly have hoped to hold Russia, who would always have been looking forward to possible contingencies that might favour her objects, permanently down to the terms of the Treaty. If with prospects of peace and calm in Europe, as far as our interests were concerned never before surpassed, our Government now asked for largely increased Votes for the Army and Navy, he shuddered to think what would have happened had they rashly rejected the proposal of a Conference, and entailed on the present, as well as on succeeding generations, a heritage of difficulty and disaster. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Amendment.

Mr. MUNTZ said, the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke), however able and argumentative, had failed to convince him that this country had anything to regret by the Conference. In 1856, various treaties were entered into, the first and most important of which was that which placed the Danubian Principalities under the control and protection of the five Great Powers of Europe, and which bound Russia under certain obligations to keep the peace towards Turkey. But if they looked into the history of such treaties, they would find that like piecrust, they were made to be broken, and always had been broken when opportunities presented themselves to the aggrieved parties to renounce the obligations they imposed. The Treaty of 1793 with the United States, which prevented that Power from building certain war vessels was soon afterwards evaded or broken by the American Government. Then, again, when we ceded Dunkerque to France, we stipulated for the reduction of the fortifications. Within about five years afterwards the fortifications there were as strong as ever. As in the Treaty of 1856, when a great Power found itself placed under peculiar disadvantages it was impossible to expect that such Power would not avail herself of the earliest opportunity to put an end to the Treaty. By the Treaty of 1815, the integrity of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was guaranteed. In 1830, however, when a portion of her territory revolted, we sent a fleet to the coast of Holland to take the Dutch ships that were blockading a part of that coast, and we compelled the King of the Netherlands to give up his claim to Belgium. So much for the obligations conferred by treaties. England herself had sinned in this respect, and she could not, therefore, go into a war of this character with clean hands. A revision of the Treaty of 1856 was demanded on behalf of Russia. Now, he was not going to defend the despatch of Prince Gortchakoff. On the contrary, he considered that it was a disgrace to the nation whose Minister had written it. But the simple question for us to consider was this—was England to go to war for the purpose of teaching Prince Gortchakoff good manners? And as to the course taken by Count Bismarck, he (Mr. Muntz) asked whether it was likely, under the peculiar circumstances of Russia and Germany at that time, that Count Bismarck would recommend any other course? To judge of the matter fairly, it was only necessary to assume the position of Russia. He imagined England obliged to submit in the hour of misfortune to conditions of peace limiting us to a certain number of ships of war, and to build no forts on the South Coast. Would such conditions be tolerated long? Would the next generation tolerate them for a day? He was, he confessed, fond of peace, but only so long as the honour and interest of the country could be maintained. Otherwise, he would spend his last shilling and shed the last drop of his blood in vindication of both. Suppose for the trifling point raised on Prince Gortchakoff's Note war had been declared. Austria might have been induced to put up 100,000 men in Transylvania, and Italy might have given some support; success, perhaps, might not have been doubtful, but a number of *Alabamas* would have been all over the world, teasing our commerce. Perhaps some of the independent Indian Princes would have taken advantage of our condition, and the affair would have ended with several millions added to our Debt, and a feeling of animosity towards us on the part of Russia for years to come. Would it have been worth while to pay this for a mere fancy? One word as to Turkey: her best interests would be best promoted by our letting her alone? We had done her more mischief than good by our interference on her behalf. We had commenced our relations with Turkey by destroying her fleet at Navarino. The difficulties of Turkey were not external. She was perfectly competent to defend herself at that moment against Russia, either by sea or by land. She had an admirable fleet, a fine army, and good artillery. Her dangers lay in maladministration; in the system of peculation going on throughout the kingdom, by which two-thirds of the taxes never reached the Imperial Exchequer: in her unfortunate acquaintance with the Stock Exchange; and in her ever-increasing debt were to be found the causes of her weakness. She had another difficulty to contend against—four-fifths of her people were Christians, and the time was rapidly coming when they would no longer tolerate the system under which they were forced to live. He would ask the House whether we should improve the condition of Turkey by involving her in a great war, a war which would leave her in a state of financial embarrassment, at its close a prey to anyone who might like to despoil her? The best thing they could do would be to leave her to herself and allow her to improve her administration in her own way. But the Conference had, at all events, obtained for the first part of the Treaty of Paris the solemn recognition of all the Great Powers of Europe, and had enabled us to avoid a war which would only have led to a vast expenditure of money and blood without any result which would have justified such expenditure. He begged, therefore, to second the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the course taken by Her Majesty's Government in accepting a proposal for the assembling of a Conference upon the Treaty of Paris of 1856 was consistent with the honour and interests of this Country, and calculated to promote the maintenance of the peace of Europe,"—(*Mr. Rylands,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. R. N. FOWLER said: Sir, I have the misfortune to differ from both sides of the House on this question. In the first place, the purport of the Amendment is to award high praise to Her Majesty's Government, and to show that they have done everything that was possible for a Government to do, but in my opinion their conduct has not been consistent in this matter. Earl Granville commenced by writing very warlike despatches, which would not meet with much favour from the hon. Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands), because if they had been carried out this country would have been involved in war. The course pursued at the Conference, and the result of their deliberations, can only be considered as rather tame, after the tone of these first despatches, but while I cannot concur in the praise awarded by the hon. Member for Warrington to Her Majesty's Government, on the other hand I am not prepared to concur in the censure contained in the Motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke). Sir, I belong to that small minority who think that the Crimean War was a mistake. It caused a great expenditure of treasure, and what was of far greater importance, the loss of the best blood of the country, in support of a cause in which we had little interest. The Government of that day was not justified in exercising what the late Lord Derby once most appropriately designated as that most awful prerogative of the Crown—the declaring of war. It has been the policy of this country for years, and was particularly the policy of the late Lord Palmerston, to support Turkey, and it is owing to the Western Powers that she owes her present position in Europe, for if she had been left to herself she would long ago have gone to pieces. For many years statesmen have foreseen the approaching downfall of Turkey; Burke in his history of the French Revolution speaks of—

> "The barbarous anarchic despotism of Turkey, where the finest countries, in the most genial climates in the world, all wasted by peace more than any countries have been ruined by war; where arts are unknown; where manufactures languish; where science is extinguished; where agriculture decays; where the human race itself melts away, and perishes under the eye of the observer."

The state of Turkey has not improved from what it was at the end of the last century, and all who have visited that country, as many hon. Members like myself no doubt have, must have observed traces of villages where no population is now to be found. The policy of this country should be one of friendly feeling towards Russia. I am aware she is unpopular with many, and the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea, as one of the most talented Members of the advanced Liberal party, naturally looks with no very friendly feeling towards her. Those of us who are deeply attached to Monarchical Government in preference to Republicanism cannot regard a Power like Russia with the same hostility as she is regarded by those in this country who entertain democratic views, and on that ground, amongst others, I am glad the result of the Conference has been to prevent a war. The hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea, stated that he did not wish this country to be involved in a war with Russia; but if the course he recommended had been followed, which appeared to be marked out in Earl Granville's earliest despatches, this country would have been involved in war, and therefore I cannot support the Motion. Sir, that Minister who lightly counsels war incurs an awful responsibility, and that Member of this House who urges on the Government to undertake a war incurs in his humble capacity a similar responsibility. The result of the Conference has been to place the peace of Europe on a more secure basis, and as I cannot blame the Government for having brought about this result, while deeply regretting to differ from many of those with whom I usually have the privilege and the honour to act, I feel bound to give a reluctant vote against the hon. Member for Chelsea.

Mr. GOLDSMID said, that his object, in common with that of the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke), was the maintenance of the honour and tranquillity of this country, and the peace of Europe, and it was because he did not believe that the proceedings of the Conference were calculated to secure that result that he felt himself constrained to support his hon. Friend's Motion. He considered his hon. Friend had been treated rather hardly by the Prime Minister, in charging him, after what had occurred, with being the cause of delaying the introduction of the Government Licensing Bill; and important as that subject was, he considered the consideration of questions involving the foreign policy of the Government, which might lead to complications of the gravest character, was of as great interest to the country as even a Licensing Bill. With regard to the whole of those proceedings, if there was one Power that above all others had acted in a dignified manner, consistent not only with the traditions of diplomacy but also with that policy which was the wisest in European history, he should say that Power was Turkey. The Turkish Ambassador to this Court had shown not only a knowledge of the subject, but a strong feeling of what was due to other nations on this occasion. Now to proceed to the original cause of disturbance and of the Conference. It should be borne in mind that two Notes had been written by Prince Gortchakoff—one a public Note, dated the 31st of October, and the other a private and confidential communication, dated the 1st of November. The first Note contained two causes of complaint, of which the first was stated in the following words:—

> "We have witnessed the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, whose position had, under the guarantee of the Great Powers, been defined in the Treaty of Peace and the subsequent Protocols, accomplish a series of revolutions which are equally at variance with the letter and spirit of these transactions, and which first led to the union, and subsequently to the election of a Foreign Prince. These facts have obtained the sanction of the Porte and the consent of the Great Powers—or at any rate the latter have not thought it necessary to enforce their decisions. The Representative of Russia was the only one who raised his voice to remind the Cabinets that by this tolerance they would be departing from the distinct stipulations of the Treaty."—[*Correspondence* No. 1.]

This statement, he was sorry to say, was in direct contradiction of every fact of history. In the Official Correspondence he found—although the arrangement of the Papers was such as to make reference exceedingly difficult—a letter from Sir Henry Elliot, dated November 18, in which he stated what was really the true version of the story—

> "In the conversation which I had with Aali Pacha yesterday he dwelt upon the extreme weakness of the arguments by which Prince Gortchakoff had endeavoured to justify the repudiation of the neutralization clauses of the Treaty of 1856. The alleged infractions of the Treaty in regard to the Danubian Principalities had been carried out in spite of the strongest remonstrances of the Porte, upon whom it was now sought to visit them."—[No. 62.]

And, again, the Italian answer, a most able State Paper, quoted the following passage from the despatch written in November, 1866, by Prince Gortchakoff to General Ignatieff, in which Prince Charles of Hohenzollern was recognized as Prince of the United Principalities:—

> "The Imperial Cabinet can only applaud a result as fully in harmony with the traditional sympathy which binds Russia to these people—her co-religionists—as with her desire to see the Ottoman Empire consolidated by the satisfaction of the legitimate wishes and wants of the Christian races which inhabit it."—[No. 53.]

Out of the mouth, therefore, of Russia herself it was proved, even in these Papers, that she cordially approved at the time of the change now put forward as one of the grounds for saying that the Treaty of 1856 had been violated. The second complaint was weaker than the first. It was that there had been various breaches of the neutrality of the Black Sea, and Russia gave a long list of cases; but the most remarkable fact was that the breach which appeared to be strongest and most capable of proof was the breach by a Russian man-of-war entering the Black Sea contrary to the Treaty of 1856. Russia, therefore, was hardly justified in using words of great moment in the same despatch—namely,

> "That his Imperial Majesty could no longer hold himself bound by the stipulations of the Treaty of 1856, so far as they restricted his rights in the Black Sea, and that he had only the safety and dignity of his Empire in view."

If these were the real grounds given in the public document, why did Prince Gortchakoff write another despatch on the following day, in which he stated—

> "That which must impugn Russia in respect to these modifications is not the appearance of factitious hostility towards her by which they are characterized, nor is it the consequences which may ensue to a great country from the creation upon its frontiers of a small *quasi*-independent State; it is chiefly the facility with which scarcely 10 years after its conclusion a solemn arrangement, clothed with a European guarantee, has been infringed both in letter and in spirit under the very eyes of the Powers who should have been its guardians."

This change of ground—this change of venue, as lawyers would call it—conclusively showed that Russia knew that the reasons for her conduct given the day before were not the true ones; it showed that she was not certain of the result of her own proceedings, and was not prepared to go to war; but in the midst of European dangers and complications deliberately added a fresh element of difficulty, with a view to release herself from stipulations which she found to be onerous. The real position and intentions of Russia were revealed in a conversation held by General Ignatieff with the Grand Vizier, and described by Sir Henry Elliot in a despatch dated the 20th of November—namely—

> "The Emperor had felt that clause (namely, the neutralization clause) to be a blot upon his reign, which he could not leave to his successor to wipe out, and the Porte ought to be sensible of his having abrogated it in the manner the least calculated to produce inconvenience."—[No. 63.]

General Ignatieff spared no pains, it seemed, to induce the Grand Vizier to take a favourable view of the step which had been adopted by the Russian Government, and added that—

> "His honour being satisfied by this step, the Emperor had no intention at present of proceeding further by the creation of a fleet in the Black Sea."

And, therefore, all those phantoms, all those horrors of war which hon. Gentlemen had pictured as likely to arise from opposition to the demands of the Russian Government, had no application whatever to this case. The Russian Government, to use a common phrase, were merely "trying it on," and they succeeded to an extent wholly beyond their expectations. Reference had been made to the infraction of other treaties as to which England had not interfered. But those were cases in which England was not called on to interfere by other nations who were parties to the same treaties; whereas, in this case, Turkey, Austria, and Italy all objected to the alteration demanded, and the Austrian Note especially was very strong upon the point. In the replies forwarded on the part of this country the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had shown that ability which always distinguished him in writing diplomatic despatches. Earl Granville stated that—

> "If, instead of such a declaration," (as that which had been made) "the Russian Government had addressed Her Majesty's Government and the other Powers who are parties to the Treaty of 1856, and had proposed for consideration with them whether anything has occurred which could be held to amount to an infraction of the Treaty, or whether there is anything in the terms which, from altered circumstances, presses with undue severity upon Russia, or which, in the course of events, had become unnecessary for the due protection of Turkey, Her Majesty's Government would not have refused to examine the question in concert with the co-signataries to the Treaty."—[No. 4.]

In these remarks he begged to express his entire concurrence, and if there had been nothing more, he (Mr. Goldsmid) would have only pronounced words of unqualified approval. But there was more, as he would show in a minute. First, however, he wished also to refer to the Austrian answer, which appeared to him to be also a very able State Paper. In it Count Beust pointed out that his Government had received with "profound surprise" the Russian Note, and that they considered the method of altering the Treaty which was proposed must cause "serious uneasiness." The Austrian Note further rightly pointed out that if Russia had brought the question forward in a proper manner, there could have been no objection to entertaining any proposition she might choose to make; but Russia had no right, *proprio motu*, to take the matter into her own hands and say, "We will abrogate the Treaty." The Turkish answer was, of course, undecided, because she was in the position of owing a certain amount of allegiance to the other Powers; but the reply of the Italian Government was excellent; that of the French being that they were not in a position to enter into the question, so great was their own distress. The notice which Prussia took of the proceeding was to propose a Conference; to which our Government eagerly agreed. There was a mistake and a departure from Earl Granville's original platform. And the mistake was greater because France declared that she was not in a position, in consequence of her own painful condition at home, to go into a Conference. Was not this reasoning unanswerable? Did it not give our Government a most obvious ground for maintaining their former position? They ought to have said to Russia, "We are willing to consider any complaint which you or any other member of the European family may make; but it must be made in a proper manner and at a proper time, when all the parties interested will be able fairly to discuss the question. Now, France, our principal ally, cannot do so, so we must wait till the war is over." Russia could have had no reasonable objection to such a declaration, and he believed that if that course had been taken the Conference would have arrived at a much more satisfactory conclusion. Yet our Government accepted the Conference —it is true, on the nominal understanding that there was to be "no foregone conclusion," but obviously with the idea and intention that the demands of Russia should be conceded. That the Conference was brought about by Prussian influence was quite clear, for the Prussian Minister had that fact placed on record in the first Protocol. Then with respect to the attendance of the French Minister at the Conference. At first Her Majesty's Government most properly pressed that point; but afterwards, I regret to say, that, after almost bullying France to send some one instead of M. Jules Favre, they gave way and began the Conference without France. Again, at this point, England ought to have said that she would not go into a Conference at that time, but that if Russia made her complaint in a proper form before the different Powers she would then concur in the application for a Conference at a proper time. And now to consider the proceedings at the Conference. At the first meeting the Protocol adopted was not of much more use than the Treaty of 1856 appeared to have been. The second meeting on the 24th January was not of much more effect; but he must do the Turkish Minister the justice of saying that his answer was most dignified, and his statement most admirable. Considerable discussion took place on the proposition to introduce a new Article, to which the Turkish Minister could not agree; and, finally, the form in which it was adopted was proposed by the Italian Minister. It was only at the last sitting but one that the French Minister could attend. He stated that he did not see any ground for the Conference; but for the purpose of agreeing with the other Powers he was willing to sign what had been agreed upon. That was a reasonable statement on the part of France, and was an additional proof why Her Majesty's Government ought to have declined going into the Conference until France could be present; and, in fact, until the Franco-German War was ended. The result, then, of the Conference was to give up all we had fought for in the Crimean War—namely, the neutralization of the Black Sea; and Russia, as usual, gained her end. Now, his hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea said he did not attach much importance to the neutralization of the Black Sea. Upon that point he could not say that he agreed with him. Turkey was now, he believed, in a condition to defend herself against the attacks of Russia. It did not at all follow, however, that she would be some 10 or 12 years hence. He had been in Turkey, and had been a witness to the great progress she had made morally and physically. He had gone over all the prisons in Constantinople, and had found in them a system of classification of the employment of the prisoners in useful labour, and even of photographing prisoners prevailing in the most well-ordered manner. The Turkish Government were also most anxious to obtain the services of the French and English officers for the purpose of drilling their soldiers, as well as to adopt all the improvements in naval architecture. Turkey was not, therefore, in his opinion, so retrograde a Power as some hon. Members might imagine. But there was another question—namely, the financial one. The debt of Russia, though larger, was not at all proportionate to that of Turkey. The debt of the latter country was between £80,000,000 and £90,000,000, and that of Russia £220,000,000; but then that sum was spread over a population more than double that of Turkey. Moreover, the credit of Russia was better than that of Turkey, and therefore, in the event of war hereafter, Turkey would probably be unable to supply herself with the means of carrying it on. The neutralization of the Black Sea might thus be of great importance to Turkey some 10 years hence. It had been said that Lord Palmerston thought lightly of this neutralization; but, according to *The Morning Post* of that morning, Lord Palmerston had declared in writing that the neutralization of the Black Sea was of the greatest importance, and that England ought never to agree to give it up. And here he (Mr. Goldsmid) felt bound to complain that the Prime Minister should have, during the sitting of the Conference on that very point, declared publicly that he considered the neutralization of the Black Sea of no importance. If he thought so, he ought not to have expressed his opinion at such a time. And Sir Henry Elliot agreed with him when he said—in No. 66—"An effectual substitute for the neutralization of the Black Sea will certainly not be found." He knew that Austria and France did not share that opinion; but he was sure that all would agree that if the Treaty of 1856 could be, as it had been, broken with impunity by Russia, so could the present Treaty. *The Times* of that day contained a remarkable article from *The Moscow Gazette* upon the Treaty just signed, which bore out that opinion. That article showed that if Russia by her own free-will could tear up the Treaty of 1856, she could equally tear up the Treaty just made, and he predicted that, before many years were over, she would do so. He (Mr. Goldsmid) hoped that his forebodings might not be realized; but he feared that a few years would prove them to have been too true. He was of opinion that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Warrington was too strong, and that the result of the Conference was not likely to lead to a permanent peace. He believed that the policy recommended by the hon. Member for Chelsea would have been much more likely to do so, and that the peace which had now been patched up would not last long. However that might be, there was one conclusion with which he (Mr. Goldsmid) cordially agreed—namely, that we ought to take care to carry out any treaties into which we had entered; but he cordially concurred in the remark —never let us enter into any treaties again.

MR. GILPIN said, he regretted to commence his remarks in the absence of the hon. Gentleman who last spoke, because he should have to comment upon some of that hon. Member's observations. He regarded the present discussion as almost unprecedented; because hon. Members who were warm supporters of the Government, and more governmental, in fact, than the Government themselves, came forward to find fault with the policy of the Administration in the face of the declaration that the Ministers would regard the success of the Motion as tantamount to the adoption of a Vote of Censure, necessitating their retirement. The hon. Member who had just sat down had several times stated what, in his opinion, the Government ought to have done, and what they ought to have said to Russia. The opinion of an individual Member on those points must be taken for what it was worth; but when the hon. Member stated that the Protocols just signed would be valueless, because the Protocols of 1856 were not maintained in their entirety, he forgot that the circumstances of the two cases were wholly different. In 1856, a combination of the Powers of Europe in a death struggle with Russia had brought that country temporarily to the ground; and after the lapse of 14 years it could not be said that it was unreasonable that Russia should have a claim to the reconsideration, and even to the alteration where it required it, of the Treaty signed in 1856. He was sorry not to see in the House the mover of this great Resolution (Sir Charles Dilke), for the sake of which important Bills had been put back, the wheels of legislation stopped, and the time of the House wasted, as the Motion could come to no practical result. He had some right to speak on the present Motion, as he had given Notice of his intention to move the Previous Question in reference to it. He expected, by that means, to enable the

House to dispose of the subject in the most convenient form; but he never wished to stand in the way of Business, and, therefore, he withdrew the Notice. He confessed that when the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea gave Notice of his Motion he could not understand what was meant. His hon. Friend had been a warm admirer of the Government, and supported them on almost every occasion. Why, then, bring forward so severe and unusual a Motion at such a time? The anxiety to know what his object was had also been felt out-of-doors. Touching appeals had been made to the hon. Baronet to abandon this Motion. Up to this morning the newspapers had not given up hope that he would withdraw it. *The Daily Telegraph* of this morning said—

> "Is it too much to hope that Sir Charles Dilke will withdraw the unmeaning Motion which stands in his name for this evening? It is chiefly in his own interest that we ask the question. If he wishes to rise in the opinion of the House and the country, let him shun the fatal reputation of being an unpractical crotchetist. What can be more barren of any useful result than the debate which he insists on provoking? What end does he propose? The Session is still young, and yet we have had two debates on the Black Sea Question. Why did not the hon. Member for Chelsea give the country the benefit of his reflections on these two occasions? There are 658 Members in the House, each one of whom has as much right to have his crotchet as Sir Charles Dilke; and if his example is largely followed, we shall have the better half of the Session wasted in fruitless talk."

But the hon. Baronet remained deaf as an adder. His hon. Friend, with his political tendencies and affections, must himself have felt the responsibility he incurred, and shuddered at the thought of what the result of his Motion might be. He could fancy the hon. Baronet looking out of window that morning, and sighing—

> "The dawn is overcast, the morning lowers,
> And heavily in clouds brings on the day"—

the day not in this case

> "Big with the fate of Cæsar and of Rome;"

but, it might be, of the Premier and the Government. But he (Mr. Gilpin) trusted the Division—if Division there was to be—would make him a wiser if a sadder man. After hearing the speech of the hon. Baronet he was as much at a loss to know his object as he had been before. His hon. Friend said the Conference was a sham. Now, he denied that the Conference was a sham; and he put the one opinion against the other. Long quotations were made from the Russian papers; and his hon. Friend, having been a cherished guest in St. Petersburg, had a perfect right to read them. But when the hon. Baronet asked what in future would be the worth of treaties, he ventured to say they would be worth just as much as ever, and be held binding so long as they were entered upon with a fair view to the interests of those entering into them; but if two parties entered into an engagement very advantageous to one and very disadvantageous to the other, the latter was sure to try, if he could fairly, to get out of it. When the Treaty of 1856 was signed, there were not wanting eminent English statesmen who declared that it was not founded on the laws of justice, even though it might be founded on the law of superior strength. He believed that the time had come when the provisions of the Treaty of 1856 required revision. It had been said that Prince Gortchakoff had behaved rudely; but we were not to be hurried into a war because the Prince of another country was rude to our foreign Ministry. And he (Mr. Gilpin) had yet to learn that there was any intentional rudeness on Prince Gortchakoff's part. The Crimean War cost £100,000,000, and the loss of 100,000 lives, and that might have been repeated on a still larger scale if we had gone to war on this occasion. Surely that would have been a very heavy price to have paid for the suggested rudeness of Prince Gortchakoff. In his opinion it was well that the Conference met, if its result had been only to obtain from the Russian Plenipotentiary the declaration in which he announced that the principal object of the Conference was to efface the unpleasant memories of the past. As to the doctrine that to be prepared for peace you must be ready for war, he believed it to be not only unsound but rottenness itself; and the Government would never do justice to the best interests of this country until they proposed to other nations a mutual disarmament, such as would very materially lessen the burdens of each State. To those who proposed that England should be the policeman of Europe, he replied that we had not the power to create an Army large enough to keep Europe in order, and that we should extend our influence much more by showing the world that we were a happy, united, and prosperous people, than by pursuing a policy of threatening and boasting. The hon. Member for Chelsea was more French than France herself. He complained that France was not consulted, and that England went into the Conference without the French Ambassador. But the Duc de Broglie told the Plenipotentiaries that although France would not of herself have seen any sufficient reason to modify the stipulations of the Treaty of 1856, and would have preferred their maintenance, yet, from the moment that the new arrangement, agreeable to the Russian Government, was agreed to by that of Turkey, the party principally interested in the question, the French Government willingly entered into the feeling of conciliation which had dictated it, and gave its assent to all the decisions of the Conference. Thus, it had been reserved for the hon. Member for Chelsea to discover that France had not been well used in this Conference. He hoped that the hon. Baronet would divide, and that the House would meet his Motion with a direct negative. He (Mr. Gilpin) wished the House to show by its vote that it was not in favour of a meddling and mischievous policy. It was in favonr of our preserving a calm and dignified attitude towards foreign nations, and of securing for the country the blessings of peace.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: I confess that I am unable to see any connection between the speech of the hon. Member who has just sat down, and the Motion before the House. The hon. Member began by giving an account of all the means and appliances—Parliamentary and the reverse—which had been brought to bear upon the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke) to induce him to withdraw from the discharge of what he considered to be a public duty in this House; and having described the failure of those applications, the hon. Member ended with an animated appeal to the Government to dismiss our Army, put an end to our fleet, and trust to the good feeling of the various Powers of Europe not to take advantage of our weakness. ["No, no!"] [Mr. Gilpin observed that he did not recommend the Government to disband the Army or abolish the fleet.] I apprehend that the hon. Gentleman advocated disarmament; but I do not see how the proposition has any bearing upon the Motion we are discussing. I am equally at a loss to understand the extra-Parliamentary course taken by the hon. Member in reading a long extract from a Liberal paper, and how it concerns the very serious and important question now under debate. I think the hon. Baronet need be under no apprehension that either his conduct or his motives will be misconstrued out-of-doors. I think the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken will probably find that in the opinion of the country one of the essential duties of the House of Commons is being at this moment discharged at the instance of the hon. Member for Chelsea. For if it be not one of the essential duties of the House of Commons to criticize and canvass jealously and fully the Executive functions of the Government in regard to an important international treaty, I do not know where to find a legitimate subject for the exercise of the duties of this House. I have sat in this House a greater number of years than the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Gilpin), but I never until to-night heard it laid down as a principle that an hon. Gentleman had no right to discuss the conduct of the Government in making treaties with foreign Powers. Passing from that point, however, I will venture to ask the attention of the House to what appear to me to be considerations proper both to the Motion of the hon. Baronet, and the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands). The Motion of the hon. Baronet confines itself to the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in going, under existing circumstances, into the Conference at all. The Amendment takes a wider sweep, and invites us to applaud not only the conduct of the Government, but the results of the deliberations of the Conference, more especially in view of the interests of European peace. With respect to the first branch of the question, the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea went, in so exhaustive and logical a manner, through the Papers submitted by the Government, that I feel there is but little left for me to say in following and enforcing his arguments. But I take leave to observe that in the first instance a question arose which ought to have been considered by the Government in regard to the Power from whom the invitation to a Conference proceeded. Was it from one of the allies of England during the Crimean War? The utmost that can be said is that it came from a Power which was nominally neutral, and which, if it erred at all, did not err in showing favour to the cause England had espoused. But on the face of these Papers, it is open to doubt whether the original suggestion for a Conference did not come from St. Petersburg rather than from Berlin. On this point I will refer to the despatch No. 35, from Earl Granville to Lord Augustus Loftus, recording a conversation with Count Bernstorff, in which the latter is made to say of Russia's Circular—

> "It had been a great surprise to the Government of the King, and had placed His Majesty's advisers in considerable embarrassment. But in the same way as they recommended moderation to us so they had done at St. Petersburg; that the proposal for a Conference at St. Petersburg was Prince Gortchakoff's; that the place had not been selected by Count Bismarck; and that it was the sincere desire of the Prussian Government to hasten a satisfactory conclusion of this question." —[No. 35.]

Again, in despatch No. 37, Earl Granville writing to Mr. Odo Russell, after acknowledging the receipt of two telegrams reporting the results of conversations with Count Bismarck, said—

> "In the former you state that Count Bismarck had expressed himself as taken by surprise by the Russian Circular; that he regretted it, but could not interfere or return an official answer to it at present; and that he showed the greatest anxiety to prevent the matter leading to hostilities. From the second it appears that his Excellency offers, with the consent of Her Majesty's Government, to take the initiative in proposing a Conference at St. Petersburg, which he understands Prince Gortchakoff would be ready to accept; and he strongly recommends St. Petersburg as the place of meeting with a view to the speedy settlement of the question, and begs that Her Majesty's Government, if they agree, will invite the French Government to join."—[No. 37.]

I think these paragraphs suggest a doubt as to whether the original idea of a Conference did not emanate from St. Petersburg. But admitting that the suggestion was first made by Prussia, at what conclusion do we arrive? It is evident that the affair had been arranged between Russia and Prussia, Russia having been cognizant of the intention of Prussia to propose a Conference before it had been mentioned by Prussia to Her Majesty's Government. Prussia was then maintaining a struggle with France, our ally during the Crimean War; and during that war Prussia was actuated by what has been called "benevolent neutrality." Was the course we pursued dictated by honour or good feeling towards France? Surely it could not have been. Before any answer had been given to the Russo-Prussian proposal, England should have communicated with France, found out the real views of the French Government with reference to the Conference, and then, and not till then, should we have answered the proposal made by Prussia. But what happened? With eager haste, without a moment's delay, England accepts the proposal of Prussia. It is made on the 24th November, it is accepted on the 25th, and it is not till the 27th that France is informed, not of the intention to accept, but of the fact of acceptance. But the case is even stronger than that. On the 25th Her Majesty's Government was informed that Russia, frightened, it may be startled, by the unanimous condemnation of Europe—with the exception of Prussia—had formally announced her intention of not acting upon Prince Gortchakoff's Circular. But that information was in the possession of Her Majesty's Government when they accepted the Conference. There was, therefore, no reason for the indecent haste which caused us to accept the Conference without the knowledge of our principal ally in the Crimean War; and in that respect the conduct of the Government is consequently deserving of the censure moved by the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea. That being the case, what next happens? England immediately persecutes and bullies France, under all the melancholy circumstances in which she was placed, into joining her. I confess I read these despatches with pain and surprise, considering the circumstances of the French Government, and considering that England had refused, when asked by Austria and Italy in an early stage of the Franco-German War, to interfere and stop hostilities, if possible, to take one single step in the direction, for I have no hesitation in saying that, on the face of the despatches, it appeared to be a foregone conclusion to force the French Government to accede to the proposal with respect to the neutralization of the Black Sea. The reluctance of France to accede to it appears in repeated despatches. At last Her Majesty's Government, despairing of persuading France to take, what I would call this untoward step, on the 19th of December cavalierly informs them that, with or without the concurrence and assent of France, the Conference will have to assemble in London on a certain day; and not till then France agrees, reluctantly, to come into the Conference. Then we have next these—what shall I call them?—these melancholy negotiations about the safe conduct of the French Plenipotentiary. Surely, under the circumstances, if England had wished France to be represented, the course for England to have adopted was clear. She ought to have said to Prussia—"This Conference is your proposal, asked for by you, avowedly in the interest of your ally, Russia; it is for you to secure the attendance of the French Plenipotentiary in London; and when you have secured his presence the Conference shall meet, and we will proceed to discuss the proposals which your ally, Russia, may make." This would have been a practical, a straightforward, and a candid course; but instead of this, we had those negotiations, and all the paraphernalia of international communication, in order to procure, through the favour of Prussia, the presence of this essential representative of France. It so happens that all these negotiations fail, and the Conference meets without the presence of the man who is said at the outset to be essential to the assembling of the Conference. Everything is really settled without the knowledge of the representative of France. The Conference sat four times without his presence, and at last, in February, the Plenipotentiary is introduced to the Conference. Now, let me ask, what is it the French representative is instructed by his Government to say, when at length he is permitted to open his mouth? He gives in most emphatic, though courteous phrase, an absolute contradiction to the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman told us, on the first night of the Session, that France had officially agreed to the abrogation of the 3rd Article of the Treaty of Paris.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes—at a former period, certainly.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: In an argument addressed to those who suggested that we ought not to consent to the abrogation of that Article of the Treaty the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "Who is it that you would have looked to in order to maintain the policy in the East, if matters now stood again as they were? France. But France, by official acts, expressed her readiness to give up the neutrality of the Black Sea."—[3 *Hansard*, cciv. 105.]

Mr. GLADSTONE: I did not say she does so now.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: The Plenipotentiary of France said—

> "As regards the principal object of the Conference, the French Government, sharing the feelings expressed by the Plenipotentiary of Turkey, would not personally have seen any sufficient reason to modify the stipulations established by the Treaty of 1856, and would have preferred their maintenance."

I prefer to take from the accredited representative of France, when he is at last permitted by Prussia to appear at the Conference, what is the real view of the French Government than to take it from the lips of the Prime Minister. If the right hon. Gentleman, in his capacity of Prime Minister—the prime mover in these extraordinary proceedings — tells us he was absolutely ignorant when Parliament met of what was the opinion of the existing French Government, I hold that the case of the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea is conclusively proved. It was worse than a blunder of the right hon. Gentleman to go into this Conference in absolute ignorance of the opinion of the French Government on what was one of the great principles in the great Crimean struggle. He has shown that at the time the Conference met, when he addressed the House at the opening of the Session, he was in complete ignorance of the views of the French Government on the prime subject which the Conference was convened to consider. It was a great blunder, too, on the part of the Government to accept, in the eager way they did, this Conference at the instigation of Prussia, without any previous communication with our ally in the Crimean War. Now I come to consider the Amendment of the hon. Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands). He asks us to put aside all consideration of the circumstances under which this Conference was held, and to express our admiration of the results which have been achieved from it. Now, in the course of his speech he attempted to grapple with the statement of my right hon. Friend the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) that it was the 3rd Article of the Treaty of Paris, which was the cause of the continuance of the Crimean War, and of the failure of the Vienna negotiations. The hon. Gentleman, however, far from impugning the historical accuracy of that statement, contented himself with a very unnecessary argument against the reasons which induced the English and French Governments to continue the war, because they could not otherwise obtain what they deemed a just satisfaction of the claims of themselves and of Turkey, and a proper protection of the peace of Europe. The hon. Member ought to have known not only that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman was historically accurate, but that the dates showed something even more striking. The Vienna Conferences terminated in June, 1855. What was the state of affairs not only in Europe, but in Asia? Kars had not fallen; she was in the midst of her glorious defence. The chances of war were in favour of Turkey in Asia as well as in Europe. All, or nearly all, the Russian forts on the eastern littoral of the Black Sea had fallen into the hands of the Circassians, who were the allies of ourselves and of Turkey. Subsequently, owing to the inconceivable and, I believe, unexplained blunder on the part of the allied Governments, Kars was permitted to fall, though not until the month of November. From that time the fortune of war was in favour of Russia in Asia. At Paris the Russian diplomatists pressed this point strongly, and contrary to good faith, and what was due from one ally to another, in consequence of the success of the Russian arms in Asia, and subsequent failure of the Vienna negotiations, the whole of the eastern shores of the Black Sea to the Turkish confines were sacrificed, with the tribes which had hitherto maintained their independence. The result is that Russia possesses, without impediment, the whole eastern littoral of the Black Sea up to the Turkish frontier; and you have now, by abrogating the 3rd Article of the Treaty of Paris, enabled Russia to win back by her diplomacy all that she had lost in war during these two years. That is actually the condition of affairs. The whole of that protracted and gallant struggle, in which so many thousands of valuable English lives were lost, and such enormous sums of English money sacrificed, has only produced these Protocols, which place on record a truism as old as any Conferences or diplomatists, and which Russia will find no difficulty in finding an excuse for evading whenever she sees an opportunity when it can serve her purpose. But it will be said that we have received an equivalent; let us consider what it is worth. By the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman, we are asked to applaud the result of the Conference in the interests of European peace, and we are told that the equivalent is the neutralization of the Black Sea. Now, I should like to know what is the opinion of Sir Henry Elliot, our Ambassador at Constantinople, who is, it may be presumed, in a position to form a pretty accurate judgment on it? On the 21st of November he wrote to the Government that—

> "An effectual substitute for the neutralization of the Black Sea will certainly not be found; but if it is to come to an end, some fresh security might, perhaps, be found for Turkey by a slight modification of the engagements relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles against ships of war of all nations." —[No. 66.]

And what is the opinion of Turkey herself? I believe it has been said in this House that Turkey had ceased to attach importance to the neutralization of the Black Sea; but the Turkish Ambassador has put on record at the Conference his opinion that the observance of that provision, far from having given rise to difficulties, has contributed hitherto to the maintenance of peace; that the Sublime Porte was satisfied with it, and regretted that Russia saw in it anything that wounded her honour. Thus we find on all sides the opinion that the provision was a greater guarantee for peace than that which has been now substituted for it. And when I come to consider what the equivalent is, I cannot but be surprised that it should be acceptable to those hon. Gentlemen who represent—I will not say the peace-at-any-price principles, because they have disclaimed them—but who appear as the advocates and friends of peace. Has the neutralization of the Black Sea failed to maintain peace? Obviously not. And what is the real ground of the objection of Russia to it? Why, that if it were maintained it would still continue to subserve the cause of peace. Indeed, nothing can be clearer than that, when a neutral space—either of land or water—intervenes between the territories of rival and historically hostile Powers, it is a powerful support of peace. Are hon. Gentlemen who seem to adopt a contrary opinion prepared to follow it to its logical conclusion? Will they abandon the neutrality of Belgium, and subvert that of Luxemburg? Is Switzerland no longer to be neutral? Will the Government, encouraged by the demonstrations of the lovers of peace, send out instructions to our Commissioners at Washington that the neutrality Treaty of 1817 is to be abrogated, in order to maintain and perpetuate friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States; and will they declare that henceforth, in the interest of peace, those two Powers shall be at liberty to maintain any amount of naval force on the lakes and great rivers of Canada? The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has pleaded in favour of general disarmament, and he approves of the Conference because it does—what? Because it sanctions—and by sanctioning I venture to think will necessitate—the building of forts, the armament of arsenals, the gathering of hostile fleets on that very sea which hitherto has carried none but ships of commerce on its bosom. The obvious offence of the abrogated Treaty of 1856 being its peaceful character, when was it that Russia began to complain and talk of having discovered that the neutralization of the Black Sea was either hostile to her dignity or prejudical to her safety? Was it during the lifetime of Lord Palmerston? [Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes.] Does the right hon. Gentleman say "yes?" [Mr. GLADSTONE assented.] Then I will inquire of him why he refused my request the other night, when I asked him to produce the despatches of Sir Andrew Buchanan in explanation of his statement that he had frequently informed the late Lord Clarendon and Earl Granville that Russia would some day take steps for the abrogation of the neutralization of the Black Sea? If Sir Andrew Buchanan had made such statement before the accession of the present Government to office, it is very extraordinary that he did not inform them of it, and until the despatches are produced the inference is clear and unmistakable, that during the lifetime of Lord Palmerston no such declaration was made on the part of Russia, nor during the Administration of Earl Russell, nor of the late Lord Derby. I believe I may say that during the time that the present Lord Derby held the Seals of the Foreign Office no such declaration was made. What, then, is the conclusion? That it was not until the right hon. Gentleman opposite acceded to office that Russia saw her opportunity. She saw that the right hon. Gentleman was a Minister from whom she thought she might hope to extract the fruit of the tremendous struggle which England had engaged in with her—a struggle that had to be engaged in, I am afraid, in some degree, owing to the weakness of the right hon. Gentleman and the Colleagues with whom he acted—and a struggle which the right hon. Gentleman did little or nothing either to prevent or sustain. Such being the equivalent for the neutralization of the Black Sea, and such the means by which it has been obtained, I will next ask, how stand at the present moment our obligations towards Turkey with reference to the separate Treaty of April, 1856? There are persons in this House, no doubt—we have heard some this evening—who hold that whenever it becomes onerous or difficult to adhere to a treaty, or to fulfil a guarantee, it is the course of true policy to do neither one nor the other. But I do not think that that is the opinion of the Government, and I say that while our treaty obligations towards Turkey remain technically the same, our moral obligation to maintain her integrity is increased. By forcing on her against her declared wish this substitute for the neutralization of the Black Sea we have incurred towards her a still greater moral obligation, if it be possible, than existed before. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that it was England that in the Conference insisted upon the substitute now accepted; and I will do the Government the justice to say that since the signing of the new Treaty they have not shown any disposition to shrink from the morally increased obligations we have incurred. There was a remarkable passage in the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty the other night, when he spoke of the necessity of our building vessels fitted for coast defences and operations in shallow water rather than of iron-clad fighting ships, and added—

> "The probability has been suggested of a Russian fleet coming out of the Baltic to attack us;

> though I do not believe she would do anything of the sort, or that any such fleet could escape our iron-clads, I agree that every precaution should be taken to meet every emergency that may arise, and that we should not only be able to send a strong fighting fleet into the Baltic and the Danube to meet any combination that recent events may have rendered possible, but also that we should provide adequately for the defence of our own coast by the construction of four vessels of the *Monitor* class."

That is the first fruit of the peaceful solution of the Black Sea difficulty, and I do not think it is one that hon. Gentlemen who are so friendly to peace ought to feel particularly satisfied with; the speech, too, which we heard lately from the Prime Minister, of which I heartily approved, when he declined to accept the courteous invitation of the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) to take back his Estimates, had an ominous ring in it as to the security of peace. I therefore give the Government the credit of an honest and sincere intention to fulfil our new obligations. I must also say that I agree in the remark that fell from the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Goldsmid), that we can look with hope and confidence to the power of Turkey herself to vindicate her own rights and to maintain her own national existence. I believe that no greater mistakes have ever been made by public men in this country than in reference to the military power and resources of Turkey. In October, 1853, some weeks before the news of the first battle in the Principalities reached England, I heard from Lord Ponsonby, who was well acquainted with the resources and condition of Turkey, a remarkable prediction as to the result of the war between that country and Russia. The noble Lord said that even if Turkey were left alone she would be able to repel the aggressions of Russia, and three weeks afterwards that view was fully confirmed by the news of the battle of Oltenitza, followed by the defence of Silistria, and the first battles of the campaign; and if Turkey was able in 1853 to hold her own against Russia she is much more able to do so now. I was astonished to find that Mr. Odo Russell told the Prussian Government that England was prepared to go to war with or without allies. Could England look for a more vigorous or effective ally in the East than Turkey herself? I recognize with pleasure the present determination of Her Majesty's Government to fulfil their treaty obligations; but I must say this, that if we are called upon at no distant date to fulfil those treaty obligations; if war should break out in the East as the result of that unlimited warlike competition which has now been sanctioned between Turkey and Russia in the Black Sea; a great responsibility will rest on the Ministers who have been so precipitate in urging this dangerous change. The transformation of our relations is now complete. We have passed from those provisions that have maintained peace in the East of Europe for 14 years, and which, so far as human foresight can judge, would have maintained it for years to come, and we have adopted the principle that hostile fleets should sail in the Black Sea, that forts should be built, and arsenals provided with warlike stores and gear; and yet we trust that peace will still be maintained. But if the contrary should be result, I repeat that great will be the responsibility that will rest upon the English Ministry; and I think that it is only fair and right and just that there should be men like the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea who should rise in their place and tell them that in the event of war the country will recognize the responsibility of a Minister who has abrogated a treaty for the sake of his own personal views expressed in this House years ago, and who has imperilled peace in the vain hope of circumventing or conciliating the great military despotism of the North.

Sir ROBERT PEEL: In these days of startling alliances I have been much amused at the alliance to-night of my noble Friend opposite (Lord John Manners) with the hon. Baronet below me (Sir Charles Dilke). Their language has been so synonymous that one would almost suppose they had been parties to an agreement in the portico. The noble Lord referred to the indecent haste of the Government in going into the Conference, and the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea said that the Government were ready to swallow any—the word is too strong for me to use: if the House will allow me I will use it—were ready to swallow "any insult" which might be offered to them. Now, I must say that I am glad of the opportunity of addressing a few words to the House upon this Motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea, because having listened to his speech, and having read the Papers that are in our hands, I entirely dissent from the views that he has expressed as to the conduct of Her Majesty's Government. Whatever differences of opinion may exist among hon. Members as to the preliminary circumstances which may have induced the Government to enter into this Conference for the purpose of entertaining the suggestions contained in Prince Gortchakoff's Note, I do not think there is anyone in this House who will get up in his place and say that he is prepared to find fault with the result that has been obtained by the Conference. That result is one which I rejoice to have seen accomplished by the policy of the Government, provided always that both during the Conference, and before the Conference, the character and dignity of this country have been throughout upheld and maintained. Now, the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea said, in the course of his observations, that this Conference had been a great diplomatic triumph for Russia. He quoted what he called public opinion in Moscow. The newspaper called *The Golos*, he said, stated that such was the prevalent opinion in Moscow. Nothing can be more erroneous. My hon. Friend near me spoke very fairly and very truly when he observed that we do not expect to have the time of this House occupied by quotations from *The Golos* newspaper, or any other newspaper. The hon. Baronet said this Conference was a great diplomatic triumph for Russia. Now, I will not grudge Russia her triumph upon this occasion, if that can be called a triumph which is the result of the deliberate opinion of all the Cabinets of Europe who were parties to the Treaty of 1856. I should say that it was rather a triumph for the policy of this country. Read these Papers. England throughout took the initiative in all this matter. Prince Gortchakoff's letter was received by Earl Granville on, I think, the 9th of November. Earl Granville did not hesitate a moment. He answered it by a despatch to Sir Andrew Buchanan on the 10th. He took the initiative before all the Cabinets of Europe, and, whatever may have been the result of the Conference, whatever may be the opinion of Europe as regards the conduct of this country, it cannot be denied that England took the initiative, that the policy which has been successful was the policy which England undertook. I say that this is a triumph rather of the policy of England than for Russia. Peace was menaced—war was imminent. Nothing that I recollect during the time I have taken notice of public affairs has been so quickly attained as that peace was secured. It has been said by the hon. Baronet below me that Russia did not give way on any matter—that she gained her point entirely. Now, let me prove to the House in a very few sentences that that is not strictly the case. It is perfectly true that Russia, through the Note written by Prince Gortchakoff on the 31st of October, said that she would no longer be bound by the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, 1856. I think Prince Gortchakoff told Sir Andrew Buchanan that the Emperor's decision was irrevocable. So far from Russia maintaining her position, she immediately afterwards expressed regret at the form she had used. She signed the first annexe to the Protocol of London, which the hon. Baronet sneered at, and said was worth nothing. The words of the annexe are as follows—

> "The Plenipotentiaries [of the different Powers] recognize that it is an essential principle of the Law of Nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a Treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the Contracting Powers, by means of an amicable arrangement."

That is what the hon. Baronet calls a worthless document. He says that as a friend of Russia. I do not think he will venture to spend his next winter in Moscow. Russia signed that annex to the first Protocol before anything else had been done. I believe that she signed it in good faith. If she did not sign it in good faith, she was guilty of a cynical hypocrisy such as has not been heard of since the days of Louis Quatorze. Two points are raised by this discussion—and I do not altogether agree with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Gilpin) in looking upon this as a lost night—because the discussion of the points raised by the hon. Baronet enables the Government clearly to place their conduct and the policy that they have pursued not only before this country, but before the Cabinets of Europe, and will show the world that, at all events, in the conduct we have pursued we have acted according to the principles and the character which this country ought to maintain. The two points raised by the hon. Baronet below me are these—has the policy of England been endorsed by the other Powers of Europe; and secondly, has that policy been dictated by any other Power?—because the hon. Baronet assumed frequently that the Government had been led to do this and that at the instance of Prussia, and therefore by Russia. If the House will permit me, I will show that, so far from that being the case, our line of conduct has been clear and distinct thoroughout, and that, so far from accepting the propositions of Russia, over and over again in these Papers it appears that the Government refused to accept the proposals made by Russia and Prussia, and that they followed a line of policy which they believed to be the one that was best for the country. I hold it to be essential to the highest interests of this country that our Government should endeavour to keep up a good understanding and a friendly feeling between this and foreign countries. We should never permit any personal prejudices to interfere with such an understanding. If the terms of the Note of Prince Gortchakoff were such as to ruffle the kindly nature and the good feeling of Earl Granville, the latter acted most judiciously in not giving way to the impulse they may have given rise to. During the course of the negotiotions upon this subject, no persons have distinguished themselves more by their judicious despatches than Earl Granville, Sir Andrew Buchanan, and Count Beust. I am not quite certain, but I rather think that I heard the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government deny to-night that he disapproved the stipulations relating to the neutralization of the Black Sea at the time they were entered into; but I myself, in common with many others in this House, have always felt that these stipulations respecting the Black Sea were injurious to Russia. To me it has always been evident that such stipulations must be unendurable to a gigantic Power like Russia. And it is a remarkable thing in reading these Papers to find that, although this Treaty was signed in 1856, Italy, Austria, Prussia, and France, all before 1859, had been endeavouring to persuade Russia to extricate herself from the position in which she was placed. Russia complains—and to my mind most justly complains—that since the Treaty of 1856 was signed the balance of power in Europe has been most essentially altered. And is she not perfectly correct in making such an assertion? Why, Europe is hardly the same now as she was then; its whole features on the map presents a totally different appearance; and Russia has a right to demand that under such circumstances the conditions of the Treaty of 1856 should be revised. Let me remind the House of the alterations that have occurred in Europe since that date. Italy, or rather Sardinia, which was in 1856 a small and insignificant territory, is now a Power which embraces all the country from the Tyrol and Savoy to the Southern Sea. Savoy and Nice, which belonged in those days to Sardinia, have passed into the hands of France, and I always regretted that the Government of the day did not, as they ought to have done, interfere to protest against the flagrant violation of the Law of Nations which the transfer of those Provinces entailed. Not alone were Italy and France interested in that transfer, but this country also, as being bound to maintain the independence of Savoy in connection with that of Switzerland. Again, the Danubian Provinces are now united under one head, and I shall come presently to a most admirable despatch of Sir Henry Elliot, in answer to an assertion made by Prince Gortchakoff in reference to those Provinces. Austria has been pushed out of Germany, and Prussia has become a great and gigantic Power, and has detached a great part of Alsace and Lorraine from France. In fact, it is impossible to point to any other period of 14 years in which such enormous changes have occurred in Europe as the one that has elapsed since the signing of the Treaty of 1856. I always regret the little confidence that can be placed in the assurances of Ministers elsewhere than in this country—and in all cases we are quite right to exact the most binding stipulations we can obtain assent to. Of course, those stipulations will be violated in the course of time, but that we must look forward to as a natural consequence. It is impossible to forget that at the very moment when Italy was pledged to surrender Savoy and Nice to France, Count Cavour disclaimed any engagement or any disposition to part with Savoy—which shows how vigilant Ministers in this country should be in dealing with foreign Powers. This is what Count Cavour says in writing to the Chevalier Nigra, at Paris, upon this point—

> "The King's Government would never consent, even at the price of the greatest advantages, to cede or exchange any part of the territory which for so many ages had formed the most glorious appanage of the House of Savoy."

And Sir James Hudson, writing to the Foreign Secretary on the 10th of February, No. 34, page 39, of Correspondence respecting the proposed annexation of Savoy and Nice to France, says—

> "The Count said that he could only repeat to me what he had already stated, that Sardinia was under no engagement to cede, sell, or exchange Savoy, or any other part of her dominions."

But, continued the Count—

> "The question is a question for Savoy, and not for the rest of the kingdom."

The House will agree with me that, looking at the events that have occurred in Europe during the few past years, one of the first fruits of the present complications has been the excessive ease with which, upon the flimsiest pretexts, the most solemn obligations and the plighted faith of nations have been set aside. In illustration of this—one of the worst features of the present day—I need go no further back than October last. In that month Prince Gortchakoff tears out a page and erases the sanction that Russia has solemnly given to the Treaty of Paris in 1856. In November, Count Bismarck, without any previous communication with the other Powers of Europe, announces that he will consider himself free to deny the guaranteed neutrality of Luxemburg of 1867. In December the Prussian *Gazette de la Croix*, which is understood to receive its inspiration from Count Bismarck, proclaims that "Belgium is a nation henceforth the enemy of Germany," and in the same month, probably under similar inspiration, the Prince of Roumania signifies to Europe that—

> "he considers the suzerainty of the Porte an intolerable burden, and that he must cancel an article of the Treaty of Paris that the development of the Danubian Provinces may not be hampered."

That is the way that the most solemn obligations of treaties are violated. I say it is to be regretted that such should be the morality of the present day. I now come to the Note of Prince Gortchakoff, and to the manner in which that Note was answered by Earl Granville, and on looking at the conduct of the latter I do not think it can be said that the Government have failed in their duty to the country in the matter. It is a remarkable fact that this despatch of Prince Gortchakoff was written immediately after information had been received from Prussia of the capitulation of Metz. On the 28th of October Metz capitulated with 3 Marshals, 50 Generals, 6,000 officers, and 173,000 soldiers, and immediately Prince Gortchakoff was instructed to write his despatch to Baron Brunnow, which was subsequently communicated to Earl Granville, to the effect that he could no longer hold himself bound by the Treaty of 1856, as far as it related to the neutralization of the Black Sea. It is a remarkable feature in that despatch that Prince Gortchakoff assigns as one of the reasons for the conduct of the Russian Government that—

> "The Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, whose position had, under the guarantee of the Great Powers, been defined in the Treaty of Paris and the subsequent Protocols, accomplish a series of revolutions which are equally at variance with the letter and spirit of these transactions, and which first led to the union, and subsequently to the election of a foreign Prince. These facts have obtained the sanction of the Porte and the consent of the Great Powers, or at any rate the latter have not thought it necessary to enforce their decisions. The Representative of Russia was the only one who raised his voice to remind the Cabinets that by this tolerance they would be departing from the distinct stipulations of the Treaty."—[No 1.]

Now, it is a most remarkable thing that, as Sir Henry Elliot tells Earl Granville in his despatch dated Therapia, November 21, 1870—

> "The first of the infractions of the Treaty of 1856, which Prince Gortchakoff cites as justifying the proceedings about to be adopted is the union of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and their being placed under a foreign Prince, which, far from being the acts of the Porte, were carried out in spite of her strenuous resistance; but it may possibly have escaped the remembrance of Her Majesty's Government that it was Count Kisseleff, the Russian Plenipotentiary at the Conference of Paris, who at the meetings of the 22nd of May and 5th of June, 1858, stated that the almost unanimous desire of the Principalities for a union under a foreign Prince was rational and legitimate, and who appealed to the Treaty of Paris itself in support of their right to have their demand taken into consideration."—[No. 65.]

If that is the way in which Prince Gorchakoff writes his dispatches, there need be no apprehension that the noble Earl the Foreign Secretary will not be able to give him as much as he requires. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, on the opening night of the Session, said—

> "The answer made by the Government upon the receipt of the Note of Prince Gortchakoff was recognized as a becoming and an adequate one."

I think that thoroughly gave expression to sentiments entertained, not only in this House, but very generally in the country. Earl Granville does not lose a moment in answering the despatch of Sir Andrew Buchanan on the 10th of November. He asks—

> "In whose hand lies the power of releasing one or more of the parties from all or any of these stipulations? It has always been held that that right belongs only to the Governments who have been parties to the original instrument.',—[No. 4.]

Again, Earl Granville, at once, without consulting any Power in Europe—and recollect he meets with the unanimous approval of all the Powers of Europe afterwards—Earl Granville goes on to say—

> "I need scarcely say that Her Majesty's Government have received this communication with deep regret, because it opens a discussion which might unsettle the cordial understanding it has been their earnest endeavour to maintain with the Russian Empire; and, for the above-mentioned reasons, it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to give any sanction, on their part, to the course announced by Prince Gortchakoff." —[No. 4.]

Do not let the hon. Baronet, then, go away from his seat under the impression that what he has stated as an imputation against the policy of the Government is founded on fact, because Earl Granville immediately and distinctly says—

> "It is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to give any sanction to the course announced by Prince Gortchakoff;"

and he adds that—

> "Her Majesty's Government would not have refused to examine the question in concert with the co-signataries to the Treaty."

Well, the despatch of Sir Andrew Buchanan to Earl Granville is a very spirited one. I only wish every Ambassador we have abroad had a good deal of the spirit and character of Sir Andrew Buchanan, and I would recommend to hon. Gentlemen the perusal of several of his despatches from St. Petersburg, and particularly the one at page 16 of these Papers. In fact, throughout the whole Correspondence I think Sir Andrew Buchanan comes out of the affair in the most satisfactory manner. Well, Sir, there are two points put in issue by the hon. Baronet (Sir Charles Dilke)—namely, has the policy of England been endorsed by the Powers of Europe who were co-signataries of the Treaty of 1856, and was that policy dictated, as regards the Conference, by any other Power? Now, there can be no doubt whatever that, if you look through the several documents bearing on this question—Prussia, Austria, Italy, and even Turkey herself, one and all, express, not only their surprise at the grave events, but their willingness to concur in the policy which may be suggested by Her Majesty's Government. To read the extracts in proof of this would occupy too much of the time of the House; but all these Powers, one after another, strongly support the view taken by Her Majesty's Government. I have seen it stated that Turkey was unwillingly drawn into the Conference. Nothing could be further from the truth than that, as the Papers laid before us show. Sir Henry Elliot, many of whose despatches, and very good ones, too, appear in the book before us, says that Turkey herself felt it was impossible any longer to maintain this stipulation of the Treaty of 1856; and, having ascertained that several of the Powers were opposed to it, said she was quite ready to revise it. Ali Pasha himself said that, although he was rather indisposed towards the Conference, yet seeing that the other Powers of Europe thought it was impossible to maintain the existing state of things, he was quite willing to enter into negotiation with them on the subject. Well, Sir, the hon. Baronet has said that the result of the action of Her Majesty's Government will not be peace. What will it be if it is not peace? I say that that result would, to my mind, have justified the adoption of almost any means for its attainment short of the loss of the character of England. And when I see that it has been accomplished in the manner it has been, I think it reflects not only honour on this country, but the utmost credit on the judgment, the discretion, and the ability of our Foreign Secretary. Does the hon. Baronet want us to go to war for Turkey, because, after all, finding fault with the Government in this matter means that? ["No!"] Have we not had enough of "blood and iron" during the last six months? Have we not had enough of the miseries and horrors of war? Have we not seen the power and prestige of a nation of 40,000,000 people shattered and destroyed in that brief period? Have we not seen whole provinces wasted, of which I may say in the touching words of Longfellow—

> "There is no fireside howso'er defended,
> But has one vacant chair!
> The air is full of farewells to the dying
> And mournings for the dead.
> The heart of Rachel for her children crying
> Will not be comforted."

That is a true picture of the state of things in those ravaged and desolated provinces; and is not that sufficient for a time? Two great events during the last few months have been threatening the peace of Europe—the one in the far East, the other in the West. In the West, the house next door to us, so to say, has been burning, without any attempt, rightly or wrongly—I do not now enter into that question—without any attempt on the part of Her Majesty's Government to quench the conflagration or to succour its victims. But, as regards the far East, I ask is there anyone so blind to the real interests of this country as to wish to see it again involved in a distant strife, far away from the chief seat of our power and the centre of our resources? Is there, I ask, anyone so blind to the real interests of this country as to wish to see us again involved in a distant strife in support of that tumble-down, crazy, old building on the shores of the Bosphorus, for the seat of that Government which for many generations has been not only a scandal to civilization, but, from its very weakness, a source of danger to the peace of Europe? Sir, of the Eastern Question I think we have had enough. It has been the constant theme of diplomatic interference for the last 30 years—the constant cause of European complications. I believe that by this Conference, and the result, you have placed the Eastern Question on a better basis. The Government can only choose between two courses. They may choose war; they may choose peace. If they had elected to go to war on such a question as this, my belief is that the public opinion in this country would, in the short space of six months, have hurled the strongest Minister from power with ignominy and disgrace. They have elected for peace; they have laboured for peace. [An hon. Member: Peace at any price.] No; I emphatically deny that. Not peace at any price. [An hon. Member: Yes!] But they have had in view the honour and interest of this great country. They have laboured for peace, and have succeeded. The result of this Conference has been a source of gratification to every class of people in this country, and it will find a response in tens of thousands of British homes. Do not suppose for one moment that the spirit of this nation is less sound and vigourous than it was; but the fact is this country is determined never again to be dragged into and involved in a war in defence of a system or of a Government like that of Turkey as it was in the former Crimean campaign. I enter my protest, therefore—thanking the House for the way in which they have enabled me to express my opinion—I enter my protest against the Motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea, and I may say that I am prepared to give my humble but genuine and heartfelt support to the policy which has been adopted by Her Majesty's Government, and which has been carried out with so much ability, with so much discretion, with so much forbearance and good feeling by the Foreign Secretary.

Mr. C. DALRYMPLE said, the right hon. Baronet who had just sat down had appeared that night in a new character as a defender of Her Majesty's Government. From the tenour of some of the remarks made by him he had been somewhat doubtful on what side the right hon. Baronet was speaking; for in one part of his speech he had dwelt with special emphasis on the flimsy considerations by which treaties were set aside, and it seemed that in putting that point forward so prominently he was ranging himself rather on the side of the hon. Member for Chelsea. However that might be, he thought Her Majesty's Government, up to the time when the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth rose, were very greatly in need of a defender. But there was one thing common to all the speeches which had yet been made against the Motion of the hon. Member for Chelsea—namely, that they did not answer the speech of that hon. Member. Nor did he think it would be easy to answer that speech, for if there was anything more noticeable in it than another it was that it was founded on facts derived from the Papers now on the Table. The hon. Baronet (Sir Charles Dilke) had only supplemented information so obtained by special knowledge of his own, and it was notorious that the House always paid attention to special knowledge. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Gilpin) had said that the proceeding of the hon. Baronet in proposing a Motion tantamount to a Vote of Want of Confidence in the Government was unprecedented. The hon. Baronet would not, however, have done his duty if he had failed to give expression to his sentiment upon this question. For his own part he was inclined to congratulate the House on the resumption of the debates on foreign affairs. It was important we should divest ourselves of the tendency to take an insular view of the conduct of foreign States—a tendency which was going far to diminish our influence in the Cabinets of Europe. Two lines of defence were being adopted on behalf of the Government; the one, which might be called the outer line, was that the neutralization of the Black Sea was untenable, and the other, the inner line, that the Government had entered on the Conference with no foregone conclusion. As to the former of these two points, the House had heard, on more than one occasion, that Lords Clarendon and Palmerston held that the neutralization could no longer be maintained. It would be remembered that there had been a correction of the statements relating to Lord Clarendon which were made on the first night of the Session, and anyone who knew the character of Lord Palmerston as an English Statesman, would be able to rate, at their due value, the statements regarding him. The House would not soon forget what he took leave to call the indiscretion, *par excellence*, of our time, when the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, when referring to this point, "depreciated," as it had been well said, "the importance of the principal issue for which his Government was at the moment contending." But what was the value of these reminiscences of the opinion of individual statesmen? Surely the point was not what was their opinion, nor what the particular terms of the Treaty were, but whether the tone adopted by Her Majesty's Government, in view of the position taken up by Russia to free herself of her treaty obligations, was a proper one. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government on the first night of the Session stated that he believed that the country regarded the reply of Earl Granville to the Note of Prince Gortchakoff as adequate, manly, and becoming. He did not know that it was much to say of it that it was manly and becoming; had it been followed up, it might, perhaps, have been adequate. He was not much versed in the mysteries of diplomatic correspondence; but the reply seemed to him to contain an extraordinary amount of circumlocution. It was important to remember the moment selected by Prince Gortchakoff for the despatch of his Note. His (Mr. Dalrymple's) hon. Friend the Under Secretary for India delivered his annual interesting speech on foreign affairs at Elgin on the 15th of November; and, on that occasion, he spoke of the attitude of Russia as one "of neutrality and observation." And, yet, at that time, that attitude was being exchanged for an attitude of active hostility. But there was a special offensiveness in the choice of the time, which should not be overlooked. On the 24th February, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, when replying to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli), specially condemned the opinion that we ought to have told Russia that she must take the consequences of her step; because, had we done so, we should have been imperilling the opportunity which might be within our reach of limiting the range of misery and destruction in the West of Europe. And yet it was immediately after we had in our capacity of a neutral Power made overtures to Russia, with a view to acting in concert for the purpose of limiting the duration of the war, that the Note of Prince Gortchakoff was despatched with every circumstance of deliberate insult. And this was a state of things on which the country was expected to look with complacency, and to waive and condone as though completely matters of course. As to the second point—that there was no foregone conclusion—he thought there was, unquestionably, a foregone conclusion in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. It was known, moreover, that Count Bismarck was not indisposed to a revision of the Treaty in a sense favourable to Russia, and it was also known, beyond all doubt, that the Conference had been suggested by Count Bismarck. Had it not been for some of the speeches made to-night, he would have been inclined to doubt whether any hon. Member could have read the Papers submitted to the House, and could have risen from the study of them without a painful misgiving that we had not pursued, he would not say a spirited policy —for even the Government could hardly consider their policy spirited, but even a passably honourable and dignified policy. It was difficult to see how we could have come out with credit from a Conference initiated and carried out to a conclusion as this had been. We took insults very easily now, and he sometimes doubted whether we could be insulted. At Washington exiled felons were fêted under the very eyes of our special Plenipotentiaries, and no notice was taken of the fact by Government. One thing, at all events, we must never again attempt, though, perhaps, we might never be in a like case, for he could scarcely think that any country would trust us again—and that was to undertake treaty obligations unless we could meet the charge that in the autumn of 1870 we failed to take our stand on our treaty obligations, and in the following spring, because we were not strong enough to take our position, we were compelled to set Russia free.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD, on the part of the Government, wished to offer a few observations to the House on the Motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea, and he hoped that the statement he had to make as to the policy of the Government would be such as to entitle it to the confidence of the House and the approbation of the country. In the first place, he was bound to say that the hon. Baronet, in his strictures upon the conduct of the Government with reference to the recent condition of France were such as on calmer reflection he would admit were stronger than the occasion warranted. Respecting Turkey and Russia, he hoped, in spite of all that had been said by the hon. Baronet and by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands), and a very small minority of the speakers, that the sacrifices of this country during the Crimean War, of treasure, and the yet more precious sacrifice of blood, had not been thrown away. The position of Turkey since the Crimean War had been ameliorated. Turkey had been able to equip, man, and hold a Navy which was in a creditable state of efficiency, and her Army was in such a condition as would enable her to hold her own against hostile visitors. The internal condition of Turkey had also improved since the Crimean War. The Danubian Provinces had secured autonomy; the Christian population and subjects of the Porte were no longer as hostile to her rule as formerly; and if in sentiments these important sections were not pleased with Mussulman rule, they knew that their material prosperity and happiness depended upon internal tranquillity and the absence of foreign war. If her finances were not as prosperous outwardly as her best friends could wish, she still paid her way. The position of Russia, in consequence of the Treaty of 1856, had been one which a proud and sensitive nation must have deeply felt, for if she did not lose much territory, great restrictions were placed upon her power of injuring her neighbour by maritime aggression. Matters were in this position when Europe was astonished by the celebrated Note of Prince Gortchakoff, of the 31st of October, of which it had been truly said that it was at once an international affront and a diplomatic blunder. The Government of England had to deal with it in some shape or other, and before doing so they had to consider the aspect of Continental countries. Now, the Correspondence would show that, although the Treaty had remained in force up to the present time, it had not been regarded in the same light by Austria, France, or Italy. Sir Henry Elliot, in writing to Earl Granville on the 27th of November, said—

> "I informed your Lordship by telegraph of the Russian Ambassador having shown documents from which it appeared that as far back as 1859 the Austrian, French, and Prussian Governments were encouraging Russia to find a means of escaping from the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris. In speaking to me upon the subject, General Ignatieff said that the Italian Government had also repeatedly urged the expediency of obtaining the modification of the Treaty; and it must be confessed that the despatches to which he pointed in confirmation of the correctness of his assertions lead too clearly to the conclusion that within three years from the date of the signature of the Treaty the whole of the parties to it, with

the single exception of Her Majesty's Government, had exhibited to the Russian Government a readiness to sacrifice one of the principles which had been deemed most essential to the security of Turkey, and to allow it to be supposed that the exaggerated distrust persisted in by Great Britain was the sole obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of the legitimate wishes of Russia. It is unnecessary for me to comment upon documents of which I have had only a partial and cursory glance; but your Lordship will not be surprised to learn that their immediate effect upon Aali Pasha was to make him feel that the clauses of the Treaty now repudiated by Russia, having been condemned by so many Governments, not only as objectionable in themselves, and calculated to prevent a good understanding between Turkey and Russia, but as being of a nature not to be submitted to by any great Power, the continued maintenance of the principle of the neutralization had become hopeless."—[No. 93.]

Again, Count Beust wrote—

> "I have never made a secret of my conviction that the Treaties of 1856 have placed Russia, in the Black Sea, in a situation unworthy of a great Power, since they limit the part she has to play in the waters which wash her territory, and I can say I have lost no opportunity of inducing the other guaranteeing Courts to share this conviction. It has, therefore, so much the more pained me to see that the Imperial Government has chosen a way for the redress of its grievances which, regarded from every point of view, appears to me most unhappily chosen."—[No. 28.]

If that was the feeling of other Powers with regard to that portion of the Treaty of 1856 which was supposed to press unfairly and harshly upon Russia, what was the position of England when the Note of Prince Gortchakoff first appeared? The condition of France was one of extreme depression and humiliation, that country being engaged in a war in which she had sustained very severe losses. That of Prussia was not much better; for, although she was the conqueror, she was so entangled in the meshes of the war, that she could take no active part in other hostile movements; Italy was hampered by the changes which were taking place with respect to Rome; Austria was still suffering from the debilitating effects of her war with Prussia; Turkey was insufficiently armed for operations by land, and her finances, though possibly sufficient in time of peace, were wholly inadequate for sustaining a great war. England, therefore, was alone able at that time to stand up for treaty obligations. But what course could England take? Could she leave the question alone, and suffer Russia without let or hindrance to break through treaties with perfect immunity? No one in that House, hardly anyone in the country would, he believed, have approved such a line of conduct. Should she have met diplomatic menaces with corresponding threats, and at once with feelings of outraged pride have declared war against Russia, a very small number of persons, and those certainly not the most wise or the most thoughtful, could have approved such a step. Would it have been better, as another course of action, for England to have said—"We will do nothing at present in the matter; but we will take up a position of armed watchfulness, increase our armaments, and the moment there is any overt and active infraction of the Treaty, we will call you to account and endeavour to cripple your powers of doing mischief?" This would have involved a period of uneasy suspense to Turkey and to England, and paralyzed public credit and international confidence. As another method of dealing with this question, should England have tried to form an offensive alliance against Russia with France, with Turkey, with Italy, and with Austria, and urged them into common action? He believed that, looking at the attitude and position of those countries, we should have encountered a humiliating refusal. There remained, however, another, a wiser, a more statesmanlike, and, he believed, a more efficacious method of vindicating public right—namely, by substituting full and free discussion for an appeal to arms. What line did the Foreign Secretary adopt? In a reply at once firm, courteous, spirited, and conciliatory, he replied to the Russian Note, and laid down in unmistakable language the doctrine, afterwards embodied in the Protocol of the 17th of January, that no one Power, a signatary to a treaty, should release itself from the obligations binding upon her. He thought the course followed by his noble Friend was the right one, and the approbation expressed in the speeches delivered that evening, and especially in that of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel), struck, in his opinion, the right chord. The hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke), and the noble Lord the Member for Leicestershire (Lord John Manners), had found great fault with the Government for the course which Earl Granville had pursued in seeking the views of the Prussian Government on this question; but he would remind the noble Lord that, although Prussia had taken no part in the Crimean War, she was at any rate one of the signataries of the Treaty of Paris; and, England having acted on friendly terms with her since, it was surely not surprising that the Foreign Minister should have sought her advice and assistance at this moment. Although some fault had been found with Mr. Odo Russell's mission to Count Bismarck, he could say that it had received official approbation, and that great credit was due to Mr. Russell for the tact, discretion, and dignity with which he had conducted a difficult task. The hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea took exception to the proposition made by Count Bismarck that the Conference should meet at St. Petersburg. It was true that Count Bismarck suggested St. Petersburg or Constantinople; but Earl Granville, though he would have been willing to accept Berne, Brussels, or Dresden as the place of meeting, firmly resisted Count Bismarck's proposal, and at the same time showed that the Conference could be held neither at Constantinople nor at St. Petersburg. Count Bismarck, in reference to this matter, stated to Mr. Odo Russell that the Russian Circular of the 31st of October had taken him by surprise; that while he had always held that the Treaty of 1856 pressed with undue severity on Russia, he entirely disapproved the manner adopted and the time selected by Russia, and that he could not interfere owing to the war going on, and he concluded by recommending a Conference. Nothing then occurred, nor had anything occurred during the sittings of the Conference, to cast a doubt upon the good faith of Germany. Now, the proposal was not objected to on the part of Austria. Count Beust had written to the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg as follows—

> "Having made these few observations, I wish to state that sentiments hostile to Russia by no means dictated our answer to the Russian declaration of the 19th-31st of October last, but merely anxiety to protect the regular and pacific development of International Law. This anxiety, coupled with that of protecting the interests of Europe in general and ours in particular engaged in the question, will guide our deliberations at the Conference. As Prince Gortchakoff, with reason, states, we understand the legitimate interests of his Government quite as well as the general interests of Europe, and the Russian Despatch only does me justice in saying that I have too great a sense of the dignity of my country not to appreciate what the anxiety for her own requires of Russia. It is precisely to conciliate all these considerations and all these interests that, in our conviction, the Conference should apply itself. The head of the Russian Cabinet can count upon the Imperial and Royal Government commencing this task without bias of any sort, and with a sole view of consolidating the peace of the East by obtaining for the question started by Russia a result of a nature to spare the national susceptibilities which we know how to respect, without weakening the guarantees which other nations claim who are equally interested in the questions affecting the Black Sea. For we are confident that our meaning has been thus interpreted at St. Petersburg. To understand, to appreciate the sentiments of dignity of a neighbouring country is not to give way in its favour, and the sincere desire to do away with every subject of discord would not lead us to sacrifice for it our own interests. If, as we hope, the Powers take up this ground, we shall succeed, as the Imperial Government of Russia desires, in guaranteeing the repose of the East and the equilibrium of Europe."

Again, with reference to the policy of Italy, Sir Augustus Paget, writing to Earl Granville on the 15th of November, said—

> "M. Visconti Venosta informed me to-day that he limited his reply yesterday nearly to the same terms as those he had employed on the first occasion. He told the Russian Minister that he felt it due to the Power principally interested (Turkey) not to say more until he became acquainted with the views of the Ottoman Government. His Excellency states, however, that he added that if the other Powers should come to an agreement that it was desirable to modify some of the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, the Italian Government would not refuse to co-operate in this work, on the understanding, of course, that the main object of the Treaty—the integrity, stability, and independence of the Turkish Empire—were maintained. He said this to prove to the Russian Minister that the Italian Government was always animated by conciliatory sentiments, and also because if other Governments were of opinion that alterations in the Treaty could be agreed to without inconvenience or danger, it did not appear to him that it behoved Italy by itself to be an obstacle to such arrangements. His Excellency, however, begged Baron Uxküll to understand that he reserved, until he should be in possession of the views of other Governments, the formal reply of the Cabinet of Florence to Prince Gortchakoff's communication. I am enabled to state that it is M. Visconti Venosta's desire to shape as far as possible the policy of the Italian Government in the present grave conjuncture in accordance with that which will be followed by Her Majesty's Government and Austria."—[No. 21.]

It was, therefore, with the complete assent and co-operation of three, at least, of the Great Powers that the Conference was held. As to the spirit which throughout had animated England in relation to France, this could not be described or summed up more accurately than in Earl Granville's despatch to Lord Lyons of the 6th of January—

> "I have already instructed your Excellency to explain to the French Government the reasons for which they so sincerely desired the presence of a French Representative at the Conference, and it is the less necessary for me to recapitulate them here since they have been fully done justice to by the French Government themselves. Her Majesty's Government have all along deemed it of importance to the Provisional Government to be represented at the Conference, and they considered it very essential to the position which France should henceforth hold in Europe to show that, even at a time of temporary defeat, she has not lost her interest in questions of European importance, and particularly in one in which she herself is so closely concerned; and that she should bear in mind that although engaged in a fearful struggle, she is still the most powerful maritime power of the Continent. I should not have consented to enter the Conference unless France had been invited to attend; I took care to assure myself that her Representative would be treated with all the respect due to the Representative of a great nation; and I shall now take every care that any decision which may be come to, either in the form of a Declaration, or a Protocol, or a Convention, shall be left open for the ultimate adhesion of France, and I shall make a point of communicating with the Representative of France in London before and after each sitting of the Conference."—[No. 153.]

It might be natural for France to feel some little jealousy or pique at not having it in her power to take the initiative in this matter. But there was nothing in the despatches to show that France at any time rejected the notion of meeting England or the other Powers assembled at the Conference, nor did she anywhere definitely reject the principle that the Treaty of 1856 might be revised. Animated accordingly with feelings of mutual trust and mutual respect, the Great Powers entered the Conference, and their first act was to place on record in unmistakable terms their view that no Power should allow itself to depart from stipulations to which it had agreed without the knowledge and consent of the other Powers. By the result of the Conference the position of Turkey had been in no way endangered; he would go further, and assert that her position had been materially improved. It gave to Turkey free and unrestricted access of her fleets at all times and under all circumstances to her waters. It assured her of the material support of her allies, not only in times of actual and existing danger but when danger might only be apprehended. It took away all reasonable ground of complaint on the part of Russia of fancied humiliation as between herself, Turkey, and her European allies. It recorded the denunciation of a principle rashly advanced, but, as he hoped and believed, successfully combated by six great European Powers, that one party to a Treaty might release itself when it pleased from the obligations of such a Treaty, without the assent of its co-signataries. It had given to Turkey additional liberty and additional safeguards by modifying some of the restrictions of the passage of ships of war through the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Such being the state of things which preceded, attended, and resulted from the Conference, Her Majesty's Government might fairly claim merit, instead of being subjected to condemnation, for accepting the Conference. He hoped and trusted that the country would think that the Government had pursued a wise and statesmanlike policy in not rushing rashly, madly, and blindly into war, but, in concert with her allies, France, Austria, and Italy, had endeavoured to place the future peace and prosperity of Turkey on a safer and more trustworthy foundation.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Otway.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE: As the subject of the Motion is one that involves a Vote of Censure upon the Government, I should feel no difficulty under ordinary circumstances in assenting to the proposal for adjournment. But looking at the clock, and remembering that the number of hours at our disposal before the adjournment is limited, I feel confident that I may call upon my hon. Friend to address the House at once, regretting the difficulty under which he will labour in doing so.

Mr. COLLINS said, he thought it would not be reasonable to adjourn before 12 o'clock. ["Divide!" "Go on!"]

Mr. OTWAY: I beg to assure my right hon. Friend that I should not have dreamt of moving the adjournment at this hour if it were not that I am quite incapable of addressing the House tonight. I cannot, however, allow personal considerations to stand in the way, and though I think it is almost incumbent upon me to take an opportunity of addressing the House upon the subject which has been discussed to-night, if my right hon. Friend states that my doing so would be for the convenience of Public Business, I will withdraw my Motion, and seek some other opportunity of making a statement.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Sir CHARLES DILKE said, that the discussion which had arisen, and the character which the debate had assumed, fully justified the object which he had in view in putting the Notice on the Paper; but he did not think it advisable to press the matter to a Division. ["Oh, oh!"] Had there been a further expression of opinion, and especially in the latter stages of the debate, by the leaders of opinion on either side, a Division would have justifiable. As it was, he thought he should best consult the convenience of the House by withdrawing the Motion. ["Oh, oh!"]

Mr. GLADSTONE: I do not rise for the purpose of addressing the House upon the question, being perfectly satisfied with the position in which the matter is left, as far as the Government are concerned, by the speech of my noble Friend the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I will only appeal to my hon. Friend the Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands), and express to him what I think is the general feeling, that it would be more satisfactory that we should come to a direct issue upon the main Question than upon the Amendment which he has moved in a sense friendly to the Government. Of course, my hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke) will exercise his own judgment as to dividing the House; but I apprehend the Question will be put in the usual way, and I am bound to say that it is our intention to use our privileges as Members of this House, and declare that "the Noes have it."

Mr. RYLANDS said, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. OSBORNE: I must say that, often as I have attended debates in this House, I have never been called on to come down and give a vote under a greater sham, or upon a greater pretence than I have been called upon on this occasion. The hon. Gentleman—Baronet, I beg his pardon—the Member for Chelsea has come down here emulating the popular description of this month; he has come down like a lion, and gone out like a lamb. Now, Sir, I ask myself, Why have we been called down here, on the eve of the Easter holidays, to preside at a dead horse being flogged? If the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea had those high aspirations for the honour of England which he dwelt upon, why did he not bring forward this Motion at the proper time? [*A cry of* "He did."] If so, why does he not divide now? Even, as my hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. W. H. Gregory) reminds me, if he walked alone. As to the general question, I am very much of opinion that the same remark which was made on the Peace of Amiens might be made in respect to the Conference discussion—namely, that it is a settlement at which everyone is glad, but of which nobody can be proud. That is, I think, an axiom which may be said to settle the whole of this debate. But the hon. Baronet is six weeks too late in bringing his Motion forward; and he can hardly expect, with the example of the horrors of war in a neighbouring country before our eyes, that he can induce this House to come to a Vote of Want of Confidence in the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government. As far as I am concerned I have perfect confidence in the man to whose hands the foreign policy of this country is confided. I know the great difficulty of conducting our foreign policy, and although the Government may be open to much criticism for their action during the war, I, for one, am not disposed to re-open the wounds which have since been nearly healed. My disposition is rather to "rest and be thankful." But I hope that the proceedings of this night will be a warning to young and aspiring Members—to those representing the metropolis especially, and that they will see the propriety of not coming down to the House with fine patriotic sentiments, and then retreating from the responsibility they have incurred with their tails between their legs. That is not the way the doctrines of patriotism ought to be cultivated in this country. The hon. Member for Chelsea, having made his Motion, should have gone into the Lobby with whatever amount of tail he could carry behind him. I say the business of the country ought not to be interrupted in this way, but that he ought to have acceded to the appeal made to him by the First Minister of the Crown, for had the hon. Baronet succeeded in his Motion he might perhaps have found the large majority of the borough of Chelsea disposed to send him even to the city of Waterford. But, whatever might have been the issue, of this I am certain—that we are only rendering the decisions of this House ridiculous if, by way of moving mock Motions of Want of Confidence in the Government, we imperil the healthy public opinion of the country by recommending a declaration of war which we never intend to make.

Sir HENRY HOARE said, that the hon. Member who had just sat down had brought an accusation against his hon. Friend and Colleague which was most undeserved. The hon. Gentleman had said that the Motion was six weeks too late. But why was it six weeks too late? Because in deference to an appeal from the Leader whom the hon. Gentleman was elected to follow, his hon. Friend had postponed the discussion of this great and most important subject to the present moment. His hon. Friend was told some six weeks ago that he could not enter upon this discussion because the Conference was sitting, and his reply was that he thought that no reason why he should not state his views on the subject, as he did not wish to touch on the conclusions which the Conference might adopt. But, having bowed to the appeal of the Prime Minister on that occasion, it was hardly worthy of any hon. Member, especially one sitting on that side, to say that his hon. Friend had brought on the discussion at an unsuitable moment. If the discussion had been worse than useless it was not owing to the calm and lucid reasoning of his hon. Friend, but to the beating about the bush, and to the logical tergiversation of hon. Members on that (the Ministerial) side. The right hon. Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel) stated that the want of morality in the faithful observances of treaties was one of the remarkable characteristics of the day; and yet the right hon. Baronet thought this was no occasion for raising a debate on the subject. The right hon. Baronet said he would not stick up for any obsolete broken-down establishment at Therapia or Constantinople. But what we had to do was to see that Russia should not sit astride on the Bosphorus. For that Lord Palmerston had spoken, for that English blood had flowed, and English gold had been freely given. Many hon. Members in that House would be no parties to having the engagements of this country broken, or her honour trodden on, notwithstanding the opinions of Gentlemen sitting beside him. He had risen only because he wished to vindicate the honour of his Colleague, which had been most unworthily attacked by the hon. Member for Waterford.

Mr. RAIKES said, hon. Members on the other side were very hard on the hon. Baronet for wishing to withdraw his Motion, but that was not the only Motion which it had been proposed to withdraw. The House had been engaged not so much in debating the Motion of the hon. Baronet as the Amendment. ["No, no!"] The hon. Baronet had asked the House to express its regret that a certain course had been pursued by Her Majesty's Government, and an Amendment had been moved declaring that the conduct of the Government was deserving the approbation of the House. But that Amendment had been withdrawn. It was important that the House and the country should understand that the Amendment, brought forward in the interest of the Government—["No, no!"]—had been withdrawn, and that the Motion now before the House was whether they did or did not regret the course which her Majesty's Government had thought proper to pursue.

Original Question put, and *negatived.*

TRADES UNIONS BILL—[Bill 28.]

(*Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 28th March.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Preamble *agreed to.*

On Question, "That the Bill, as amended, be reported to the House."

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS asked for an explanation why, as the Bill was divided into two, the first part of the

Bill was to be reported before the second part had been considered. Both parts were referred to the same Committee, and the general understanding was that the House was not to go out of Committee until both parts had passed through Committee.

Mr. CANDLISH said, the House would still remain in Committee to complete the Bill.

Mr. COLLINS said, he thought it would be better to report the first part of the Bill.

The CHAIRMAN said, the course was, after a Bill was divided into two parts, to agree to the Preamble of the first part, and then to decide to report that Bill, as amended, to the House. When that was agreed to the Committee would begin the second part.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS said, that whatever might be the rule or conduct of the House they might fall somewhat into a trap—not intentionally—by allowing the Preamble to pass, because if the Bill was reported that night he apprehended it would be competent for the Government, or any hon. Member, to go on with the report to-morrow, and the first part of the Bill be read a third time, and practically passed before the House had time to go through Committee on the second part.

Mr. BRUCE said, he would undertake, on the part of the Government, not to proceed with the Report of the first part until the second part had passed through Committee.

Motion *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Penalties for threats, molestations, and obstructions).

Mr. DICKINSON complained that the clause, as worded, would apply to others than masters and workmen, such as secretaries to the societies. He suggested that the offences should be confined to the masters and workmen alone, and not to other parties.

Mr. BRUCE observed that there was nothing more common than to pass Acts of Parliament creating offences with reference to the particular subjects with which the Act dealt. He moved the insertion of words, of which he had not given notice, for the purpose of mitigating the effect of the clause.

Mr. Mundella, Mr. Candlish, and Mr. M'Laren objected to the insertion of any Amendment which did not appear on the Paper, and suggested that the Chairman should report Progress.

Mr. BRUCE moved the omission of the 6th sub-section of the clause, which rendered it penal to use violence, threats, or intimidation, or to molest or obstruct any person with a view to coerce—

"Any master or workmen to do, or abstain from doing, any other lawful thing in connection with his business or employment."

The hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) had pointed out that that sub-section was too vague and general in its character, and, agreeing in that view, he (Mr. Bruce) moved its omission.

Mr. AUBERON HERBERT again protested that it was too late to go on with the Bill, and moved that the Chairman report Progress.

Mr. MELLY pointed out that it would be a waste of valuable time, considering the state of Public Business, to report Progress now, especially as the Home Secretary had undertaken to reprint the Bill with all the alterations, so that they might be re-considered on the Report.

Motion *negatived.*

Mr. ANDERSON moved to leave out Sub-section 1, which provided that a person should be deemed to molest or obstruct another if he persistently followed him about from place to place.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, lines 9 and 10, to leave out the words "If he persistently follow such person about from place to place."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

The SOLICITOR GENERAL pointed out that the "persistently following" referred to must be done with the view to coerce, and in that case it should be prevented.

Mr. AUBERON HERBERT said, he thought an act to be punished must be objectionable in itself, and persistently following was not improper; while picketing had been declared to be not illegal in some instances.

Mr. BRUCE admitted that peaceful persuasion ought not to be punished; but explained that the sub-section had reference to proceedings of a very different kind.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 152; Noes 21: Majority 131.

Mr. E. POTTER moved an Amendment to render one person acting alone amenable to punishment for picketing, as well as one or more persons, holding that the offence could be committed by an individual as well as by two, three, or more.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 13, to leave out the words "with two or more other persons he," and insert "he alone or together with one or more other person or persons."—(*Mr. Edmund Potter.*)

Mr. BRUCE said, he could not accept the Amendment.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 104; Noes 57: Majority 47.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Mr. BRUCE said, he proposed to make the sheriffs in Scotland the tribunal to administer the Bill.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he hoped the Home Secretary would make the County Court Judges try the cases under the Bill in England.

Mr. BRUCE pointed out that the County Court Judges had jurisdiction only in civil cases.

Report, That the Committee had divided the Bill into two Bills.

RECTORY OF EWELME BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Gladstone, Bill for re-vesting in Her Majesty, Her heirs and successors, the Rectory of Newelme, alias Ewelme, in the county of Oxford, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Solicitor General.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 96.]

House adjourned at Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 31*st March*, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Bankruptcy Disqualification * (65); Mutiny *.
Second Reading—Judgments (Ireland) * (59).
Committee—Report—Justices Procedure (England) * (31-66); Public Parks, &c. (Land) * (55).
Third Reading—Lunacy Regulation (Ireland) * (47); Poor Law (Loans) * (50), and *passed*.
Royal Assent—Consolidated Fund (£5,411,900) [34 *Vict.* c. 7]; West African Settlements [34 *Vict.* c. 8].

NEW PEER.

The Right Honourable Sir William Henry Lytton Earle Bulwer, G.C.B., having been created Baron Dalling and Bulwer of Dalling in the county of Norfolk—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

ARMY—ASSEMBLY OF THE MILITIA.

QUESTION.

The Earl of SANDWICH asked the Under Secretary for War, When it was proposed to assemble the English Militia? This was usually done in the spring, and both the men and their employers were anxious to know what arrangement would be made? He had, however, heard a rumour that some of the regiments would be called out in September; this he hoped was incorrect, the harvest being the very worst time which could be selected, as farm labourers were then receiving double wages, and would incur a serious loss if then diverted from their usual vocations. He would also ask, with reference to the discussion on Tuesday night, whether it was true that the General in command of the district had ordered the assembling of the Cornish Militia regiment without reference to the Lord Lieutenant of the county? Now, though a Lord Lieutenant might be deprived of his functions by the Crown, he surely could not be superseded by a mere regulation of the War Office.

Lord NORTHBROOK replied that he might rather address the Question to the noble Earl, for, with reference to the Hunts Militia, the War Office were waiting to hear from the General Officer of the district what date was proposed by the noble Earl himself. Probably through some accident the General Officer had not yet received any communication from the noble Earl, who was both Lord Lieutenant of the county and lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, on the subject. The rule of the War Office was that the General Officers should arrange with Lords Lieutenant the times and places advisable for the assembling of Militia regiments, and submit this to the Secretary of State. A Lord Lieutenant, therefore, could not be superseded in the matter, for his concurrence was necessary. There was no intention of compelling any regiment to assemble in the autumn, instead of the spring; but, with a view to assembling a considerable force at Aldershot to practice manœuvres on a larger scale than usual, circulars had been addressed to a certain number of regiments, asking whether it would be convenient for them to assemble in the middle of September, after harvest. Some had replied in the affirmative. It rested with the commanding officers whether particular regiments could conveniently assemble in the autumn.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH explained that he had received no communication from the War Office on the subject. He hoped the letter had not got into the pigeon-hole mentioned by a noble Earl (the Earl of Lauderdale) last night as the depository of an important report.

ENVOYS OF PRINCE KASSA, OF ABYSSINIA.

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF DERBY: I rise to put to the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the Question of which I have given Notice—namely, Whether it is the fact that a mission sent to Her Majesty's Government by a friendly Abyssinian Chief has been detained in Egypt by the refusal of the Foreign Office to receive such mission or to assist in providing for the expenses of its transport from thence to England? It is not at all my object, in putting this Question, to suggest the re-establishment of regular diplomatic or consular relations between Abyssinia and this country. I do not think that in the present state of affairs such a step would be attended with advantage—I conceive that serious embarrassment might be the result. The Chief in question, however, Prince Kassa, rendered valuable service to the British Government at the time of the Abyssinian War, and it would be matter of regret if anything should happen which might seem to cast a slur upon him. After what has appeared in the public papers, I think the noble Earl will not object to have an opportunity of stating how the matter stands.

EARL GRANVILLE: I may answer the Question of my noble Friend by stating that we have not refused to receive this mission from Prince Kassa; but, on the other hand, we have not undertaken to pay the expense of bringing the mission over to this country. It will probably be more satisfactory to my noble Friend to know the precise facts of the case. At the end of 1869 letters addressed to the Queen were received at the Foreign Office from Prince Gobazye, Prince Kassa, and another Abyssinian Chief. They were acknowledged in writing by Lord Clarendon, and presents were then sent to each of the Chiefs. Before answers were sent, Lord Clarendon consulted the India Office and Lord Napier of Magdala as to the course which it was best to take. The result was a recommendation that any future communications between the different Princes of Abyssinia and ourselves should be addressed to our Resident at Aden and not to this country. There were obvious reasons for this—one being that the Princes are jealous of each other, and that there would be a danger of one considering himself more favoured than another by the mode in which his communication might possibly be answered. On Lord Napier's advice care was taken not to offer arms and munitions of war which could be used against one another, and to give them good advice, recommending them to live in as much harmony as possible with each other, and thus to avoid the dangers to which internal strife might lead. All this was embodied in Lord Clarendon's reply. He told the Princes that it would be well if they would address any communication for the British authorities to the British Resident at Aden, who was fully informed of all that concerned Abyssinia, and of the sentiments entertained by the Queen towards them, as they would thus be able to receive an answer in much shorter time than would otherwise be the case. A letter afterwards came from one of these Princes, who addressed himself to the Resident in conformity with Lord Clarendon's advice. This was acknowledged, the presents were received, and a present was sent in return. Prince Kassa, however, has not followed the recommendation, but sent Envoys to Egypt, and put himself in communication with Colonel Stanton, our Consul General in Egypt, his wish being that his Envoys should come on to England. Neither the Treasury nor the India Office were much inclined to supply the funds necessary for that purpose; but a courteous communication was forwarded to Colonel Stanton, explaining that it was not deemed advisable to put the Envoys to the trouble of so long a journey during an inclement season; but that Prince Kassa's letter, if forwarded, would be received and properly answered. It was certainly not intended to show the slightest discourtesy to anybody connected with Abyssinia; but what was done was in conformity with the advice given by Lord Napier that no distinction should be made between the different Princes which might create jealousies, particularly at a time when it is not desirable to give any of them cannon or guns, which would probably be used against the others.

BANKRUPTCY DISQUALIFICATION BILL [H.L.]

A Bill for disqualifying Bankrupts from sitting or voting in the House of Lords—Was *presented* by The LORD CHANCELLOR; read 1ª. (No. 65.)

House adjourned at a quarter before Six o'clock, to Thursday the 20th of April next, a quarter before Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 31*st March*, 1871.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Norfolk (Southern Division), *v.* Edward Howes, esquire, deceased.

SELECT COMMITTEE—Tribunals of Commerce, *appointed.*

Report—Westmeath, &c. (Unlawful Combinations). [No. 147.]

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—POST OFFICE TELEGRAPH SERVICE, £70,000, on account; CIVIL SERVICES, £1,786,100, on account.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Charters * [97.]

Second Reading—Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons) * [78].

Committee—Report—Marine Mutiny *.

Committee — Report — Considered as amended — Third Reading—Bank Holidays * [88], and *passed.*

Third Reading — County Justices Qualification Amendment * [77], and *passed.*

TERMINABLE ANNUITIES.—QUESTION.

MR. CANDLISH asked the Secretary to the Treasury, On what authority and on what principle the capital value of Terminable Annuities existing in 1815 was determined, and which, added to the Funded and Unfunded Debt, raised the total National Debt of that year to £902,264,000, as stated in the Budget speech of 1866; if he can give a Return showing the capital value of these Annuities, calculated on the same principle, for each year between 1815 and 1855; and, if that is the same principle on which the capital value of Terminable Annuities have been annually appraised from 1855 to the present time?

MR. BAXTER: Sir, it does not seem to have been the practice formerly to include the capital value of the Terminable Annuities in statements of the National Debt. The capital value of the Terminable Annuities existing in 1815 was approximatively computed at £41,225,000 by Mr. Finlaison, the actuary of the National Debt Office; in 1866 that sum represented their value in Three Per Cent Stock, and was included by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the total amount of £902,264,000 at which he estimated the National Debt for 1815. It would not be difficult to make a similar computation of the capital value of the Terminable Annuities from 1835 to 1855, or to the present time; but it would cost much labour to compute their value from 1815 to 1835, no calculations of the kind having been made for those years. The computation of the capital value of annuities has been made on the same principle since 1835.

ARMY REGULATION BILL—EXCHANGES. QUESTION.

MR. STAPLETON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the event of purchase being abolished, Officers will still be allowed to give or receive money on exchanging from one Regiment to another, or from or to Half-pay?

MR. CARDWELL, in reply, said, there was no intention on the part of the Government to permit officers to give or receive money in exchanging from one regiment to another or from or to half-pay. The Army Regulation Bill was meant to prohibit all pecuniary transactions connected with the Army.

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE—ARTICLE 19.—QUESTION.

MR. C. DALRYMPLE asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, looking to the statement in Article 19, B. 1, of the New Code, that infants taught as a separate department are to have a grant of 10*s.*, infants taught in a separate room by an uncertificated teacher, but under the general superintendence of the certificated teacher, may receive any grant; and, whether they must be limited in number as under Article 51, B. 2, of the Revised Code of 1870?

MR. W. E. FORSTER replied that infants in a separate room, but in a class taught by an uncertificated master, would receive a grant of 8*s.* and not of 10*s.*, inasmuch as they would not be considered a separate department unless the teacher happened to be a head-teacher. There would be no limit as to the number, whether the sum of 8*s.* or 10*s.* was given.

IRELAND — WATERFORD INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.—QUESTION.

MR. DELAHUNTY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the dates of the several applications made in the years 1869 and 1870, in the first instance to the Inspector of Industrial Schools and subsequently to the Chief Secretary, to grant a certificate for an Industrial School at Waterford, and the dates and nature of the replies thereto; and, whether the county and city of Waterford is to continue much longer excluded from the benefits of legislation, under which £130,000 is asked to be voted for in the present Session?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, in reply, that he could not say what were the dates of the several applications which had been made in 1869 and 1870 to grant a certificate to the Industrial School at Waterford. In the first year after the passing of the Industrial Schools Act a comparatively small sum had been provided in the Estimates, in order that some experience of the Act might, in the first instance, be obtained. In the present year the Estimate for a larger sum was still under consideration; but until that Estimate was sanctioned it was impossible to certify for a new school under the provisions of the Act.

WEST INDIES—ISLAND OF NEVIS. QUESTION.

MR. PEEK asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether a Petition has been received from Nevis, complaining of intimidation used by Governor Pine in stationing an armed guard from Her Majesty's ship "Danae" on the steps of the Court House during a debate on the subject of Confederation; and whether the vote was taken in a properly legally constituted Assembly; whether Her Majesty's Government intends taking any steps to redress the wrongs complained of, and restore confidence to the people of Nevis; whether the Bill for appointing an Inspector of Roads has been drawn up in accordance with the instructions from the Colonial Office; and, whether the Inspector appointed is a "competent engineer," as contemplated?

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN: Sir, a Petition has been received from Nevis complaining of intimidation used by Governor Pine in stationing an armed guard on the steps of the Court House. The facts are these—A guard of honour, consisting of 17 men and an officer, were stationed in front of the Court House to receive the Governor, but no intimidation was practised or intended. The vote was taken in a properly, legally-constituted Assembly. Her Majesty's Government are not aware of any wrongs, or of any want of confidence in the people of Nevis. Objections have, no doubt, been raised to the scheme of federation; but it is hoped those objections will disappear as the advantages of the scheme proposed become better understood. An Act was sent home by Sir Benjamin Pine for the appointment of a Superintendent of Works, and allowed by Her Majesty in the usual manner. The person appointed is stated by Sir Benjamin Pine to be a fit person, and was appointed at his recommendation, but the Colonial Office have no further information.

NAVY—SHIPS OF THE "BLANCHE" CLASS.—QUESTION.

MR. LAIRD asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether, before proceeding with the three unarmoured vessels of the "Blanche" class, he will lay upon the Table any Reports made upon that ship in reference to her qualifications as a cruiser, and being able to make long voyages under sail only?

MR. GOSCHEN said, no special Reports had been received with regard to the qualifications of the *Blanche* as a cruiser, and her ability to make long voyages under sail only. He could not, therefore, undertake to say that the three unarmoured vessels of the *Blanche* class would not be proceeded with until such Reports had been received. The performance of the *Blanche* under sail had been as good as was to have been expected from a ship with a non-lifting screw; but the other vessels of the same class would be better, as their screws would be constructed on a different principle.

INDIA—MADRAS MEDICAL FUND.

QUESTION.

Mr. BARCLAY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If any decision has been arrived at as to the course to be adopted with respect to the Annuity Branch of the Madras Medical Fund, the loss to which was estimated, in the Report of Mr. Brown the Actuary, in February 1868, at 184,255 rupees, and which loss has now increased to 291,038 rupees?

Mr. GRANT DUFF said, in reply, that no decision had been arrived at with respect to the course to be adopted in reference to the annuity branch of the Madras Medical Fund. Unavoidable delay had occurred from the necessity for fresh reference to the actuary; but the hon. Member might rely upon there being no avoidable delay.

WEST INDIA ISLANDS—CONSOLIDATION OF GOVERNORSHIPS.—QUESTION.

Sir CHARLES ADDERLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, in the new appointments just announced the Governorships in the West Indies, the promised consolidation of several small island commands under General-Governorships has been carried out, and to what extent it has been effected?

Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN: Sir, the appointments in question are to governments in the Windward Islands group. The local Legislatures of the six Leeward Islands have agreed upon a scheme of federation, to legalize which a Bill will be at once introduced by the noble Lord the Secretary for the Colonies. This does not affect the appointments referred to.

ARMY—ABOLITION OF PURCHASE.

QUESTION.

Mr. GATHORNE HARDY (for Mr. Disraeli) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Her Majesty's Government will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire what compensation should be given to Officers now serving upon the abolition of purchase?

Mr. CARDWELL, in reply, said, the principle of the Government Bill was not properly described as being one of compensation. It was rather a complete indemnity given to every class of officers for their fair pecuniary claims. The provisions of the Bill would, he hoped, be found to be so liberal that the House would at once be disposed to assent to them without the interposition of the delay which would be caused by the appointment of a Select Committee.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

QUESTION.

Mr. RATHBONE asked the President of the Board of Trade, What course he intends to take with the Merchant Shipping Bill; whether he intends to press it in the present Session?

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE said, in reply, that he was extremely anxious to press the Bill forward, and would endeavour, as far as lay in his power, to do so. It appeared to him, however, that it was possible to pass it in the present, or, indeed, in any, Session only by the attention of those who were interested in the measure being given to its provisions so as to secure a complete examination of them outside the walls of the House before they came on for discussion. If that were done, he entertained very sanguine expectations that by means of the suggestions thus made its progress would be very much facilitated. He hoped that during the Recess hon. Members would use their influence to this end, furnishing the Board of Trade with the result of their deliberations, either in writing, by personal interviews, or both; and the Bill might thus be put into such a stage that without any great loss of time it might become law.

WINE MEASURE—BOTTLES.

QUESTION.

Sir JAMES ELPHINSTONE asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, in future, any penalty will attach to persons who sell wines or liquors in bottles which contain less than six to the gallon, or half bottles which contain less than 12 to the gallon?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am sorry, Sir, to say that I cannot give the hon. Member any information upon this subject. It does not come within my Department, which has nothing to do with measures. I can only say that wine is taxed by the gallon and not by the bottle.

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

FRANCE AND PRUSSIA—THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE.

RESOLUTION.

MR. BAILLIE COCHRANE rose to call the attention of the House to the Conditions of Peace imposed by Prussia on France; and to move—

> "That this House having learnt the conditions of Peace imposed by Prussia on France, trusts that Her Majesty's Government will, in the interest of the future tranquility of Europe, use their good offices, before the negotiations of Peace are finally closed, to obtain from the Imperial Government some mitigation of the severity of these conditions."

The hon. Member expressed his profound regret and sorrow at all the occurrences that were now taking place in Paris. It was most sad and most sorrowful that, after the inhabitants of that city had conducted themselves during the siege in so exemplary a manner as to win the sympathies of the whole of Europe, and especially of this country, events should have occurred, ever since the siege had been raised, which the whole of civilized Europe must deplore. He frankly admitted that the events now occurring in Paris had changed the current of popular feeling in this country, and felt the disadvantage in which he was placed in discussing this question under the change of feeling; but, at the same time, he wished to point out to the House that Paris was not France—that Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles together did not represent France—that there was in France a strong feeling of horror against the acts of the population of Paris. At the elections the other day, out of 89 departments, 79 returned members who represented the Party of Order, and only 10 returned the representatives of what might be termed the Party of Disorder. But this was a question which ought to be discussed not merely with reference to French or Prussian interests, but with reference to English interests as well. He had been told that it was now too late to bring the question forward; but that was a mistake, for only the preliminaries of peace had been signed, and the real negotiations for peace were to commence in Brussels next week; and, no doubt, they would take some time. In order to show the House how little the various points on which the peace was to be based were settled, he might tell them that a deputation from Alsace, waited one day last week, upon Count Bismarck, and pointed out the injury to the trade of Alsace, and the calamity which it would be to the people to be annexed to Prussia. After stating to the deputation how much he was forced on by public opinion in Germany, Count Bismarck said—

> "However the complaints made, have, it must be admitted, a good foundation. I advise the delegates to appeal to the Conference to be held at Brussels. The terms are not yet definitively settled, and I think that the objections made will be taken fairly into consideration."

The preliminaries having been settled, the other points were fairly open to discussion, and that was the reason why he took the liberty of bringing forward this question. Although he had long known how indifferent the House generally was to foreign questions, he did not think they could stand by with perfect indifference, and express no opinion while the whole map of Europe was being changed, and he might say crumpled up. If it were objected that it was too late to bring forward this question, he would reply that he never knew any time acknowledged to be the proper time for bringing forward a question connected with foreign affairs. The time was always too late or too early. With respect to this Franco-Germanic question, he greatly regretted that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government would not allow the House last year, before the war broke out, to discuss the merits of the case. He knew it was the opinion of distinguished personages, well known to the right hon. Gentleman, that if the House of Commons, before war was declared by the Emperor Napoleon, had expressed the strong feeling which animated Members of the House at that time against the violent proceedings of France, the effect of the united voice of Parliament upon the counsels of the Emperor would have been such that war would never have been declared. But whenever a Member of the House sought to bring the matter before the House, he was told by the right hon. Gentleman that it would be injurious to public interests to discuss it. The consequence was that France was allowed to go into the war without any expression of opinion from the Parliament of England on such an important subject. Last night, there was in the House a discussion which collapsed in a very extraordinary way. He had heard it for a week past stated that the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke) was too late in bringing forward his Motion. But when he proposed, three or four weeks ago, before the Conference had closed, to proceed with his Motion, he was told it was too early; and, in fact, the right hon. Gentleman appealed to him not to raise a discussion. Then, when he did not make his Motion, it was too late; so that as he had said, they were always too late or too early. He had himself proposed to raise a discussion upon the most important question of the indemnity; but he was not allowed to do so, and terms of peace were made. Now, he was told it was too late to go into the matter; but he held that there was still an opportunity for the Government to use its good offices in such a manner as to confer a blessing upon France, and revive in that country the deep sentiment of affection for England which did exist formerly, but which had given place to a feeling of dislike so strong that the Vote of Thanks to England proposed in the Parliament of Bordeaux was only carried by a majority of 2, after general shouts of disapproval had been raised. Two things were often mixed up together—the views of policy which the Government might entertain, and the opinions of the Parliament. He could perfectly understand the difficulty which the Government might frequently have in dealing with certain questions; but Parliment had not the same responsibility, and was more free to express its opinion, and in looking back to past years, he could not find that the Parliament had ever failed to speak out upon the occurrence of any great event in Europe and to exercise its due influence. Nevertheless, with respect to the recent most disastrous and calamitous war, there had not yet been any strong expression of opinion in that House. He believed if, after Sedan, Parliament had been called together—as it should have been—much good might have been done. He would not have asked the Government to interfere; on the contrary, he admitted that it was right we should not mix ourselves up in this war; but there was a great difference between a policy leading to war, and the free, frank, and open expression of opinion on questions in which we should sooner or later find ourselves deeply interested. He did not wish to make this question, in the slightest degree, a party question. There was no one had a greater admiration than himself of the high qualities which Lord Granville possessed in so eminent a degree. The noble Lord had inherited those qualities from an illustrious father, and M. Thiers did no more than mere justice to the late Lord Granville in what he had recently said in conversation with the Foreign Secretary. He thought it was a pleasing act on the part of Lord Granville to allow the generous expression of esteem, made by M. Thiers, to appear in a despatch; and therefore on that point he differed from the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel). Still, he thought that the present Secretary for Foreign Affairs had not sufficient alloy in his nature. The noble Lord was too gentle for a Foreign Secretary in unquiet times, though in quiet times there could not be a better model of a Foreign Secretary than Lord Granville. Talleyrand said that one should always mistrust his first impressions, because they were generally generous; but Lord Granville's first impressions were nearly always generous; and yet the noble Lord was in the habit of leaving and running away from them. He—

"Starts away afraid
Even at the sound himself has made."

His first despatch to Prince Gortchakoff was admirable; but he did not maintain the attitude he at first assumed. It was not necessary to go further into that matter; and he would proceed to consider the question of neutrality. The Blue Book had been very fully discussed; and he had already stated his view that the Government had not observed a policy of neutrality, for that really consisted in doing nothing; whereas the course taken by Lord Granville had prevented other nations from interfering. He had said to Russia, Austria, and Italy—"None of you move until I move with you; and I do not intend to move at all." Thus it was, that whatever might have been intended by other Powers was prevented from being carried into effect by Lord Granville. It was important that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government should know that a treaty offensive and defensive was actually going to be signed between Austria, Italy, and France, at the end of July last; but Lord Granville prevented that design being carried out, although he (Mr. B. Cochrane) believed that if the treaty had been made there would have been an end to the war. He could prove his statement by reference to a despatch (No. 119 in the Blue Book of last year), which has been strangely overlooked. Lord Granville, on the 10th of August, wrote to Lord Lyons to the following effect:—

> "The Prussian Ambassador has alluded to various rumours, in regard to which he has sought to obtain some reliable information from me. The first is that a treaty has been concluded between France and Italy, under which the latter would furnish to France a contingent of 100,000 men, and would be allowed to make herself mistress of Rome after the war was over. I have informed Count Bernstorff that I did not believe in the supposed treaty; that the Italian Government had represented to that of Her Majesty that it had been much pressed by France, and desired the assistance of Her Majesty's Government to resist such pressure; and that upon being told that although it was not the present policy of England to enter into any positive engagement for combined neutrality, yet that Her Majesty's Government would be ready, if by so doing they could assist Italy to resist external pressure, to agree with Italy that neither Power should depart from its neutrality without an interchange of ideas, and an announcement to one another of any change of policy. The Italian Government warmly assented to such an arrangement. Another rumour alluded to is that a negotiation for an alliance between France and Austria, combined with an armed organization of Galicia, is in progress; and I have informed Count Bernstorff that I had thought it necessary to warn the Austrian Government that there were many circumstances that had created suspicion as to her neutrality in the minds of both the Russian and Prussian Governments."—[P. 96.]

But was that neutrality? As he understood neutrality, it was remaining perfectly passive, and abstaining from interference. At any rate this despatch indicated that even last year Lord Granville knew there was a secret alliance between Russia and Prussia. Then Lord Granville in another part of the despatch, went on to speak about Denmark. He said—

> "Count Bernstorff has also called my attention to Denmark, which Prussia is afraid might be induced by French pressure to take part in the war. The King of Denmark desired to be supported against such pressure, and the Cabinet of St. Petersburg was desirous to take at Paris, in conjunction with England, a common step for that purpose; but I have reminded His Excellency that I had on three occasions suggested to himself how desirable it would be that Prussia, by a friendly arrangement, should take away the temptation to Denmark to yield to any solicitations from France; and I have added that I had last week obtained the sanction of the Cabinet to inform Baron Brunnow that I should be ready to concert with him the time and manner of making a representation to France, urging her not to press upon Denmark a policy so contrary to the interests of that country."—[P. 96.]

Was that neutrality? It was anything but neutrality. Lord Granville interfered with Austria and with Denmark; yet, although there were chances over and over again in the war when it might have been put a stop to, there had been no such interference. But he now came to the next point of undue interference. When he proposed the other day to bring forward the question of the indemnity, he was stopped and told that to interfere at that time with the terms of the indemnity would be very mischievous. They had before them the *Correspondence respecting the Pecuniary Demands of Prussia on France.* It said—

> "Her Majsty's Government are willing, in consideration of the extreme pressure of time, to make representations to Germany on the amount of this indemnity."—[P. 1.]

That was on February 24th. It was one of the cleverest things imaginable to be willing to interfere in favour of a country and to do nothing. The armistice was to expire at midnight; and Lord Granville wrote—

> "Her Majesty's Government are willing, in consideration of the extreme pressure of time, to make representations to Germany on the amount of this indemnity, and to tender their good offices in the spirit of friendship to both parties, under the conviction that it is the interest of Germany, as well as of France, that the amount of the indemnity should not be greater than that which it is reasonable to expect could be paid."—[P. 1.]

This was written to Lord Augustus Loftus at Berlin. It could not get to Berlin till the 26th, and he was charged to interfere to get the indemnity reduced—

that was after the armistice had expired. He telegraphed, no doubt; but Mr. Odo Russell was not charged to make any such representations. In fact, Mr. Odo Russell was in Paris till the evening of the 25th. On the 26th Mr. Odo Russell wrote from Versailles to Lord Granville—

> "I conclude that your Lordship's telegram, through Count Bernstorff, must have reached yesterday morning early; but I have not been able to see the Chancellor myself, who is too much engaged with the French negotiators to receive anyone to-day. The negotiations must be concluded before midnight, when the armistice ends, and hostilities will be resumed if the preliminaries are not accepted."—[No. 3, p. 4.]

So that the intention to reduce the indemnity turned out to be nothing at all, and the indemnity was not reduced. The right hon. Gentleman smiled at this statement; but the reduction of one milliard—from six to five milliards—was made by Count Bismarck himself, and not in conformity with any wish expressed by the English Government. He should be very glad to hear that they had had any influence on that transaction. He should like to know what the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government thought of his Solicitor General, who, addressing his constituents at Exeter, a few days ago, said—

> "He could not affect to be sorry that the wicked and corrupt power of Louis Napoleon had been dashed in pieces; on the contrary, he rejoiced at it."

He could not help thinking that such a speech from one of the Law Officers of the Crown was very compromising to Her Majesty's Government. He might be asked what we had to do with all this; and that the two antagonists should be left to fight it out. He was quite sure the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government was too generous, too sympathetic, and too pure-minded to entertain such a feeling. The admirable speech he made the other evening, in which he spoke in a tone that so well became what should have been the honourable position of England, every word he uttered evidently coming from the heart, gave ample attestation to this. But he had often heard it said—"Let them fight it out—the more France is crushed the better it will be for Europe." That would be found far otherwise before long. There were two points to be considered—first, the weakness of France; secondly, the strength of the Germans. With reference to the first, the weakness of France, he would bring to bear one or two most striking circumstances connected with what always was the old diplomatic idea. What said the Duke of Wellington in 1815? In a tone very different from that adopted by several Gentlemen in that House, the Duke of Wellington, addressing Lord Castlereagh, said, in 1815—

> "My objection to the demand of cession from France is that it will defeat the object the allies have held out for themselves in the present and preceding wars. That object has been to obtain peace for themselves and their people, to have the power of reducing their establishments. Care must be taken in making the arrangements consequent on our success, that we do not leave the world in the same unfortunate position as before. There is not a statesman, if great cessions are demanded, who would venture to recommend his Sovereign to consider himself at peace, and to place his armies on a peace establishment; he must, on the contrary, if he demand a large cession, consider the operations of war as deferred, until France can find a suitable opportunity of endeavouring to regain what she has lost; and, after wasting our resources in the maintenance of overgrown establishments in time of peace, we shall find how little worth the cessions we have acquired will be against a natural effort to regain them."

And what was the language of the Emperor Alexander when Russia had suffered so much? He said—

> "France penetrated to our capital, burnt our towns, sacrificed our population; God has avenged us; but I shall only use every power to reconcile France and Russia."

And M. Talleyrand said—

> "The Sovereigns will respect the integrity of France, leaving her ancient limits; we shall even do more, for we hold as a principle for the happiness of Europe, France must be great and strong."

These were the opinions of great men of the past, and uttered on an occasion very similar to the present—on an occasion when, after the war which had lasted so long and at such a sacrifice of blood and treasure, the whole indemnity demanded from France was only £25,000,000. The very different nature of the demand made now was shown by this calculation from *The Soir*—

> "The campaign has cost France three milliards (£120,000,000), the indemnity is five milliards, the territory to be ceded is equal to four departments, which is equal to a twentieth of the territorial fortune of France, and represents, at the lowest sum, ten milliards sunk for ever, to say nothing of the contributions and requisitions already made. In losing Alsace and Lorraine, there is a loss of 1,600,000 of the most industrious and commercial men in France. And when to all this is added

> the destruction that has swept over the country, the whole loss is not less than one-sixth of the whole capital of France."

Whatever might be the conduct of some part of the population, France must still have claims on Europe, and he would ask if we ought not to endeavour to mitigate the position thus described? He said nothing about annexing territory without consulting the inhabitants; but he contended that by bringing a commercial spirit to bear upon transactions of this kind the standard of public feeling was lowered. A very interesting little work had recently been published, edited, he believed, by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Cowper-Temple)—he alluded to the *Tour of Lord Palmerston in France in* 1815. He said—"It seems that peace will be made upon the basis of preserving entire the French territory"—alluding to the demands reported to be made on France. No one could have more generous feelings and sympathies than Lord Palmerston, and this was the way in which he spoke—

> "The system of individual plunder had been the ruin of the French Army, and would be the destruction of the Prussian. When officers were allowed to make requisitions for their troops, they soon began to make them for themselves; and those who demanded provisions to-day would call for money to-morrow. War then assumed a new character, the profession of arms became a mercenary speculation, and the officers' thoughts grew to be directed to the acquisition of plunder instead of the attainment of glory."

There was a curious passage showing the feeling of the French with regard to Prussian requisitions at Vaudreuil; it was the record of a conversation with a woman of the post-office—

> "We asked if they had had any English. The woman replied, '*Non, Monsieur, malheureusement.*' They told us that it is an old saying in Normandy, of a man who is working against his will for the advantage of another, '*Qu'il travaille pour le Roi de Prusse.*' They used to apply it to the *corvées*, but they now have more appropriate occasions for using it."

There were also other passages in the book bearing on the heavy contributions levied by the Prussians. So much for the weakness of France. He would now come to the great accession of strength to Prussia. What would be the position of things if Germany became too powerful? The result of the debate of last night was to show that Russia could never have made the proposal she did unless she had had an understanding with Prussia, and that state of things showed that we could not prudently allow ourselves to remain isolated, having regard to possible eventualities. With regard to the alleged treaty between Russia and Prussia, the existence of which the Prime Minister denied—[Mr. GLADSTONE: I said we had no information of it.]—a Vienna paper of March 19 published several statements in confirmation of the revelations made by a London paper with regard to the understanding between Russia and Prussia last year, and it said—

> "It is admitted that no treaty exists; but an exchange of written declarations is alleged to have taken place between Prince Gortchakoff and Count Bismarck from the 9th up to the 13th of July, 1870. These declarations embrace five points, the last of which stipulates that Prussia leaves to Russia the choice of the moment for demanding the abrogation of the restrictions in the Black Sea, and that Prussia guarantees her support of this demand on the part of Russia under any circumstances."

This state of facts involved a very serious position for this country; and their truth or probability was borne out by the interchange of telegraphic messages which had recently occurred between the Emperor William and the Czar. The Emperor telegraphed—

> "Never will Prussia forget that she owes it to you that the war has not taken the greatest dimensions. May God bless you for it! Your grateful friend for life, William."

The Czar replied—

> "I feel happy at being able to prove to you my sympathies for a devoted friend. May the sympathies that bind us together secure the happiness and glory of both countries."

These telegrams were inconsistent with the neutrality which we boasted of. He now came to what was going on in Russia. Whilst we, in this country, were in perfect confidence, repose, and peace, what was occurring in that country? From a Russian paper he learned that—

> "The warlike preparations that were made at the outbreak of the Franco-German War are continued with unabated zeal. Latterly the Ministry of War has ordered the formation of a private battalion, which has already begun in all regiments, including those in Poland; the detachments set apart for the ruling and telegraph service in the field have already been organized. New fortresses have been raised in commanding positions. A twelve million loan is raised; it is in the interest of Russia to strike at once."

At Sveaborg the Russians were at the same time constructing any number of iron-clads and a flotilla of gunboats; in the Caspian they were making preparations; several hundred rifled cannon had been purchased from the United States, and at one place alone an order for 12,000,000 ball cartridges had been given. We might say that certain things would not happen; we always said that of things which we did not wish to happen, but certainly matters were in a very serious position. Matters were very serious in reference to the weakness of France, and the strength of Prussia; but beyond this other eventualities might occur, and we might do something towards meeting these eventualities, if we also did something to win back the feelings of our old ally. Suppose that in the future there were a strong alliance between France and Germany, what position should we be in then? Suppose Belgium should be taken as an indemnity to France for the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, what position should we be in then? If war occurred, we should be found without a single ally; for we had lost, by want of sympathy, the one ally we had. We might have a necessity for allies or not; but certainly it was a very lamentable thing that this country should be left in this position. The right hon. Gentleman might say that he did not see why we should interfere—that was, to use our good offices. Other nations were not so delicate in the matter as we had been. The King of Italy had written a letter to the German Emperor, expressing his surprise and disappointment at the hard terms exacted from the French, especially with regard to the cession of territory. It had been said that we were not to express a generous opinion, even when our own interests were not at stake; but he trusted the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would now take a more generous view, and that he might do so without risking the support of any Member of his party. No one had a greater desire for the maintenance of peace than he had; but still he wanted that men should have the pluck and courage to speak out their opinions; and that we should not stand by, perfectly indifferent when a great crisis in Europe was occurring. In the Royal Speech with which the Session was opened, the Queen was made to say, in allusion to the suspension of hostilities—

> "I pray that this suspension may result in a Peace compatible, for the two great and brave nations involved, with security and with honour, and likely therefore to command the approval of Europe, and to give reasonable hopes of a long duration."

In the sense of the terms thus used he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to use his good offices with the Germans in the settlement of the final terms of peace. He was not one of those who would mock at the expressions of earnestness which had been used by the Emperor of Germany. He believed that great and solemn events called for solemn feelings and expressions, and he had no doubt that those expressions of religious fervour were used in full sincerity; but it was to the feelings of the Emperor of Germany that he would appeal in the language of a writer who was well known to the right hon. Gentleman, and one indeed upon whom he himself had commented, and say—

> "Here, then, is the prohibition to all mortal feuds; mercy to a submissive foe is to be no longer an exceptional and admirable reach of human goodness, but a plain duty. Human beings have henceforth, in all cases, a right to terms, a right to quarter."

There was another quotation, better known, which was specially applicable in this case—

> "The quality of mercy is not strained;
> It droppeth, as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath: it is twice blessed;
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes;
> It is mightiest in the mightiest."

It was in this feeling, anxious to do good only, and hoping that words might be used in that House which would produce an effect upon the Emperor of Germany, that he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to use his influence and his good offices in the interests of civilization and humanity, and in the interests, he might say, of the future tranquillity and peace of Europe, and of the security, dignity, and honour of this country. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

SIR HENRY HOARE, in seconding the Motion, said, that the question had been treated so fully by his hon. Friend who had preceded him that little remained for him to say upon this great subject. Everyone must deplore the sad disorders which now afflicted France. Her provinces had been ravished from her; her capital was a prey to anarchy; her women were in deep mourning; and her men were humiliated and smarting under disaster; and this being so, it was not surprising that she should now be torn by contending factions. Was it not possible that these disasters were consequent upon the hard terms extorted from this unhappy country. He had heard it stated by a Cabinet Minister that if he had been a Frenchman he would never have consented to the surrender of Metz, as he believed that as long as there was a man in the country who could hold a gun, France ought to have fought for that bulwark of her defence. Metz, however, had been taken from France; and, if that country were at war again with Germany, Paris would be at the mercy of the invader after one successful battle, for he would have to traverse only 150 miles of level champagne country. With respect to the indemnity, an eminent financier had informed him that it could not be raised at a lower rate of interest that 7 per cent. There would, therefore, be a perpetual charge of £14,000,000 upon France, in addition to all the ruin and devastation which had been effected during the war. France, it ought to be always remembered, had been our most faithful ally, and we ought to endeavour to obtain for her some mitigation of the conditions of peace. Some weeks ago it was stated that we had no right to interfere, and that in the event of our doing so we should only anger Prussia, and induce her to impose still harder terms on France. But, looking at the prostrate condition of France, and the colossal triumph of Prussia, might we not now hope to obtain some reduction of those terms? It might, perhaps, be urged that we had already obtained some diminution, and that the indemnity, which was originally fixed at six milliards, was reduced to five milliards in consequence of the representations made by England. He did not say that Her Majesty's Government did not obtain that concession, but if so, the House and the country ought to be distinctly informed of that fact. Looking at the dates of the despatches, it did not appear that the reduction was owing to the action of our Government. In a despatch dated from Versailles, on the 26th of February, Mr. Odo Russell informed Earl Granville that his Lordship's telegram of the 24th, respecting the war indemnity, had been delivered to him on the previous night, after he had returned from the Crown Prince's Head-quarters, where he had heard that the war indemnity had been reduced to five milliards. Again, a despatch from Lord Augustus Loftus, our Ambassador at Berlin, dated the 28th of February, and relating to the reduction, did not indicate that it was brought about by the action of England. As yet, therefore, it had not been shown that we were in any way successful in procuring a mitigation of the terms of peace. It was evident we could not now anger Germany or bring about a state of things which would end in a collision if Her Majesty's Government did their best to obtain some relaxation of their severity. It was too much, perhaps, to hope that Germany would be impelled by a generous and chivalrous feeling to give Metz back to France; but time might be allowed for the payment of the indemnity, which might be further reduced in amount. He pleaded the cause of France, which had always been our faithful ally, and he earnestly trusted Her Majesty's Government would, even at the eleventh hour, do their best to obtain some mitigation of the conditions.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House having learnt the conditions of Peace imposed by Prussia on France, trusts that Her Majesty's Government will, in the interest of the future tranquillity of Europe, use their good offices, before the negotiations of Peace are finally closed, to obtain from the Imperial Government some mitigation of the severity of these conditions,"—(*Mr. Baillie Cochrane,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am sure the limited attendance of Members in this House on the present occasion, particularly in some portions of the House, does not arise from a want of interest in the subject which has been brought under our notice by my hon. Friend, but that, if it be due to a special cause, it is due to a sentiment of difficulty in obtaining a definite result from the discussion that has been raised. My hon. Friend must not for a moment think I presume to censure the course he has taken. The events which have been in progress are of such vast interest and importance, and appeal so strongly to the heart and feeling, as well as to the understanding, that it is almost to be considered as a necessity that upon a variety of occasions heart and feeling should be displayed in the discussions in this House; and I cannot refrain from according to my hon. Friend the honour of having moved in this matter entirely from motives of humanity and generous feelings, which never can redound but to his credit. With regard to the speech of my hon. Friend and his Motion, he will forgive me if, while entering into the spirit of his observations, I am unable to concur in all the particular remarks he has made. Indeed, I even venture to hope that the comments which I feel it my duty to offer to the House upon those remarks may, to a certain extent, obtain my hon. Friend's concurrence. I will give them in the simplest possible form. Speaking generally, as far as the speech we have just heard partakes of the nature of a complaint, the complaint is that there has been, on the part of the Government, a want of sympathy with France in her misfortunes. My hon. Friend likewise stated, in one portion of his speech, that in consequence of this want of sympathy on our part, we had become an isolated Power in Europe, and should not, in case we ourselves became involved in a quarrel, have a single ally. It is not necessary to dwell at any length on the latter part of that statement; and I only refer to it for the purpose of saying that, setting aside the momentary dissatisfaction which not one party, but both parties to this war have felt with regard to our conduct—and which dissatisfaction, as a matter of fact, I do not deny—I do not believe there ever was a time when the conduct of Great Britain has received more general assent and approval, or when its result has been less likely to alienate from us the sympathies of the civilized world. I would point out to my hon. Friend this difficulty in his case. He complains generally of want of sympathy; but treating the subject, as he has done, with a perfect ingenuousness, he has pointed out what he thinks are two great defects in our conduct—first, a want of disposition to encourage interposition against France; and, secondly, a want of disposition to allow interference or to take steps ourselves in favour of France. He says that at the commencement of the quarrel we should have freely encouraged any inclination there was in this House—and the inclination was shared by very few Members—to make strong declarations against the policy of the French in those unhappy circumstances which preceded the war. But after that period, and after the fortune of war had declared against France, he thinks we have been defective on the other side, and have not shown sufficient inclination to take steps in favour of France. I must remind my hon. Friend that it is extremely difficult, as he will perceive from his own statement, to give vent to our natural feelings without incurring the risk of doing a great deal of mischief. If we had all of us put into words every sentiment we entertained in the day's preceding the war against the conduct of France, I do not believe we should have succeeded in arresting that war. I believe that we should have succeeded in exasperating the quarrel instead of soothing it; for it is an entire mistake to suppose that when two great Powers are about to lock in mortal conflict, and when the passion and the immediate sentiment of war have come upon them, they are in a condition of mind which disposes or permits them to be arrested in their career by an expression of neutral opinion. I must say, however, that if ever there was an expression of neutral opinion from a particular country it proceeded from the House of Commons, which I am patriotic or vain enough to think does carry considerable weight even in the opinion and sentiment of Europe; and if ever there was a time when a particularly strict observance of neutrality was the duty of the British Government, it was the period at the outbreak of the late war. We could not disguise the fact—and, indeed, it was expressed in official Correspondence—that we thought France wrong in the immediate cause of the war; and we have been sustained in the expression of that opinion, to which we gave utterance at the time, by the declarations of those who subsequently acceded to power and conducted the affairs of France. But while we were impressed with a strong belief with regard to the immediate cause of the war, we could not obliterate the recollection of the long and friendly alliance that had existed between France and ourselves. And then, looking to Germany, while we had no cause whatever for estrangement or alienation from that country as regarded ourselves, but had, on the contrary, every reason and disposition to cultivate the closest and most friendly relations with her, and while we had looked with cordial sympathy, partly owing to the particular means used, and with which we had little to do, upon the processes which gave to Germany strength through union; on the other hand, we certainly had not the most agreeable recollection of the controversy relating to Denmark; and, above all, if hon. Members will carry back their recollection to the period of the outbreak of the war, they will remember that by the strange and startling discovery of what has been called the Benedetti Treaty, a cloud was cast over the whole subject, which impressed upon us, above all things, that we should be wary. These are the steps by which we thought it our duty to approach that great crisis. My hon. Friend says that at the end of July a treaty offensive and defensive was on the point of being signed between Austria, Italy, and France which would have put an end to the war. Whether it would have done so is, of course, a matter of opinion; but with regard to the matter of fact, that such a treaty was on the point of being signed, I do not know where my hon. Friend has obtained his information. We have no reason to believe that there was such a treaty.

MR. BAILLIE COCHRANE: Lord Granville alluded to it in that despatch.

MR. GLADSTONE: No, pardon me, Lord Granville alludes to the subject, not of such a treaty, but of a treaty between two of those Powers, which is a very different thing to a treaty between the three Powers; and he alludes to that treaty, not as a matter of fact, not as a concluded transaction, nor as a transaction that was about to be concluded—he alludes not to the treaty as a transaction into which Italy would willingly have joined; but he alludes to the possibility that such a treaty might have been extorted, which is a matter totally different from that to which my hon. Friend has alluded. Nothing has occurred to lead us to believe in such a treaty; and I must own that, in my opinion, the hon. Gentleman is completely in error with regard to its existence. But my hon. Friend says, and says truly, that Lord Granville warned Austria that circumstances had occurred, or were supposed to have occurred, leading to a suspicion of her neutrality. Under what circumstances was that warning given to Austria? Under these—that we were aware of a given amount of disposition on the part of Austria not to act alone, but, had circumstances been favourable, to lean towards the side of France. But we knew also that the first indication of a decisive kind of any intention to give effect to that disposition would bring Russia into the field on the side of Germany. Was not that a contingency most formidable to Europe? Was it not the duty of Lord Granville, so far as he could do so by friendly acts, to point out to Austria the possible consequences of any proceedings on her part in bringing about such a state of action between Russia and herself as would undoubtedly have made the war no longer a war between two Powers, but a general war in Europe? My hon. Friend seems to think that it was an offence or error on the part of Lord Granville that, being neutral, he endeavoured to promote the neutrality of others. He says it was a departure from neutrality to say anything to Austria on the subject of her action with regard to the war. Is that a just proposition? At any rate, I am quite sure of this—the disposition of the Government was made known in this House at the earliest possible moment; and that disposition was to contract, if possible, the circle of the war, or to prevent its extension; and so far from admitting to my hon. Friend that there was anything wrong in that, it appears to me that Lord Granville would have departed from his duty, or would have failed in his duty, if he had not acted in the spirit of that intention. Again, with regard to Denmark, my hon. Friend complains that she was dissuaded from throwing herself into the arms of France. What was the fact? The alliance of Denmark would have been worth little to France. There was a natural feeling among the Danish people in her favour, and it was difficult for the Danish people to resist that feeling; but they knew that their duty to their country required them to resist it. Suppose that that popular sentiment in Denmark had prevailed. Suppose Denmark had cast herself into the arms of France at the commencement of the struggle. Little, indeed, would her assistance have been worth. But what were the guarantees that France could have given to Denmark against her suffering the consequences of her taking part in the war? And, so far as this particular case of Denmark is concerned, what would have been the present situation of the North of Europe if Denmark had been induced, not by the deliberate judgment of those who were responsible for her affairs, but by a momentary and very natural feeling—and I cannot say it was a blameable feeling—to cast herself into a cause, as she might and could have done, for what was to her only small and insignificant, but by embarking in which she would have hazarded, and probably at this moment have forfeited, what remained to her of independent existence? I pass on from these criticisms of my hon. Friend to what he has stated as the main ground of his complaint against the Government. He admits that, at the last moment, there was an attempt made on our part on behalf of France; but he says it was so managed that our intervention was no intervention at all. He refers to what occurred after the sudden surrender of Paris, partly before and partly after M. Thiers had assumed the reins of power. I beg my hon. Friend to follow the short statement that I will make, for I will endeavour to set out with perfect accuracy the conduct of the British Government at that moment, because it may be in the recollection of the House that in answering a Question, or in some discussion that arose, I gave an assurance on the part of the Government that we did not contemplate with indifference the transactions that were then in progress, but that we should exert ourselves to the extent of our power, and should certainly not fail to watch for and to seize any opportunity that might offer. The moment that had arrived was a critical and a decisive one. We were to examine whether it was possible to be useful in these negotiations, and when I say, "to be useful" I do not mean to be useful to France exclusively. France was naturally the principal object of sympathy and concern, because she was the worsted Power, and because the immediate suggestion or circumstance was that she might be called upon naturally to submit to conditions of very great severity. The first question was, whether in anything that we might do we should have to act alone, or whether we might hope to be able to act in concurrence with other Powers? And, in referring to the question of acting in concurrence with other Powers, I do not mean whether some particular Power, or certain Powers, could be induced to act with us; but whether we could act in concurrence with such Powers as would really speak with the voice and represent the moral force of Europe. That being the question, our first duty was to ascertain whether the state of things admitted of united action in that sense. We endeavoured to ascertain whether that was possible or not, and my hon. Friend, in his survey of these Papers, has omitted to refer to a passage in the letter of the 25th of February from Lord Granville to Lord Lyons, in which he said—

> "There is, moreover, a want of agreement among all the Powers of Europe, even to examine any proposal which France might make."

That is, any proposal France might make in mitigation of the terms demanded of her, and in the declaration then made it is stated that all the Powers of Europe were not prepared to unite to examine, or take into consideration, any proposal which France might make in mitigation of the demands made of her. The hon. Member and the House will not fail to perceive that that was an intimation of the utmost consequence and importance. We had made it our duty to assert what was the state of the case in that respect, and we had found that state to be such that no united action by the Powers of Europe could be made for the purpose either of mediating, or of using good offices, or of intervening, or even of examining jointly any overture which France might make with a view to a mitigation of the terms of peace. The effect of that was that we were reduced to entirely isolated action, because it was our opinion—and I think the House will concur in that opinion—that there could be no advantage in endeavouring to arrange for a partial combination, which probably would not have carried with it even the weight of a single representation, and which would, at the same time, be liable to all the invidious constructions which might, perhaps, attach to any effort to combine the Powers of Europe to propose even a ground of moral intervention. With regard, then, to isolated action, what I venture to say is this—we did all that was in our power, and we did it without the loss of a single moment; and the means which we adopted were such as were calculated to bring to bear with the utmost despatch our action, such as it was, and if it was not sufficiently powerful, that, under the circumstances, was not our fault. It was on Friday morning, the 24th of February, that the French Ambassador arrived here, and it was then that we received the first and only authorative information from France that France requested from us intervention of any kind. On that same Friday morning, when the Ambassador arrived, Lord Granville presented him officially to Her Majesty. After presenting him, Lord Granville came to me and stated the nature of the verbal communication of which the Duc de Broglie was the bearer, and I instantly issued a summons for a meeting of the Cabinet. The Cabinet met upon a notice of half-an-hour. In the afternoon of Friday, the 24th of February, an answer was written to the French demand or request which had been received on the same day. The hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Henry Hoare) said he would be very glad if I could prove it was owing to the intervention of this country that a reduction of the pecuniary indemnity from six to five milliards was made. All that I know is this—that with reference to pecuniary indemnity no representation whatever was made to us. The representation that was made to us referred to that most important question—an alienation of territory, and to nothing else. It would plainly be going beyond the limits we had marked out for ourselves if we had had the presumption, when every moment was counted, to attempt to go beyond that question. The representation of the Duc de Broglie was that the demand made by Germany was a demand of six milliards of francs, to be paid almost immediately, and to be subject to some deductions not yet settled. It was not in the power of the Duc de Broglie—I am here speaking only of what was said in conversation under the extreme pressure of the moment, and therefore it does not appear in an official form—to give an exact definition of these terms; but he said the money was to be paid almost immediately, and was to be subject to some deductions, the nature of which he was not able exactly to specify. He could not, for example, say whether the £8,000,000 war contributions which had been levied on Paris would have to be included in those deductions or not; but the impression he conveyed to us was that the deductions to be made were such as did not materially affect the amount. [Sir HENRY HOARE: May I ask if that has been deducted?] I am coming to that. This was the demand which was represented to us, and it was upon this demand that the letter to Lord Augustus Loftus was written, on which the hon. Member has commented. He had said there was something really absurd in sending off by post to Lord Agustus Loftus, on the 24th of February, a letter which would have to be communicated to the German Government at Versailles, in regard to a matter of the utmost importance, which must necessarily close on the 26th of February, before the letter could reach Lord Augustus Loftus. That is perfectly true. The sending of this letter to Lord Augustus Loftus was merely an official form. A telegram was sent directly by Her Majesty's Government to Mr. Odo Russell, and a communication was made by Lord Granville to Count Bernstorff, with a request, with which Count Bernstorff faithfully and cordially complied at once, that he would also telegraph to Count Bismarck. This was on Friday night. The hon. Member has observed that Mr. Odo Russell did not receive this telegram in time to enable him to act on Saturday; that, in fact, it seemed to have reached him only at a very late hour on Saturday evening or night, and that he was not in a condition to take any step in regard to it until Sunday morning. I need hardly tell my hon. Friend that Her Majesty's Government were struck with the wonderful loss of speed in the matter of telegraph communication, and that something like 27 hours were expended between the despatch of that telegram and its reaching the hands of Mr. Odo Russell. We were not masters of the telegraph. We cannot call my right hon. Friend the Postmaster General to account; because, unhappily, he was not master of the telegraph, and cannot tell what became of that telegraphic message. But there is no doubt that that telegraphic message to Mr. Odo Russell was delayed upon its way. Certainly it was not delayed in England. I have no reason to believe that any delay happened to it before it reached Versailles, except the delay which commonly attaches, as most of us have found, to telegrams which are transmitted very late in the evening. No doubt the telegraph is very uncertain; but there is no doubt that the telegram might have been in the hands of Mr. Odo Russell considerably earlier than it reached him. I have no doubt that he was not sorry that anything prevented the message from reaching its destination, because Count Bernstorff, as I have stated, with that kindness and frankness which distinguish him, at once complied with the request of my noble Friend to send the message direct as from himself to Count Bismarck. We are given to understand that Count Bismarck was in possession of that message on Saturday morning. We have never received an answer to this representation. I cannot tell my hon. Friend anything more than what we know—that is to say, that on Sunday afternoon the preliminaries were signed, and the indemnity was fixed at five milliards of francs. I am not aware of any question of deduction connected with these five milliards. I believe it was an absolute sum, so far as we are informed, and I believe it was so stated in the body of the preliminaries when we came to see them. That is all that I have to state on the case. As to taking credit for having produced a reduction of the indemnity, I should not be warranted in doing that. The only credit we can take is that we did what was in our power. We are not answerable for the result. But I think it may be said that we manifested, both by the nature and by the promptitude of our action, a desire, wherever we could, to prove our sympathy towards a friendly Power labouring under misfortune. I will pass now to the prospective part of the hon. Member's Motion, where he says he hopes—but I do not imagine my hon. Friend intends to press the House for a positive declaration of its judgment—

> "That Her Majesty's Government will, in the interest of the future tranquillity of Europe, use their good offices, before the negotiations of Peace are finally closed, to obtain from the Imperial Government some mitigation of the severity of these conditions."

Well, after what I have stated, I hope it will be enough to satisfy my hon.

Friend if I say that the spirit in which we have acted is that in which we shall endeavour to continue to act. I think that in the painful circumstances that have occurred, while we have shown that we are not indifferent to the afflictions of France, we have not by word or action endeavoured to curry favour with a great and triumphant Power. I think it would be the height of folly and a very grave offence if we were to undertake to judge with asperity the complaints that have been made of us in the German Press—complaints of all kinds, and in strong language, about the export of arms—or the threats of the vengeance to be inflicted upon us in future times by the triumphant arms of Germany, in consequence of our permitting an export of arms. It would have been, I think, not only impolitic but unjustifiable in us to treat these natural effusions of temper at a period of great and inevitable excitement as if they had been the results of deliberate judgment. So far as all those angry words, which may have been used on one side or the other, are concerned, we effaced them from our memories altogether, and, so far as we are concerned, those angry words shall not influence the future for evil or prevent a continuance of the most cordial feelings. I will only say one word more on the Motion of my hon. Friend, and point out the difficulty of dealing with a case of this kind. My hon. Friend says that we should endeavour to obtain some mitigation of the severity of the conditions. It would be most unwise for the British Government to be hampered by any expression of Parliament on a subject of that kind. In the endeavour to obtain some mitigation great good may be done. If we had any share—I do not say we had—in reducing ever so little the pecuniary indemnity, I am extremely glad, and I think that it was to the interest of Germany herself that a reduction should be made. This difficulty, moreover, is likely to arise. If you, proceeding upon abstract ideas, commit yourself, and endeavour to obtain some mitigation of the terms, you may incur two dangers—first of all, you may find that should you obtain anything at all, it will be utterly ineffectual as regards the substance of the matter at issue; and, secondly, by the mere attempt to obtain such ineffectual mitigation you both place yourself in the position of a debtor to the dominant Power, and forfeit somewhat of the independence of the Power on whose behalf you are endeavouring to act. I am not very sanguine as to the probability of opportunities for intervention arising, neither can we presume to prophesy in the present state of affairs in Paris. It would be dangerous and rash, indeed, to foretell what the immediate future might bring forth. All that I can say in this matter is, that we have no resentments; no separate objects; we have no selfish interests; we have no partialities. We wish to feel the ties that unite us with those Powers—to forget whatever may at any time have separated us from either of them, and I can assure the hon. Member we shall not fail, should an opportunity occur, for want of vigilance, for want of deep, earnest, and cordial interest in those nations, to use the friendly influence of this country, be that influence great or small, for purposes of the general good and the peace and tranquillity of Europe, and for the welfare of those particular nations which we know to be so dear to the hearts of the people of England.

MR. BAILLIE COCHRANE said, he should not trouble the House to divide, especially after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

CASE OF MARTHA TORPEY.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN rose to call the attention of the House to the recent acquittal of Martha Torpey, and to the expediency of abolishing the rule of law which in certain cases exempts married women from responsibility for their own criminal acts. The hon. Member stated the facts of the robbery for which Martha Torpey had recently been tried and acquitted—(see Vol. cciv. p. 1753)—and said, he considered that the failure of justice in this case was not due to the learned Judge who presided at the trial—for there was no Judge upon the Bench to whose ruling he should turn with more implicit respect—and therefore the question was, whether the fault lay with the jury or with the law? If he thought that it was with the jury, he should not have deemed it necessary to bring the subject before the House—though, at the same time, it was very probable that the sight of a young and pretty woman, with a profusion of golden hair, and a baby in her arms, might have enlisted the sympathies of the jury in her behalf; for the lady had left the Court with her friends amid the enthusiastic cheers of the audience—a circumstance hardly befitting the decorum of an English Court of Justice—if not exactly without a stain upon her name, at all events free to join her husband in foreign parts, where they might renew their practices which had succeeded so well in this country, but where, perhaps, the law would hardly be so indulgent to the lady as she had found it here. The Judge, it seemed to him, had explained the law clearly and in accordance with the doctrine laid down in *Blackstone*, and the verdict of the jury was to be referred to the fact that they had regarded one part of the learned Judge's charge and neglected the rest. The doctrine was laid down by *Blackstone* in these words—

> "The principal case, where constraint of a superior is allowed as an excuse for criminal misconduct, is with regard to the matrimonial subjection of the wife to her husband: for neither a son or a servant are excused for the commission of any crime, whether capital or otherwise, by the command or coercion of the parent or master; though in some cases the command or authority of the husband, either express or implied, will privilege the wife from punishment, even for capital offences. And therefore if a woman commit theft, burglary, or other civil offences against the laws of society, by the coercion of her husband, or even in his company, which the law construes a coercion, she is not guilty of any crime—being considered as acting by compulsion and not of her own will. But even with regard to wives this rule admits of an exception in crimes that are *mala in fe*, and prohibited by the law of nature, as murder and the like; not only because these are of a deeper dye, but also, since in a state of nature no one is in subjection to another, it would be unreasonable to screen an offender from the punishment due to natural crimes by the refinements and subordinations of civil society. In treason also, (the highest crime which a member of society can, as such, be guilty of), no plea of coverture shall excuse the wife."

He was forced, therefore, to the conclusion that it was the law that was in fault. It was intelligible that the presumption of law through which Mrs. Torpey had escaped should be in force at a time when a wife was subject to violent treatment from her husband—when the husband was allowed to use forcible coercion towards his wife, and to beat her without the interference of the law; but he would ask the House whether, as the law between husband and wife was at present understood, there was anything to justify the innocence of Mrs. Torpey on the ground of coercion? Again, if coercion was to be received as a presumption of innocence, how could they rationally confine it to the case of husband and wife? It was absurd that the presumption of coercion should be allowed in the case of a wife and not be allowed in the case of a child of eight or nine years old committing an offence in company with its father. Again, a man's mistress was often more completely under his control than his wife; and yet if by brutal violence on the part of her paramour a woman was induced to commit forgery, for example, she would be convicted, not because she was a free agent, but because she was not a married woman. Our law did not presume that the wife acted under coercion in a case of murder in which she was implicated along with her husband; and in the present instance if the shopman had died through the application of the handkerchief to his face, Mrs. Torpey would have been held responsible for her acts; but because she had not succeeded in killing him, therefore she was presumed to be irresponsible. Such a distinction was wholly arbitrary and irrational. The true account of the origin of that legal presumption was believed by Mr. Malcolm Kerr, the learned editor of *Blackstone,* to be found not in the subjection of the wife to her husband, but in the long obsolete doctrine of the benefit of clergy. It was therefore an illustration of how, in this highly conservative country, a legal rule remained embedded in our jurisprudence long after the reason for it had ceased to exist. There was nothing in the present relation between husband and wife to justify the retention of that presumption, and in seeking its abolition he confidently claimed the sympathy and support of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor), and every modern advocate of what were called woman's rights, because of course women, whether married or single, could not well have all the rights and privileges of the sterner sex, and yet be treated as not accountable for their actions, and having no will of their own. The presumption he was condemning might, perhaps, have been all very well in times when women and children were hanged by scores for petty thefts; but in the present day, in jury cases, above all in criminal cases, it operated most mischievously. During the whole period that he himself had been connected with circuit, he did not remember a single instance in which a married woman indicted with her husband was found guilty of any crime except in one case, in which a very shocking murder of a child had been committed for the sake of obtaining the burial fees payable on its death. No doubt if that presumption were swept away, juries would still be found who would wrongly acquit young and pretty women, especially if they wore plenty of golden hair; but then the fault would be the fault of the jury—not that of the law. Why should there be any presumption in the case? Surely the proper view to maintain was that every subject of the realm, man, woman, or child—being of mental capacity to distinguish right from wrong—should be held amenable for their own criminal acts. He could understand that a Judge, dealing with the case of a woman or child, might adjust the penalty to the apparent moral guilt; but the rule he had stated should be the law. He thought that the law as it now stood should no longer be continued, and he saw no reason why legislation should not be immediate. He might be told—as, indeed, had been urged by the Lord Chancellor in "another place"—that that subject was part of a larger question and should be included within a comprehensive measure dealing with the status of married women; but the same objection might be, and, in fact, generally was, raised against almost every conceivable proposal brought forward on any matter by any private Member. Last year, for instance, there had been the greatest difficulty in passing the measure granting rights of private property to married women; and when the Bill came down from the other House, it was so altered that its authors did not know it. The subject was one of great importance, and he trusted that the Government would see its way to dealing with the subject in a comprehensive manner. He was quite sure that such a Bill, if passed into a law, would meet with the approval of all sensible men; that the author would go down to posterity as a great criminal law reformer; that we should then get rid of a great blot upon our system of criminal jurisprudence, and prevent the possibility of a recurrence of the abuse referred to, which was so loudly and so generally complained of. He thanked the House for the patience with which he had been listened to; but felt sure that if the discussion of the subject resulted in some such measure as that he had described, the time would have been well spent.

Mr. STRAIGHT said, as he had been professionally engaged in the case of Mrs. Torpey, and had consequently some knowledge of what did really take place at her trial, he felt he was in a position to give some useful information on the matter, and to correct one or two errors into which the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Osborne Morgan) who had just spoken had fallen. To dispose, first of all, of Mrs. Torpey herself, it was an error to describe her as presenting to the Court and the jury a most attractive appearance, with golden light-flowing tresses falling gracefully down her back. On the contrary, her hair was closely braided to her head, and her appearance was very diminutive. Perhaps notwithstanding, her looks and demeanour had a certain influence with the jury; because it was certainly urged with great force by her counsel, pointing significantly to the prisoner at the bar, that a woman of her diminutive appearance could never be supposed, from her own free will, to have been engaged in such an act of violence as that which was charged against her. There was also another important element that no doubt spoke eloquently in her favour—namely, the baby which she carried in her arms. Now, he thought that the attention of the hon. and learned Member for Salford (Mr. Charley) ought to be called to this matter of the baby; because if his hon. and learned Friend did not introduce into his Bill on the subject a clause to prevent the introduction of babies into the docks of criminal Courts when the mothers were on their trial, he (Mr. Straight) was afraid that his measure would prove somewhat defective in its operation. It had been said that this presumption of law was unreasonable. He concurred in that view. During his experience of 10 years in criminal Courts, he had never known but two cases of married women tried with their husbands being convicted. What appeared to him to tell greatly in favour of Mrs. Torpey was the fact that she stood alone in the dock, while her husband had succeeded in reaching a place of security on the Continent. There was, no doubt, a great deal of sympathy awakened by the feeling that she had to bear the whole brunt of the ignominy and disgrace involved in the charge that was made against her. It was asserted that no legislation could correct the sentimental feelings of a British jury when they saw a woman placed in the position of Mrs. Torpey — particularly when strengthened by the presence of a baby in arms. The Judge who presided on the occasion could not have placed the matter in a clearer light before the jury than he had done: nevertheless, the presumption of law submitted to them was construed by the jury in a manner favourable to the accused, and she was consequently acquitted. Now as to this presumption of law, so far as he knew, it was only allowed in cases where the husband was present when the particular crime was committed, and in cases where a capital offence was not committed. For example, if a woman induced a man to accompany her into a dark and lonely place where her husband lay concealed, and both assailed the man with violence, robbing him, and doing him grievous bodily harm—in such a case the presumption of law would lie: but if the man were murdered by them, no such plea would be allowed in favour of the wife. That appeared to him to be a most unreasonable distinction for the law to make, and one which he confessed he could never understand. He hoped that something would be done to remedy what he considered was a great difficulty and inconsistency in the administration of the law, and which in the case in question, had resulted in an unfortunate miscarriage of justice.

Mr. JESSEL argued that this presumption of law should not be allowed to prevail except in cases where its justice was clearly shown. In all cases when the facts could be proved by evidence the result should depend on evidence alone. According to Hale's, as well as Hawkins's *Pleas of the Crown*, this presumption of law was liable to be set aside if it were shown that the wife had taken the leading part in the commission of the crime. Therefore, in the case referred to by the hon. and learned Member for Shrewsbury, the rule would not apply, since the woman was clearly a principal in the crime.

There was no country in Europe except England that admitted this presumption of law. Even in Scotland coercion by the husband was not recognized as a plea on the part of the wife when charged with a criminal offence. Now, it appeared to him to be most desirable and essential that the general law of the United Kingdom in penal matters should be precisely the same. This law of presumption in the case of the wife accused of crime originated in barbarous and precivilized times, when the wife, both in law and in fact, was rather the slave than the companion of her husband, when she had no property of her own, could neither sue nor be sued, and was held to be dependent upon her husband for even the bare necessaries of life. In those times the wife was subject to corporeal chastisement from her husband, without any restraint short of doing her grievous bodily harm. Happily that state of things had been greatly changed by modern civilization, and there now existed many Acts of Parliament for the protection of her person, as well as of her separate rights of property. He thought this presumption of law could in no way be justified by reason or argument, and that it was inconsistent with the first principles of criminal jurisprudence. The authority of a father over his son, and that of a guardian over his ward, were both greater than that of a husband over his wife; but in neither case could this authority be pleaded as an answer to a criminal charge. The law, too, was inconsistent, for this influence was not acknowledged in our civil Courts; while even in our criminal Courts it was no answer to a charge either of treason or murder. Yet, surely, if the idea of the law was that a wife was an irresponsible agent was a correct one, the nature of the crime should make no difference. By the law of Scotland the obedience of a wife was to be yielded to her husband only in things lawful—in things unlawful his coercion afforded no excuse. In the laws of King William, the Lion of Scotland, framed nearly seven centuries since, the following doctrine, full of common sense, though written in somewhat bad Latin, was laid down:—

> "Sed cum fuerunt ambo participes, sic erunt quoque et in pœnâ. Et licet uxor obedire debeat viro suo, tamen in atrocibus obedire non debet. Et sic debet uterque puniri secundum demerita sua."

He coincided with the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Straight) in thinking it both unreasonable and inconsistent to allow this plea on the part of the wife, except in cases of murder and treason. Why should the nature of the crime alter the rule of law, which in these cases departed from the reasonable way of deciding matters by evidence in favour of a most arbitrary conclusion? This presumption of law was neither founded upon principle nor warranted by an experience of its benefit. He trusted the plea would be abolished, and no excuse permitted for the commission of crime, except overpowering and inevitable compulsion. He trusted that the Government would take up this question, with the view of abolishing this plea, and of thus terminating that state of things which had occasioned a scandalous failure of justice.

Mr. M. CHAMBERS desired to say a few words upon this important and dangerous subject—he used the term "dangerous," because he believed that the two branches of the Legislature had been going beyond their province in dealing with this matter. In "another place"—he would not say where—he had recently heard the administration of justice carelessly questioned, and our jury system attacked by persons who seemed to know very little, and to care very little, about the principles of our Constitution, and the antiquity and value of the institution of trial by jury. He strongly protested against such proceedings. He had been pained that evening by hearing a young, learned, and amiable friend, for whom he had a great esteem, and whose career at the Bar would, he hoped, be distinguished, fall into a similar error; but he believed hon. Members were forgetting themselves when they attacked the admirable tribunal which was constituted to do justice to the people of this country. He presumed that his hon. and learned Friend who had just sat down (Mr. Jessel) had never held a brief in a criminal Court in his life, yet he had ventured to term the verdict of the jury in the case immediately under consideration a scandal. He (Mr. M. Chambers) protested now, as he had protested before, at the manner in which ignorant Members—by the use of the word he intended no offence—were in the habit of assailing those who had to administer justice either in the civil or criminal Courts of the kingdom. He protested also against the practice which appeared to be creeping in of hon. Members, when they found a supposed fault or defect in the law which appeared to them to require amendment, instead of bringing forward a measure in which the evil and the proposed remedy might be discussed, throwing the matter before the House by moving an abstract Resolution, and hoping that somebody else would take the question up with a view to practical legislation. They thus aired their opinions upon the subject without committing themselves to any definite course. He would not follow his hon. and learned Friend into a discussion of equity law, which he did not understand equally well; but the principle of English law was, that when a wife acted in the presence of her husband she was deemed to be under his control and dominion. That doctrine was founded, not upon any technical rules of lawyers, but upon the religious, as well as the moral sanctions and conditions of matrimonial life. His hon. and learned Friend, who was a Chancery barrister, had said that the ancient law was founded upon the circumstance of a woman being a slave, and that this principle had found its way into the English law. The wife still was a slave in one respect, for she was the slave of her own affections. Of course, he was not speaking of any agitation now going on with regard to women's rights, and things of that sort; but he maintained that an attached affectionate and submissive wife did, in fact, as well as according to the theory of the law of England, do acts which she would not otherwise commit, under the control and influence of her husband. It had struck him many times that this presumption of law was most humane, for it was based upon the well-known submissiveness of a tender wife, even towards the worst of husbands; and a devoted, domesticated wife, they knew was but a weak instrument in the hands, possibly, of a weak or criminal husband. There might be, and no doubt there were, occasional and exceptional shrews in modern as well as classical times; but the law was made for the generality of wives, and, according to his humble judgment, the rule of presumption was a good one, and ought to be continued. [*A laugh.*] Chancery barristers might laugh; but they had never practised in the criminal Courts, and had few or no opportunities of observing the anxiety and care with which juries endeavoured to decide. In the case in question the law had been correctly and clearly laid down by the Recorder, and the jury having heard the evidence and the charge, had exercised their judgment by returning a verdict of "not guilty." Even if there had been a failure of justice in this case, which he did not acknowledge because he had not the means of forming a judgment, it would be a most dangerous course to alter the law, because there were occasional failures. Such a proceeding could not be confined to the criminal law. They would have to extend it to civil and equitable cases. If, on the other hand, it was the law that was in fault, the proper course would be to call the attention of the Government to it, and ask for consideration, and, if necessary, for alteration. But he protested against Members occupying the time of Parliament time after time upon the mere opinion of newspaper writers, that there had been a failure of justice in some particular case.

DR. BALL said, he did not propose to express any opinion with respect to the particular case of Martha Torpey and her trial. No one could give an opinion entitled to any weight unless he had a complete and perfect report of the case. But he might observe that if the representations of those who complained of the verdict were correct, the acquittal was not justifiable. This, however, did not prove the law required alteration. It was not clear that alteration would in that case have led to a different result. Indeed, he had a strong misgiving that if the learned Judge had put to the jury the affirmative proposition — was the woman under the coercion of her husband —the verdict would have been the same; because, in the view the jury took, the same facts which were insufficient to overcome the presumption of coercion would have been sufficient to justify the affirmative proposition that she was acting under the coercion of her husband. It appeared to him that the alteration of the law was surrounded with much more difficulty than appeared at first sight. The relation of husband and wife was one of a peculiar character, demanding the most perfect confidence between the two parties. He was not prepared, therefore, to lay down the doctrine that a wife, acting in concert with her husband, was to be answerable in every case in which the criminal law made the husband liable. He was not prepared, in the first place, to accept the proposition that the wife was to be answerable for complicity or mere knowledge—for that degree of guilt which was created in law by a person becoming cognizant of, or in some indirect manner connected with, some crime. He regarded punishment for that particular offence in the case of a wife towards her husband as unjustifiable—for was the wife to become a spy upon, and informer against, her husband? If that were to be so, they would lay down a doctrine incomparably more dangerous than the occasional escape of a criminal under the doctrine of presumption. In the second place, he was not prepared to have the wife punished in crimes of an extremely light or trivial description, such as petty larceny, under circumstances which, although leading in the case of any other two persons to a fair inference of combination in active guilt, were in this peculiar relation consistent with merely passive conduct on the woman's part. He strongly suspected that this doctrine of presumption, as it existed in our law, was the invention of wise Judges, who, finding that public feeling in the cases he had mentioned would revolt against the punishment of the wife, devised this ingenious subtlety as a ground of distinction to save her. He doubted very much whether it was clear that the exemption from the presumption was confined to cases of murder and high treason. He should wish to see it decided by an appellate tribunal whether there were not crimes accompanied by great violence, as well as murder or high treason, outside of the doctrine, and whether the doctrine was not confined in its original application to cases in which our own feelings would tell us that it would not be expedient to enforce the law to the utmost. The doctrine was, he believed, a thousand years old, and after the repeated revisions of our criminal law, which had been made without its operation having been referred to by Royal Commissions or great legal writers as a grievance, he was of opinion the House ought to pause before proceeding to act on a single instance in which a jury may have happened to go wrong. The sanction of judicial authority, or the recommendations of a Commission appointed to investigate the subject, were, he contended, always a preliminary to such changes as that proposed, and he doubted very much, if the law were altered, when a line of distinction came to be drawn—and some distinction must be drawn between cases of husband and wife and other persons—if it would be a better one than that which had existed for so long a period.

Mr. T. CHAMBERS said, he entirely concurred in what had fallen from the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down (Dr. Ball). The hon. and learned Gentleman who had introduced the subject (Mr. Osborne Morgan) had not laid the smallest foundation for an alteration of the law. In what did the present case consist? In a wrong verdict against the right law as it had been laid down by the learned Recorder; and in spite of conclusive facts. Now, a wrong verdict could not be remedied by any alteration in the law. He did not think, he might add, that it was in general wise to censure the acts of juries. His experience of those tribunals was that they did not go astray in a larger proportion of instances than other tribunals, and, on the whole, they administered the law well. His hon. and learned Friend had founded his argument against the law on a ridiculous presumption; the foundation of the presumption really being that the law of England regarded with favour and approval the affectionate obedience of the wife to her husband, and recognized the marital control which, as a consequence, he was enabled to exercise as excusing her from the consequences of minor offences. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that the presumption went to the extent of including highway robbery. He (Mr. T. Chambers), on the contrary, must maintain that it did not extend to crimes of violence like that, in which the wife took an active part; and if the hon. and learned Gentleman would look carefully into the passage from *Blackstone* which he had quoted, he would find that the crime of murder was there given as an illustration, and by no means as an exhaustive description, of the cases to which the presumption did not apply. In his opinion the presumption had, on the whole, worked beneficially; and he hoped that while so many legal reforms of a more pressing character were needed, the Attorney General would not trouble himself about this matter. It could afford to wait. Even if the law were to be altered to-morrow, it would not be very easy to determine how the alteration was to be made. The truth was that a jury acting under the influence of sentiment and feeling might give a wrong verdict in any case.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said, he should not be deterred by the denunciations of the hon. and learned Member for Devonport (Mr. M. Chambers) with respect to the conduct of some noble Lords who had ventured to canvass the verdict in question, from following their example. It appeared to him that, although, as a general rule, the House of Commons ought to be very careful how it canvassed the verdicts of juries, yet that when great public interests were involved, and when there was reason to suppose there had been a miscarriage of justice, the matter was one which it was fully within the province of the House to discuss with a view to see whether the law stood in need of alteration. He quite concurred with the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. T. Chambers) that the fact that a wrong verdict had been given did not furnish a sufficient reason why the law should be altered. The case, however, which had been put by the hon. and learned Gentleman who brought forward the subject was not one of a wrong verdict, but of a wrong verdict in consequence of a wrong legal presumption, and he could not help thinking that if there had been no such presumption there might have been no such verdict. The evidence, so far as he was enabled to form a judgment, went to show that the woman, in the present instance, had taken an active part in the robbery. And if the verdict was wrong, why was it wrong? Was it not, in all probability, because of the presumption of law? "But," said the Common Serjeant, "the presumption of law does not apply to cases of violence"—but in saying this he was going, he thought, too far; for, although he was aware that that doctrine was laid down in some text-books, yet, if he was not mistaken, a different doctrine was laid down in others. The learned Recorder, at all events, had not, he believed, taken that view; for, so far as he could learn, he had put it to the jury that there was such a presumption, although he also put it to them that the presumption was rebutted by facts of the case, which showed that the woman was a free agent. He understood, further, that if a letter written by her had found its way to the jury it would have placed the matter beyond all question. He could not doubt, he might add, that the verdict was one which the learned Recorder could not approve, and that it was brought about in a great measure by the presumption of law. That led him to inquire, whether the presumption was or was not well-founded? He had no doubt it was originally based on those fundamental notions of justice which must more or less enter in the codes of all civilized nations. That principle of law was that a person was not answerable criminally for an act committed under a compulsion which he was unable to resist. But our law did not stop there. It laid down a presumption with respect to a particular class of felonies only, where the husband and wife were together, and there the law assumed—whether the fact was so or not—that the wife must be under the husband's compulsion—at any rate, until strict proof was given that she was not. But he very much doubted whether this legal presumption, even if originally advantageous, was now tenable. The reason for the presumption was given by Sir Robert Brooke, who, writing in the time of Elizabeth, in the curious mixture of Norman French and Latin to be found in the law books of that day, said—

> "Ratio videtur eo que le ley entend que la feme ne osa contradire son baron."

If it were true that in the days of Elizabeth no wife ever ventured to contradict her husband, the times were greatly changed. Now it would be easy to point to husbands who did not dare to contradict their wives. *Blackstone* stated this to be a very ancient presumption of our law, for he traced it back to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors—or even further back, to those Northern nations where the same rule applied both to wives and to slaves. Probably the condition of these two classes was not then very different; and in those times the presumption might have been a fair one; but it was entirely inapplicable to the present time, when the position of women had been altogether altered, and women unquestionably thought for themselves, The ladies who advocated women's rights would probably repudiate immunity from punishment on the degrading plea that they had no wills of their own. This was a matter which must be considered. In his view there was no better ground for the presumption in the case of husband and wife than in the case of father and child, or master and servant. The case was well illustrated by an incident in a tale of a great novelist. When Oliver Twist fell into the hands of burglars who forced him to go through a small aperture into the house they were going to rob, that was a case of coercion —he did not act of his own free will, and by the law of all civilized nations he was not guilty. Instead, therefore, of establishing an arbitrary presumption in one particular case, the better plan would probably be to put to the jury in all cases the question, was the prisoner a free agent or entirely overpowered by the will of another? Upon the answer to this question depended the guilt or innocence of the accused, according to the general maxim of the English law—*actus non facit reum, nisi mens sit rea.* So in the cases where husband and wife were concerned, the jury should say whether the wife was a free agent, and no presumption of law should arise. He could not appreciate the reasons given for holding a wife not responsible in great cases, but responsible in small ones. Such exceptions of themselves made the law untenable. Why was a wife not answerable in cases of felony and yet answerable in cases of treason? Why was she excused upon a charge of misdemeanour but not upon one of a more serious nature? These were his views on the question, which should have his serious consideration. With this assurance he hoped his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Osborne Morgan) would be satisfied. He did not speak on behalf of the Government; but, on the whole, it appeared to him that his hon. and learned Friend had established the unreasonableness of the existing presumption in our law.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) *Resolved,* That a sum, not exceeding £70,000, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, towards defraying the Charge of the Post Office Telegraph Service, to the 31st day of March 1872.

(2.) £1,786,100, on account of Civil Services.

Mr. DILLWYN said, he thought the plan pursued by the Government was not one likely to lead to a fair consideration of the Civil Service Estimates. He would have been better pleased if the Vote on Account had been taken for three months instead of for two months, because at the end of a couple of months the Government would, in all probability, be compelled to ask for another Vote on Account, and thus the consideration of the Estimates would be postponed until late in July.

Mr. CANDLISH concurred in what had fallen from his hon. Friend the Member for Swansea, and hoped the Government would so arrange the Business of the House as to afford hon. Members an opportunity of amply and honestly criticizing Votes in Supply. Every year there appeared new items under different heads. Before entering upon any expenditure for new works he thought an opportunity ought to be given of discussing them properly.

Mr. HERMON said, there were some sums in the Civil Service Estimates he should like to see struck out, and there were others he desired to see considerably reduced. There was an item in these Estimates for Royal Palaces, and he thought that the way in which the Royal Palaces were kept up contrasted unfavourably with the manner in which similar establishments were maintained on the Continent. An extraordinary expense was incurred for Parliamentary Papers, and he believed it would be a good plan if a Member, when he moved for an unopposed Return, was told what it would cost. A great many of these Papers were thrown into the waste paper basket, and during the last fortnight he had received two circulars from dealers, offering to purchase all the Blue Books he did not wish to keep. Now he looked upon all these Papers as public property, and he should no more think of selling them than of stealing a hat. He suggested that after the Blue Books had been used by Members, they should be collected and sold by some officer, and the proceeds put to the credit of the House. There were two items which he considered rather curious. One of them was £45,034 for offices for the House of Lords, and the other £50,000 for offices for the House of Commons. He could not think that anything like these two sums had been expended for the purposes specified.

MR. RYLANDS said, that last year the Prime Minister held out the expectation that an opportunity would be afforded for considering the Civil Service Estimates at an early period. He thought that they ought not to be driven into a corner in discussing these Estimates at a late period of the Session.

MR. ALDERMAN LUSK was sorry to say that, owing to the enormous amount of talk in which many Members indulged, the real Business of the House was generally left till near the end of the Session, when it was got through in anything but a satisfactory way. He believed the Government did as well as they could; but he had often felt that when a Member got up to oppose an Estimate he appeared to be regarded as a "bore." It was almost impossible under the present system to do one's duty effectually in checking the public expenditure. He suggested that a more satisfactory mode of dealing with the Estimates than that now adopted would be to refer each branch of them to say a Committee of 50 Gentlemen sitting upstairs. At present they knew nothing of what was done, and they were afterwards ashamed to find from the public papers that money had got into the wrong hands. He believed the Government were perfectly honest, and rather than continue the present most unsatisfactory system he would be almost inclined to leave the whole matter to them. He hoped that some better scheme would be suggested.

MR. WHITWELL complained of the charges for the Charity Commission, the Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commissions and the Inclosure and Drainage Expenses, which he thought ought to be paid by those who derived benefit from them.

MR. WHALLEY said, he thought the present mode of discussing the Estimates utterly ludicrous and futile, and he hoped his hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury (Mr. Alderman Lusk) would lend the weight of his high character and special knowledge to mature a better scheme.

MR. HERMON suggested that the Government should always indicate the Votes they intended to take, instead of merely putting Supply in the Notice Paper; and when the reduction of a Vote was proposed it should either be reduced or a Division be taken upon it.

MR. BAXTER said, it was absolutely necessary, at present, to take Votes on Account. Formerly, balances were allowed to accumulate in the Treasury; but now they were paid into the Exchequer, and therefore the Government had to take Votes on Account. It was in deference to the opinion of the House that the Government had asked for only two months on account. He must take exception to the recommendation of the hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. Alderman Lusk) that the Estimates should be sent to be examined by a Committee upstairs. He had served on many Select Committees, and his experience was that they were much more likely to add to the expenditure than to diminish it. The only plan was to put the best men on the Treasury Bench, and then to criticize the Estimates when they were produced. The reason why hon. Members who took an interest in the subject were driven into a corner at the end of the Session was that so much time was wasted in long speeches at the beginning of the Session. [*A laugh.*] Was any real business ever done before Easter? The Government were expected to introduce the more important measures, and even to pass some of them a second time; but they had the greatest difficulty in getting even one or two of the first Votes for the Army and Navy before Easter. The consequence was that the Civil Service Estimates were obliged to be postponed to the dog days. There were no Votes for any new undertakings in the Estimate now before the House, and he would look through the items during the holidays and take care that in the case of new works the House should have an opportunity of considering them. He trusted that the House would weigh what had been said by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hermon) as to the expenditure for printing Returns. Many were moved for by hon. Members on the receipt of a letter from some constituent, and they were voted without any sufficient check. He wished some Member would do what he used to do as an independent Member, and say that, although the Return was not opposed by the Treasury Bench, he, as a private Member, opposed it on the ground of economy. Certain he was that there was an enormous and unnecessary expenditure in the printing and stationery of the Houses of Parliament, and especially in printing Parliamentary Returns.

Mr. G. BENTINCK said, the hon. Gentleman, in defending the Government, had practically pronounced their condemnation, by admitting that the Estimates could not be brought on before Easter because the Government were anxious to get some of their Bills read a second time. It was on that very ground that he (Mr. Bentinck) condemned their conduct. The first duty of the Government was to pass the Estimates, and when they had done that they could proceed with their other business. The result of the present practice was that the Estimates were deferred to the dog days. How was it that hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, who were constantly making magnificent speeches on economy when before their constituents, turned all their out-of-door speeches into a farce when they got into the House of Commons by their connivance at this mode of conducting the business of the country? No doubt the Government were quite right in the course they adopted, if they could humbug the House into submitting to it. If he were in the Government he should do very much the same thing. But why was it that the House did submit to it? Why did hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway allow the Estimates to be passed *sub silentio* in the dog days? Those hon. Gentlemen had no control over the Estimates, and their whole position was a false one. Indeed, he ventured to regard them in this matter as imposters. This way of doing business was a great injustice to the taxpayers. And why was this Vote of £1,786,100, with all its five hundred details, asked for in one lump sum without any time being afforded for inquiry into it? It really seemed that the professions of the economists below the Gangway were mere hustings "buncombe," and that those Gentlemen were perfectly indifferent to the expenditure. It was proposed to Vote Estimates in a Committee of 30 Members, not one of whom was prepared to resist any item. Was that creditable? Was it not humbugging the country and making a joke of the whole thing? It was the duty of the Government to deal with the resources of the country, and to submit their intentions with respect to them, and all other measures ought to be deferred until the Estimates had been disposed of. If the House meant to have any control over the Estimates, it ought to insist upon their being submitted at the beginning of the Session, and it ought to prevent the Government introducing other measures until the Estimates were either accepted or rejected. He objected to the practice of asking for Votes on Account, and he wished to know from the Chairman when would be the proper time for commenting on any item in the enormous Vote before the House?

The CHAIRMAN said, that when a particular Vote was submitted to the Committee from the Chair, that was the time to object to any item in the Vote.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, the matter was not so entirely in the hands of the Government as the hon. Member seemed to think. When Estimates were put upon the Paper early in the Session, the privilege of interposing Motions was one which hon. Members availed themselves of very liberally. The Government had only a certain number of nights before Easter on which they could put Estimates down, and it was always problematical whether they could get a Vote. If they did not get Votes on such a night, the night was lost for Government Business; and, under these circumstances, to charge them with not making progress with the Estimates was like expecting them to make bricks without straw. What was wanted was an arrangement by which the Government should have the power of going into Committee of Supply at once. If the power were given, hon. Gentlemen might then abuse the Government as much as they pleased if the Estimates were not proceeded with. He did not think that the hon. Member could have devoted much time to the consideration of the practice of taking Votes on Account, or he would have remembered that this was the last day of the financial year, and as all the unexpended balances must be paid back to the Exchequer unless this Vote was passed the Departments would have no money to go on with. An alteration in the law to this effect was made in 1866; and previous to that time Departments were at liberty to avail themselves of the unexpended sums in their hands until Parliament voted Supplies. Business would not be expedited by discussing items when a Vote was taken on account, seeing that they must be discussed when each Vote was passed, so that to discuss them now would be to do the work twice over. To strike anything off the Vote on Account would leave the Government with so much less to spend, and perhaps compel them to come for another. He left hon. Members below the Gangway to defend themselves. It was not the fault of the Government, but the consequence of the practice of the House, that these matters could not be brought forward at an earlier period.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, that last Session he gave Notice of his intention this Session to call attention to the practice of taking Votes on Account, which had sprung up and grown largely since the passing of the Act which prohibited the use of unexpended balances. The practice had been resorted to week after week and month after month, until the Civil Service Estimates were voted without being considered at all; and this was what he objected to rather than to the necessary taking of a Vote on Account before the Easter holidays. Formerly, the consideration of the Civil Service Estimates formed part of the practical work of the Session, and there were no Estimates that required more carefully watching on the part of a nation that could not afford luxuries. It was one thing to discuss the Civil Service Estimates soon after they were presented, and quite another to discuss them when all the money had been voted on account, which was as useless as the debate by which Thursday night was wasted. It was a growing practice to put off these Estimates to the end of the Session, in the meantime taking Votes on Account; he hoped the House would set its face against the practice; and indeed the next time they were asked for a Vote on Account he should propose that they discuss the Estimates. The Civil Service Estimates were laid on the Table two days ago. In 1868 they were on the Table by the 20th of February; and in 1867, by the 13th of February; and in 1863, by the 23rd of February. He hoped they would in future be produced in time to allow of their discussion.

MR. BAXTER said, it was true that prior to 1867-8 the Civil Service Estimates were delivered earlier in the Session; but since then there had been a re-organization of the Estimates, whereby fuller information was given to the House. This, of course, increased the amount of labour and care necessary to be bestowed on their preparation, and consequently there was some delay in presenting them to Parliament. A gradual improvement was being effected in this respect. In 1868-9, the first year after the passing of the Exchequer and Audit Act, the delivery of the Estimates was on the 2nd of April; in 1869-70, it was on the 12th of April; in 1870-1, it was on the 7th of April; and in the present year it was on the 29th of March. The Government had done all they could to get the Civil Service Estimates presented to Parliament at the earliest possible period. It was no doubt true that the Estimates could not be discussed in July, when the majority of hon. Members had left for the country; but if the interval between Easter and Whitsuntide was to be devoted entirely to long discussions on important measures, what could the Government do? If they introduced the Estimates in April or May, neither Estimates nor measures would be considered, but the time of the House would be wasted in discussions on abstract propositions brought forward on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair. The doctrine advanced by the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. G. Bentinck) was totally subversive of constitutional law, because, as was well known, it was in the discretion of Her Majesty's Government to prorogue Parliament as soon as the Estimates had been voted.

MR. BOWRING objected to the system of passing Votes on Account, and remarked that these Civil Service Estimates could not be practically discussed till the month of July. In reference to the difficulty pointed out by the Secretary to the Treasury, he would call attention to the fact that the Report of the Select Committee on Public Business—of which he was a member—which had just been laid upon the Table, recommended that Parliament should be called together in the month of November, thus enabling the Estimates to be discussed at a more seasonable period. He trusted that when the proper time arrived, that recommendation would receive the careful consideration of the House.

Mr. G. BENTINCK admired the ingenuity of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had entirely lost sight of his suggestion that the Estimates should take precedence of all other Government measures. Until the House knew what the income of the country was, and what the Government proposed to expend, they were working in the dark. How it could be unconstitutional to submit the Estimates to the House early in the Session he was at a loss to understand. He should certainly join with the hon. Member for South-west Lancashire (Mr. Cross) in voting against any Votes on Account which might be proposed later in the Session.

Mr. CANDLISH said, he was surprised the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. G. Bentinck) had not concluded with a Motion. The hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hermon) had complained of the number of needless Returns moved for, and of the increase of the Estimates resulting therefrom. In 1869, a Return was moved for of the cost of all the Returns presented in 1867-8. It appeared that in that year 256 Returns were granted. One Return cost between £600 and £700; another between £400 and £500; and the whole cost of printing and stationery was £4,786. Now, considering that our annual expenditure was £70,000,000, no portion of it, in his judgment, was laid out to better purpose than this.

Mr. HERMON said, that one Return alone, in reference to the Irish Land Bill, cost £5,000.

Mr. CANDLISH replied that that was not included in the Return he had just referred to. He trusted there would never be an unwillingness on the part of Members of that House to procure trustworthy information.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he had understood the Secretary to the Treasury to say that the Estimates could not be brought forward in the early part of the Session on account of the long speeches which were made by the independent Members. Now, he held that the independence of the House was irrespective of party. Though it was stated last night that there were no independent Members on his side of the House, the statement was made by a young Member, who, with greater experience, would find that independence of character had not ceased to exist, even on the Opposition Benches. He was glad to see the Prime Minister in his place, because a supporter of the Government, who wrote under the signature of "A Silent Member," had stated that the right hon. Gentleman's speeches, last Session, compressed into the smallest space, would reach from the bottom of the Monument to the top, and back again. He (Mr. Bentinck) did not think, therefore, the Secretary to the Treasury was justified in attributing long speeches to the Members below either Gangway. The real cause of the long speeches during the last two Sessions was that the Government had never been decided in its policy. Last year, after the Irish question, the Government found it necessary to bring in a Coercion Bill, and before Easter a number of nights were occupied with the discussion. This Session, not only did the same Irish question disturb the House again, but a second Coercion Bill was brought in under another name. Some right hon. Gentlemen who sat on the Treasury Bench had also discovered it to be necessary to reverse the whole policy of this country with respect to the Army and Navy, and to propose the largest Estimates that had been submitted since the Battle of Waterloo. When, therefore, so much time was consumed with Government Business had the Secretary to the Treasury, who was a party to the vacillating policy of the Government, any right to make a charge against the independent Members, when the fact was that he and his Colleagues had been at fault? [Mr. Gladstone: Hear, hear!] He was glad to find that the light of reason could come home to one right hon. Gentleman. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the Estimates were not brought forward at an earlier period owing to the business of the House being encumbered by the Motions which were made in going into Committee of Supply; but he (Mr. Bentinck) hoped to show to the right hon. Gentleman and the House, from the Returns for which he had moved, that, during the last two Sessions, more time had been taken from the independent Members, owing to the early date at which the Government commenced the Morning Sittings, than had been occupied by all such Motions of independent Members. On that point the right hon. Gentleman was subject to serious and painful delusions, and the sooner he got rid of such a bugbear the better. Having thus vindicated the independent Members against the complaints from the Government benches, he hoped there would be no repetition of the remark which was made by an hon. Member last night.

Mr. Alderman LUSK, notwithstanding what had been said, regarded the present system of going through the Estimates as a sham, for hon. Members had no opportunity at midnight in the summer time, when Estimates are usually on for discussion, of offering such remarks as they would otherwise be disposed to make. Before Easter much time was consumed by hon. Members making speeches about foreign affairs and other matters with which they had little or nothing to do. He had previously suggested that the Estimates should be referred to a Committee for audit.

Mr. G. BENTINCK said, he had a question to put to the First Commissioner of Works. He was at a loss to understand, and should like to know, why the benches above the gangway were fitted up better than, and differently from, those below the gangway? There had been some discussion about the merits of hon. Members who occupied the various parts of the House; but he could not admit that the hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who sat above the gangway had such transcendent merits as to justify the practice.

Mr. AYRTON said, that perhaps the difference between the seats arose originally from the fact that the Members of the Government were obliged to stay in the House a much longer time than private Members. He could not, at that moment, say as much for the front Opposition bench; but what they claimed for themselves they naturally conceded to their opponents. In regard to the rest of the House, he must say, judging from the numerous speeches they had heard that night from the hon. Gentleman, that he thought their getting into Supply would be greatly facilitated by making all the seats so comfortable that no one would desire to leave them.

Mr. G. BENTINCK said, he was not satisfied with the answer of the right hon. Gentleman. Those who sat on the Treasury bench were well paid for sitting there; whereas private Members sat on the other benches at their own expense, and for their country's good, and were, therefore, entitled to at least equal accommodation. The case was one of sheer necessity.

Mr. GLADSTONE observed, that the hon. Gentleman was not anxious for the comfort of the Members at large, but confined his sympathy to those Members who sat on the two front benches below the gangway, one of which he himself graced and adorned. The argument he had used in favour of those two benches was applicable to the other 16 benches which he had completely forgotten. He attributed to the hon. Gentleman the intention of gradually assimilating the condition of the incorrupt front benches below the gangway to that of the corrupt Treasury bench, and observed that the hon. Gentleman should throw aside his Sybaritish vices, and cultivate simplicity of manners and hardship in the discharge of his public duties.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS asked whether the Committee did not think that it would be well now to apply itself to the business before them?

Mr. G. BENTINCK again insisted that the indulgence enjoyed by the occupants of the two front benches above the gangway should be extended to the two front benches below the gangway.

(2.) *Resolved,* That a sum, not exceeding £1,786,100, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services, to the 31st day of March 1872: viz.

Class I.

Great Britain :—	£
Royal Palaces	8,000
Royal Parks	16,000
Public Buildings	22,000
Furniture of Public Offices	2,500
Westminster Palace, Acquisition of Land	13,000
Houses of Parliament	5,000
New Home and Colonial Offices ...	13,000
Chapter House, Westminster ...	250
Sheriff Court Houses, Scotland ...	2,500
National Gallery Enlargement ...	4,500
Glasgow University	3,000
Industrial Museum, Edinburgh ...	2,000
Burlington House	6,500
Post Office and Inland Revenue Buildings	15,000
British Museum Buildings	800
County Courts	8,000

Science and Art Department ...	£9,000
Surveys of the United Kingdom ...	21,500
Harbours of Refuge	11,500
Portland Harbour	100
Metropolitan Fire Brigade	1,500
Rates on Government Property ...	6,000
Wellington Monument	650
Natural History Museum	6,500

Ireland :—

Public Buildings	20,000
Ulster Canal	850

Abroad :—

Lighthouses Abroad	3,000
Embassy Houses: Paris and Madrid ...	200
Embassy Houses and Consular Buildings, Constantinople, China, Japan, and Tehran	8,000

Class II.

England :—

House of Lords, Offices	7,500
House of Commons, Offices	8,000
Treasury and Subordinate Departments	9,000
Home Office and Subordinate Departments	14,500
Foreign Office	10,500
Colonial Office	5,000
Privy Council Office and Subordinate Departments	9,000
Board of Trade and Subordinate Departments	16,000
Privy Seal Office	450
Charity Commission	3,000
Civil Service Commission	2,500
Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission	3,000
Inclosure and Drainage Acts Expenses	1,500
Exchequer and Audit Department ...	6,000
General Register Office	90,000
Lunacy Commission	2,500
Mint	6,000
National Debt Office	3,500
Patent Office	5,500
Paymaster General's Office	3,500
Poor Law Commission	37,000
Public Record Office	3,500
Public Works Loan Commission ...	700
Registrars of Friendly Societies ...	350
Stationery Office and Printing ...	51,000
Woods, Forests, &c., Office of ...	4,000
Works and Public Buildings, Office of...	6,000
Secret Service	4,000

Scotland :—

Exchequer and other Offices	950
Fishery Board	2,000
General Register Office	5,000
Lunacy Commission	1,000
Poor Law Commission	3,000

Ireland :—

Lord Lieutenant's Household ...	1,000
Chief Secretary's Office	4,000
Boundary Survey	50
Charitable Donations and Bequests Office	350
General Register Office	6,000
Poor Law Commission	17,000
Public Record Office	700
Public Works Office	4,500

Class III.

England :—	£
Law Charges	7,000
Criminal Prosecutions	28,000
Court of Chancery	29,000
Common Law Courts	10,000
Court of Bankruptcy	10,000
County Courts	65,000
Probate Court	15,000
Admiralty Court Registry	2,000
Land Registry Office	900
Police Courts, London and Sheerness ...	3,000
Metropolitan Police	50,000
County and Borough Police, Great Britain	12,000
Government Prisons, England, and Transportation and Convict Establishments in the Colonies	70,000
County Prisons and Reformatories, Great Britain	50,000
Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum ...	5,500
Miscellaneous Legal Charges ...	3,000

Scotland :—

Criminal Proceedings	12,000
Courts of Law and Justice	9,000
Register House Departments ...	5,000
Prisons	4,000

Ireland :—

Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions	12,000
Court of Chancery	7,000
Common Law Courts	4,500
Court of Bankruptcy and Insolvency ...	1,400
Landed Estates Court	2,000
Probate Court	1,900
Admiralty Court Registry	350
Registry of Deeds	2,500
Registry of Judgments	500
Dublin Metropolitan Police	16,000
Constabulary	150,000
Government Prisons and Reformatories	7,500
County Prisons	8,500
Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum ...	900
Four Courts Marshalsea Prison ...	400
Miscellaneous Legal Charges ...	1,400

Class IV.

Great Britain :—

Public Education	235,000
Science and Art Department ...	38,000
British Museum	16,000
National Gallery	1,000
National Portrait Gallery	350
Learned Societies	2,000
University of London	1,600
Endowed Schools Commission ...	2,400
Universities, &c., in Scotland ...	3,000
Board of Manufactures, Scotland ...	350

Ireland :—

Public Education	100,000
Commissioners of Education (Endowed Schools)	100
National Gallery	350
Royal Irish Academy	250
Queen's University	600
Queen's Colleges	700

Class V.

Diplomatic Services	30,000
Consular Services	40,000
Colonies, Grants in Aid	8,000

Orange River Territory and St. Helena	£650
Slave Trade, Commissions for Suppression of	300
Tonnage Bounties, &c.	3,000
Emigration	1,600
Coolie Emigration	150
Treasury Chest	1,600
Class VI.	
Superannuation and Retired Allowances	90,000
Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.	7,000
Relief of Distressed British Seamen ...	5,500
Hospitals and Infirmaries, Ireland ...	3,000
Miscellaneous Charitable Allowances, &c. Great Britain	1,000
Miscellaneous Charitable Allowances, &c. Ireland	1,000
Class VII.	
Temporary Commissions	6,000
Local Dues on Shipping	7,500
Flax Cultivation, Ireland	250
Miscellaneous Expenses	700
Total	£1,786,100

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next;

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

PRAYER BOOK (TABLES OF LESSONS) BILL—[Bill 78.]

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. BRUCE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, remarked that it was understood by a number of hon. Members who had left the House that the discussion upon the measure would be taken upon going into Committee upon the Bill, and, therefore, he should content himself with moving the second reading of the Bill.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday*, 20th April.

BANK HOLIDAYS BILL—[Bill 88.]

(*Sir John Lubbock, Sir David Salomons, Mr Barnett, Mr. Rathbone.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Mr. DALGLISH moved that the Bill be re-committed, in order that words might be inserted to exclude Scotland from the operation of the measure.

Order *discharged.*

Bill *re-committed.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. DALGLISH moved, in Clause 3, line 5, leave out "the United Kingdom," and insert "England and Ireland."

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, that in Scotland the bank clerks already enjoyed nine holidays, while those in London only had Good Friday and Christmas Day, when the latter did not happen to fall on a Sunday, in which case they only had one holiday in the year. It was perfectly reasonable that the bank clerks in London should have the three additional holidays proposed to be given them by the Bill.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS said, he had placed on the Notice Paper the following clause, which he had intended to move should be added to the Bill, namely—

"4. In all cases where any money shall be payable upon any day made a Bank Holiday under or by virtue of this Act, the payment or tender of such money upon the next business day following such day shall be sufficient, and shall be equivalent for all purposes to a payment or tender upon such day;"

but upon reflection he found that his clause would not work at all. The 3rd clause said that Her Majesty might declare a particular day a bank holiday in a particular place, say London, Bristol, or Leeds; but as there was no language by which they could localize the debt in the same way as they could localize the holiday, he confessed himself unable to deal with the difficulty thus created. He did not therefore propose to move the clause.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed.*

TRIBUNALS OF COMMERCE.

Select Committee *appointed,* "to inquire into the expediency of establishing Tribunals of Commerce, or of otherwise improving the administration of justice in causes relating to commercial disputes in England."—(*Mr. Whitwell.*)

And, on May 1, Committee *nominated* as follows:—Mr. Ayrton, Lord Frederick Cavendish, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Morley, Mr. Birley, Mr. Akroyd, Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. Hick, Mr. Alexander Brown, Mr. Mellor, Mr. Seely, junior, Mr. Henry Feilden, Mr. Monk, Mr. Gourley, and Mr. Whitwell:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

CHARTERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. William Edward Forster, Bill to amend the Law respecting the granting of Charters in certain cases, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. William Edward Forster and Mr. Solicitor General.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 97.]

House adjourned at Eleven o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 3rd *April,* 1871.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [March 31] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Resolutions in Committee*—Exciseable Liquors (Licensing).

Resolution in Committee—Ordered—First Reading—Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation * [101].

Ordered—Rating and Local Government, *debate adjourned;* Local Taxation, *debate adjourned.*

Ordered—First Reading—Representation of the People Acts Amendment * [98]; Charity Commissioners * [99]; Bath City Prison * [100].

Second Reading—Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal) [45].

Third Reading—Marine Mutiny *, and *passed.*

SALE OF DAMAGED TEA AND COFFEE.

QUESTION.

Sir JAMES LAWRENCE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether tea or coffee damaged by sea or bilge water is allowed to be taken out of bond for kiln-drying and other purposes, and afterwards returned to bond to be sold as sound tea or coffee; whether the quantity of damaged tea so treated has not largely increased since the reduction of the Duty in June 1865; and, whether also it is true that no account is kept of such operations, (as although in cases of wreck) the quantity is sometimes very large?

Mr. BAXTER: Tea and coffee which accidentally on the voyage have absorbed sea or bilge water are allowed by law to be taken out of bond for the purpose of being kiln-dried, for the duty is chargeable on the weight of the tea and coffee, not on that of the water. These goods when dried are returned to warehouse and delivered thence as ordinary goods on payment of the duty. The Crown has no power to interfere with the conditions of sale. The quantity of tea so treated has not increased since the reduction of the duty in June, 1865. It is believed that there is not a single instance of tea having been so delivered to be kiln-dried since 1865. Proper accounts of the weights of goods are taken both at delivery from and at the return to the bonded warehouses; but no statistical or collective account or record of number and dates of such operations is kept. It would, therefore, be necessary to search the registers carefully in order to give any Return to Parliament—a task involving great labour and expense.

COURT OF CHANCERY—COMMITTAL OF PERSONS OF UNSOUND MIND.

QUESTION.

Mr. J. LOWTHER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the committal to York Castle on the 16th of March, for contempt of the Court of Chancery, of Mr. John Murgatroyd, a person of unsound mind; and, whether it is the case that in an Official Report addressed to the Lord Chancellor it is stated that the parties at whose instance the committal was ordered, were well aware of Mr. Murgatroyd's state of mind; and, if so, what steps it is the intention of the Government to take upon the subject, with a view to provide against the recurrence of such proceedings?

Mr. BRUCE said, in reply, that he had communicated with the Lord Chancellor respecting this case, and was informed that the Governor of York Castle had written a private letter to the noble and learned Lord to state that Mr. John Murgatroyd, who had been imprisoned for contempt of the Court of Chancery in omitting to discharge his duties as an executor, was a person of unsound mind. The solicitors who obtained the order for the committal were immediately communicated with, and the result was that, at their instance, the prisoner was discharged. They affirmed that, when they applied for the order, they had no knowledge that Mr. Murgatroyd was of unsound mind.

ARMY — REGULATION BILL — PROMOTION AND RETIREMENT.—QUESTION.

Lord ELCHO asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the intention of the Government to lay upon the

Table of the House a Statement setting forth the alterations they propose to make in the Royal Warrant concerning promotion, and the whole of their scheme for the promotion and retirement of Officers, together with an Estimate of its probable or possible cost, and also the plan for the amalgamation of the Regular and Reserve Forces; and, if so, when?

MR. CARDWELL said, he was not prepared at present to lay on the Table a statement setting forth the alterations the Government proposed to make concerning promotion and retirement of officers in the Army, further than he had already announced to the House.

NAVY—HARBOURS AND COAST DEFENCES.—QUESTION.

SIR JAMES ELPHINSTONE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he proposes, before he commits the Country to a large expenditure for harbours and coast defences, to submit the type of ships which he intends shall form that force, to the consideration of the Committee now sitting on Ironclad Ships; or to obtain their opinion as to the type of vessel or vessels they consider to be the best suited for that purpose?

MR. GOSCHEN, in reply, said, the form of the Question was likely to convey the erroneous impression that the Government was about to put the country to a large expense for harbour and coast defence. They had no such intention. The construction of gunboats would be proceeded with as rapidly as possible; but the type of those gunboats had not been referred to the Committee on iron-clad ships. As regarded the larger class of ships, such as the *Cyclops*, there was no intention, on the part of the Government, to lay down new ships of that class in the present financial year.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA.
QUESTION.

COLONEL BERESFORD asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been called to a recent number of the "West African Times," in which it is alleged that his statement with regard to the defraying from Imperial Funds of the expenses of the Steamer on the West African Coast is incorrect, and that the burden is actually borne by Colonial Revenues?

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN, in reply, said, his attention had been called to the newspaper in question, which was good enough to acquit him of "wilful misrepresentation," but accused him of being "ignorant and ill-informed," and of having been guilty of a "looseness of statement," which was "disgraceful." The facts were these—The Select Committee of 1865 recommended that the West African Settlements should be concentrated under one Governor at Sierra Leone, and that steam communication should be provided. As the whole arrangement was one by which considerable saving to Imperial Funds was effected, it was thought right that the Imperial Exchequer should bear the cost of the provision and maintenance of the steamer. This was accordingly done; and after a steamer had been provided, a sum of £5,000 per annum had been voted for its maintenance, which would be found in Class 5, Vote 3, of the Estimates of the present year. If the cost exceeded £5,000, no doubt the Colony would be charged with the excess; but there was no reason to expect that this would be the case. This was his statement, and it was entirely accurate. It was quite true, as stated by *The West African Times*, that the sum of £5,000 appeared in the Sierra Leone Estimates of the present year under the head of "Colonial steamer;" so did another item immediately preceding, "Grant for Governor's salary, £3,500;" but these both appeared not under the head of expenditure, but of revenue, not as sums paid from, but received by, the Colonial Exchequer, and the exercise of a little ordinary intelligence would have enabled anyone to perceive that these entries related to the precise sums mentioned in our home Estimates, and received from the Imperial Exchequer in aid of the Colony. He hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman and the House would be satisfied that the looseness of statement had not been on his (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen's) side.

POST OFFICE—SALARIES—THE TELEGRAPH SERVICE.—QUESTION.

MR. CAMPBELL asked the Postmaster General, Whether any extra payments have been made, or are intended to be made, to the officials of the Post Office, in consideration of the additional work they have had to perform since the Department assumed the management of the telegraph system; what is the amount of such payments; and, whether that amount is included in the estimate of £420,000 for the Post Office Telegraph Service, for which a Vote is proposed to be taken this year?

Mr. MONSELL said, in reply, that the salaries of many of the officers of the Post Office had been increased, and others would be increased, on account of the additional labour imposed upon them by the telegraphic service. It was believed that the sum of £420,000 a-year included in the Estimates would be sufficient to defray the expense of such increase.

METROPOLIS—THAMES EMBANKMENT. QUESTION.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If it is true that arrangements are in progress for the erection of a wall to enclose the space on the Embankment in front of and adjoining Crown land; and what is the object for which that wall is to be erected?

Mr. BAXTER: It is true that arrangements are in progress for the erection of a wall to enclose the space referred to by the hon. Member. The wall is being erected by the Metropolitan Board of Works in accordance with the 72nd section of the Thames Embankment Act of 1862. It does not at all affect the ultimate appropriation of the ground.

INDIA — RAILWAY GAUGE. — QUESTION.

Mr. KINNAIRD asked the Under Secretary of State for India, bearing in mind the important military results obtainable by continuous gauge on Railways in a time of war, as proved by late events on the Continent, Whether it is the intention of the Government to adopt a new reduced gauge of 3 ft. 3 in. in the Railways to be constructed from the Punjaub to the frontier, thus introducing a break of gauge which will materially delay their proper and continuous working?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: Sir, the Secretary of State in Council, after very long and careful consideration of the gauge question — a question with regard to which the arguments on either side are very closely balanced—left it to the decision of the Government of India, and that Government being fully cognizant of all the local circumstances, and having given all due weight to those very important considerations that are alluded to in my hon. Friend's Question, did determine to adopt the gauge of 3 ft. 3 in. for the railway to be constructed towards the frontier of the Punjaub, and its decision has received the confirmation of the Secretary of State in Council. I may mention to my hon. Friend that the Papers have been laid upon the Table, and will, I hope, soon be in the hands of hon. Members.

TENANT FARMERS—THE PROPERTY TAX BILL.—QUESTION.

Mr. BAKER asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will inform the House, by a Return or otherwise, what number of persons according to Clause 3 of c. 12 of the 13th and 14th Vic. have made use of the powers of above Act during the years 1868, 1869, and 1870, and how many of such persons were successful in obtaining an abatement from the Commissioners who made the assessment and who were appealed to; and what was the amount of each abatement, and what its proportion to the assessment?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Sir, no doubt such a Return as the hon. Member contemplates could be made, but it would involve great trouble and expense, because it could only be made by interrogating each surveyor. I do not think, when made, it would be worth the trouble and expense, because, owing to the light taxation on this kind of property, it is notorious that the Return would be almost nil.

INDIA—THE NAWAB NAZIM. QUESTION.

Mr. HAVILAND-BURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether, on or about the 17th day of February, the Secretary of State for India, or any officer of his department, received one or more Telegrams, and the date thereof, from or by instruction of the Governor General of India, respecting the whereabouts of the Memorial, of the 28th July 1869, from the Nawab Nazim of Bengal to the Secretary of State for India; and, whether the reply to such one or more Telegrams was by Telegram or by Letter, and the dates thereof?

MR. GRANT DUFF: Yes, Sir. Not on the 17th, but on the 8th of February, 1870, the Secretary of State for India did receive a telegram to say that the Memorial alluded to had not arrived in India, and the Secretary of State on the same day telegraphed in return that it had been sent out.

INCOME TAX AND INHABITED HOUSE DUTY (METROPOLIS).—QUESTION.

MR. MORLEY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the power hitherto vested in the Commissioners of Income Tax and Inhabited House Duty in the Metropolitan Districts of granting relief on appeal from year to year on reductions of rental in cases of annual lettings is now superseded for the ensuing five years by the Valuation of Property (Metropolis) Act 32 and 33 Vic. c. 67; and, whether in case the rent of any property let by the year, included in the assessment made under this Act at £500, should in 1871 be reduced to £400, the Income Tax and Inhabited House Duty are to be levied for the four following years on the higher sum without any means of redress?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, in reply to the first part of the Question, he had to state that the powers of the Commissioners had been superseded in the manner described by the hon. Member, and it was the intention of the Government not to interfere with that arrangement. As to the second part of the inquiry, the rent will be levied under the Metropolis Valuation Act.

NAVY—COMMITTEE ON DESIGNS OF SHIPS OF WAR.—QUESTION.

MR. CORRY asked, Whether the First Lord of the Admiralty will lay upon the Table of the House the Evidence taken before the Committee on Designs of Ships of War?

MR. GOSCHEN said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would permit him to reserve the decision of the Government on this matter until the Committee had completed its labours, and they were able to form an opinion as to how much of the evidence, if any, ought to be treated as confidential. Of course, there would be every desire to give publicity to as much of the evidence as was compatible with the interests of the public service. He could not, at present, tell how many witnesses would be examined.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

Moved, "That the House, at its rising To-morrow, do adjourn till Monday the 17th instant."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

ELECTIONS (PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL) BILL—[BILL 45.]

(*Mr. William Edward Forster, Mr. Secretary Bruce, The Marquess of Hartington.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the second time."—(*Mr. W. E. Forster.*)

MR. LIDDELL said, he did not on the present occasion propose to enter at large upon the principle of the Bill, as there was an understanding that the discussion on the principle should be postponed until the Motion for going into Committee. In deference to that understanding he would not refer to it further than to describe it shortly as a measure completely revolutionizing the entire representative system. But he must venture, with all submission, to complain of the course which was about to be taken. When he considered the great scope and probable results of the legislation now proposed, he could not but think that the course about to be taken in respect to the Bill was highly objectionable, and would establish a very bad precedent; and it was liable to misconstruction in the country, for the very fact of reading the Bill a second time *nemine contradicente* was calculated to give it an artificial advantage to which it was not entitled, and of which he feared it had no need. He, therefore, expressed his earnest hope that those who were the traditional opponents by principle and feeling of such a Bill as the present would not, by allowing the second reading to pass at the present moment without comment, be held to be supine or ready to waive at any stage, when the principle of the Bill should be discussed, their stern and unswerving opposition to it. He regretted that they should have been brought into the position in which they now found themselves in consequence of the Prime Minister having fixed the second reading of the Bill for a night when a large number of Members were necessarily absent on important and unavoidable business—namely, the Quarter Sessions. The only option given to the House if they choose not to accept this arrangement was to sit through Passion Week for the purpose of proceeding with the measure. That was a proposition which the House would naturally decline, and therefore they found themselves now passing the second reading *sub silentio.* He could quite understand that the Prime Minister, earnest and sincere as he believed him to be in endeavouring to advance the legislation required by the country, and backed by a powerful majority, might feel chafed and irritated at the slow progress of Public Business; but he would, with great deference, ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether the present indisposition of the House to share in his zeal for the advance of legislation was not significant that the supply of legislation was somewhat in excess of the wants of the country? He would take this very Bill upon which to found an argument. The Bill had reference to the dissolution of Parliament and the conduct of a General Election. That was an event for which the Government were not likely to have any great desire, nor was it likely to occur very shortly; therefore he ventured to think public interest would not suffer one iota if this Bill gave place to more pressing legislation for some time to come. The list of measures on to-day's Paper would afford ample occupation for a whole Session; indeed, some of them were of such magnitude and involved such large interests that one Session would hardly suffice to carry them into law. He, therefore, repeated there was an overplus of legislation, and if that were diminished the whole of the difficulties in which they found themselves would disappear, and they would no longer hear of the Leaders of the House in high places making propositions and suggesting schemes entirely at variance with the feelings and habits of Englishmen. That was not the time; but the time would come for discussing those schemes which were rendered necessary only by the extra amount of legislation which was laid on the Table. He would not detain the House further. But in behalf of those—and there were many—who were passive but rather unwilling parties to the arrangement to-night, he claimed the fairest and fullest opportunity of stating their objections to the principles of this Bill, which he could only describe as antagonistic alike to their principles, feelings, and traditions.

Colonel BARTTELOT said, he was one of those who had all along consistently opposed the Ballot, and would continue to do so. He should like to have heard from hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, who for a vast number of years had also consistently opposed it, the reasons they had for turning round and supporting this most objectionable Bill. They had a most able speech from the right hon. Gentleman who introduced the Bill (Mr. W. E. Forster), and who had been a consistent supporter of the Ballot; but there were those sitting around him who had not always been so; and though he was quite willing to admit that every man had a right to change his opinion, he thought they had a right to expect from these hon. Gentlemen some stronger reasons than had yet been adduced why so great a change had occurred in their sentiments with regard to legislation on this subject. He adhered to what he stated the other evening, that it would have been a gracious and courteous act on the part of the Prime Minister if, knowing the feeling of the large majority on that side of the House in relation to this Bill, he had postponed the second reading till after Easter. The right hon. Gentleman was, no doubt, the best judge of how to conduct the Business of the House; but if he thought that by forcing on the second reading of this measure he would advance it one iota towards a satisfactory conclusion he was certainly very much mistaken. If it had been put down for after Easter they could then have fairly discussed the measure upon its merits, instead of being obliged to pursue the very objectionable course of having to discuss it upon going into Committee. Did hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, who always headed their election addresses "To the free and independent electors," think their constituents were now less free and independent than they were before the late Reform Bill, and could they not now be trusted to give their votes freely and independently like Englishmen? He should have been ashamed to bring in a Bill of this kind, which had so often been rejected by large majorities in that House. Now, they had got an increased constituency, requiring most careful handling to see that there was no personation or bribery, which generally followed personation; he said this was no time to bring in a Bill of this kind. He was one of those who trusted his fellow-countrymen to give their votes, as a sacred and honourable thing ought to be given, in the face of day. He would, therefore, on every occasion, consistently and persistently oppose this Bill.

MR. LOCKE KING said, there was one remark made by the hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell) which ought not to pass unnoticed, and from which he totally dissented. The hon. Member said because a dissolution was not impending there was no reason for pressing forward this Bill. Now he, on the other hand, regretted very much that this Bill did not pass last year, and he should very much regret if it did not pass this year; for it was of the utmost importance that the constituencies should get thoroughly acquainted with the machinery of the Bill in the bye elections which might take place before a General Election occurred. It was perfectly impossible to adopt a perfect measure at first, and therefore the sooner this Bill was passed the more perfect they would be able to make it before a General Election.

MR. W. E. FORSTER hoped the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Barttelot) would not consider the arguments he had brought forward against this Bill as irresistible because he did not now attempt to answer them. In consequence of the arrangement which had been come to the House did not expect that they should go into a full debate to-night, and where there was not a full debate a partial debate was often very inconvenient. Consequently, it was from no disrespect to the hon. and gallant Member that he took no notice of the—to him—somewhat novel argument addressed to hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. With respect to the reason why they had consented to the arrangement to take the discussion on the principle of this Bill upon going into Committee was, that it suited the convenience of hon. Members to do so; had the discussion been taken to-night many of those who took interest in the matter would not have been present. And as to the demands on the House for legislation, however anxious the Government might be to consult the convenience of Members, if the business of the country was to be transacted, they must proceed with the Bills very much in the order in which they had been brought forward. The hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell) had given the answer to his own objection when he said that there was a great demand at present upon the House for legislation. The country really expected legislation in many important matters, and it would be impossible to do their duty in that respect unless they pressed forward measures with all convenient speed. There were two questions coming on this evening which would tax the energies of the House—the subject of local taxation and the licensing system—neither of which could well be postponed, and it was not the opinion of hon. Members on his side the House, nor of a vast number of persons in the country, that the present Bill was one that could be put off. He could assure hon. Members that it was the desire and the expectation of the Government that there should be a full debate on the merits of the Bill on the Motion to go into Committee; but this was not a Bill as to which it was desirable that there should be two debates on the principle, and there would not be any real inconvenience in taking the debate after Easter on the later stage. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Liddell) need not be alarmed at the idea that he would be supposed to have given up his opposition to the Ballot, for he could negative that supposition on the adjourned debate; and, for himself, he should be glad to avail himself of the opportunity of defending the principle of the Ballot; for though he was not sanguine enough to hope he should be able to adduce arguments which would convince the hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell), it was possible that the arguments which had convinced right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Bench, who had not advocated the

Ballot so long as he had done, might have the effect of convincing other hon. Members. He quite concurred with his hon. Friend (Mr. Locke King) that there was a special advantage in taking the Bill this year, because, with the utmost endeavours on the part of the Government and of the House, it was not likely that at first they could make the machinery of the Bill perfect, and it would, therefore, be advisable that it should be tried by special election before it was tried by a General Election. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Liddell) seemed to suppose that the passing of a Ballot Bill would necessitate a dissolution. But that could only happen in one of two ways—a General Election could be necessitated first by the defeat of the Government on an important measure, or by the passing of a measure effecting a complete revolution in our electoral system; but the Ballot Bill, important though it was, did not affect either the person voting or the person voted for; it merely affected the machinery of voting, and he was at a loss to see why a Bill which merely affected the machinery of voting should necessitate a dissolution. He would propose to-morrow to commit the Bill *pro formâ*, for the purpose of certain amendments, which, however, were not matters of great importance. One of them was the introduction of a line that a person who was engaged in taking votes should not be allowed to state who had not voted during the time that voting was going on. It was thought by persons of experience that that prevention would do much towards checking attempts at personation, because the danger of personation would be increased if the would-be offender did not know whether the voter whom he wished to personate had voted or not. He should also wish to introduce clauses to meet the special circumstances of Scotland. The Bill, as amended, would be circulated immediately on the re-assembling of Members after the Easter Recess.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE said, the right hon. Gentleman had failed to apprehend the point of the hon. Member's observations. Granting the courtesy of the Government, and that this stage of the Bill was being taken without debate by agreement between both sides of the House, he, as an independent Member, must back what had been said, and urge that it was setting a dangerous precedent to slur over the stage of the second reading of any Bill of importance, inasmuch as to do so was to sacrifice one of the safeguards provided by the forms of the House for a fair and complete examination of every measure. The forms of the House permitted discussion and division on the second reading, and also on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair, because there might have been miscarriage or surprise in the first division, or because circumstances might have arisen subsequently, such as to render it desirable that the opinion of the House should be taken a second time. It was inconsistent with the principle which underlay the forms of the House to forego discussion on the second reading of a Bill of importance, because a number of hon. Members might be absent, attending Quarter Sessions, and to take the main division on the Motion to go into Committee. Such capriciousness destroyed confidence in the forms of the House, and therefore he protested against it. Hon. Members on both sides were to blame in this instance; but, as the agreement had been made, he acquiesced in it, though not silently. It was formerly a time-saving practice to take a division on the introduction of a private Member's Bill, but that custom was nearly obsolete, and he supposed we should end in passing measures through both Houses without debate, and throwing them at the foot of the Throne in the hope that they would receive the Royal Assent. Perhaps this was an extreme supposition; but, at all events, he protested against the proceeding of to-night. The right hon. Gentleman opposite said that the Bill affected merely the machinery of voting; but the alteration of the machinery of voting all over the country was a matter that was of gigantic importance.

Mr. BOUVERIE said, the hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. B. Hope) would have a long life if he lived until the House passed measures *sub silentio*, for the tendency of the House was rather to multiply occasions for discussions, and to protract debates upon matters which formerly would have been disposed of in a few minutes. The hon. Member seemed to be unreasonable, for he assented to the agreement, which he admitted had been made for the convenience of both sides of the House and for the despatch of Business; and if the

Opposition were determined to discuss the principle of the Bill at this stage, there would be no alternative but to yield and to proceed with the discussion. But hon. Members did not move the rejection of the Bill; in fact, while protesting they still agreed, and they were therefore out of Court, and had no right to complain that the second reading was to be taken as proposed.

MR. G. BENTINCK agreed that this was not the proper time to discuss the merits of the Bill; but he must say that hon. Members on his side of the House had a right to express their objections to the arrangement, because in coming into it they had acted under compulsion. As to the suggestion that the passing of this Bill would necessitate a dissolution, there was no instance on record of a self-condemned House of Commons continuing to legislate for the country, and you could not pass a more sweeping condemnation upon the House than by condemning the mode in which it had been elected. Therefore, if hon. and right hon. Gentlemen flattered themselves that they were to sit on and not to see the operation of the Ballot for two or three years after the Bill passed, he apprehended that they were very much mistaken. He believed that the course to be taken now was at variance with the practice and with the courtesy of the House, for the practice was not to read such measures a second time without discussion, and the courtesy was not to turn a deaf ear to appeals made from both sides of the House when hon. Members were compelled to absent themselves from the House by business over which they had no control. We had heard of a factious opposition; but there might be such a thing as a factious Government, and, after the course to be taken to-night, the Government would have no right to complain if hon. Members availed themselves of the forms of the House in opposing this measure.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster) who represented the Government with respect to the measure, had urged upon the House the demand, which he represented as being made by the country for legislation on the subject. He admitted that there was a great demand for legislation, but it was a demand for the revision of the licensing system, and a loud demand for an alteration of the incidence of local taxation. In the course of the last two years they had had abundant evidence of demand from the country for those measures; but he denied that there was any eager demand for an alteration in the system of voting. Of that they had had no evidence whatever, since the great changes that had been made in the electoral law by the recent Reform Act. It was his firm conviction that the country believed that the House of Commons had acted honestly with the view to suppressing corruption and bribery. In fact, the severity of the recent Statutes had, in great measure, astonished the constituencies; but before the repressive effect had been fully ascertained, they were asked again to go back to this old nostrum. He admitted that it had been brought forward in former years by hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Government side of the House, and by some on the Ministerial Bench in consequence of agitation; but that agitation had died out—of its vitality they had now no evidence. They had heard nothing of it, indeed, since the great change effected in the electoral laws by the House through the late Reform Act, and the Act against corrupt practices. He repeated that they had heard nothing of this demand since the passing of those measures, and therefore he thought the excuse for taking the measure in Passion Week feeble, especially since they had on the Order Paper two other measures, for each of which there was and had been an active agitation going on in the country for some time. He must be allowed to observe also, that whatever might be the excuse which the right hon. Gentleman offered in support of reading the Bill *pro formâ*, they could not forget that the whole tendency of the measure, that the whole tendency of secret voting was to evade public opinion. He held that this country had been hitherto safely governed, because at every election a Return had been made, not according to the individual preferences of the electors, but by the public opinion of the electors of the locality; and it was for that reason, because he considered that to be a measure, the purpose of which was to evade the action of public opinion, that he felt so intense an objection to it. He objected also to the course taken by the Government, on account of the unseasonable period. They knew that the House was at present weak in the attendance of its Members, and they proposed the second reading of this Bill. He gave full credit to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Bouverie) that there had been of late a disposition to carry discussions in that House to excess; still, if he remembered rightly, in the Select Committee on Public Business it was alleged, and truly, that the tendency might be abridged if the ancient practice of the House were adhered to, according to which the principle of every measure was discussed on the second reading, thereby clearing the subject for the consideration of its details in Committee. That was a sound opinion, and he heard it expressed but the other day in the Committee on Public Business. He deprecated taking the second reading of the measure now for many reasons, among others for this—the Bill had been spoken of as effecting a small change in the machinery at elections; but never yet had such arbitrary powers—nay, such dangerous powers, been entrusted by the Legislature to the returning officers, as would be conferred upon these officials by the Bill. He held that the right hon. Gentlemen who occupied the position of leaders of the Opposition did wrong in consenting to the second reading of the measure being taken in Passion Week. If there was a systematic agreement between those who fill the position of leaders of the Opposition and the Members of the Government to evade discussion of the principles of great measures, the action of the House would virtually be defeated. That action, by which the balance of opinion had hitherto been fairly elicited, would be lost. He stated that afternoon that the House was at present incapacitated by the necessary absence of many of its Members from deciding on the principle of the measure. He would not take a Division now, because it would be unfair; but he objected emphatically to the action of the Government, and to the consent of the leaders of the Opposition who, by urging the second reading of the measure, deprived the House of its legitimate opportunity for contesting the principle of the measure—a principle which he held to be most dangerous.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Undoubtedly an agreement between Gentlemen who sit on the Opposition side and those who occupy the Treasury Bench is not of a nature either to bind the free discretion of the House itself, nor must it be of necessity a right arrangement. I am bound, however, in the name of the freedom of the House, to protest against the doctrine laid down by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Newdegate) that no important measure ought ever to be discussed in Passion Week. These abbreviations of our powers of action, by cutting off beyond what usage prescribes the first and last days of each of the short terms into which a Session is broken up, are matters which require to be watched. The hon. Gentleman cannot prove from the records of this House the existence of the canon he lays down, that important measures must not be discussed in Passion Week. The hon. Gentleman likewise objected to the Bill being proceeded with on the ground of the absence of many hon. Gentlemen at Quarter Sessions. Now, it is not possible for the Parliament of England to regulate its proceedings with reference to local arrangements of this nature. We regret exceedingly any collision between the duties of hon. Gentlemen here and elsewhere, and no Minister would be justified in disregarding circumstances of that kind if he could take them into account without any sacrifice of public convenience; but it is quite another thing to say that because a certain number of Quarter Sessions are to be held—not to-day, I believe, but to-morrow—the Government are precluded from going forward with an important Bill like this. The day, I may remark, is not of our choice. Circumstances beyond our control have deprived us of several preceding days on which we should have desired to bring the measure forward, and, looking to the rest of the business, we deemed it inconsistent with our duty to postpone it till after Easter. Undoubtedly it is part of the duty of the Government, with respect to the measures in their hands, to arrange the order in which they are to be taken, and if the Government did not arrange them they failed in their duty. It was our firm conviction that we ought to bring forward this Bill, as one of the heavier and bulkier measures of the Session, directly after the Army Regulation Bill. I need not refer to the challenge of the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Barttelot), which requires arguments that may be more suitably adduced at another period; but in this conversation one point has been raised to which I must refer. My hon. Friend the Member for West Norfolk (Mr. G. Bentinck) has laid down what he appears to regard as an unquestioned principle—namely, that if it should please the House to adopt the measure, the change thus introduced must be necessarily followed by dissolution. The hon. Gentleman endeavoured to sustain this theory by history and precedent. He always professes to be guided by history and precedent; but, on the contrary, he has departed from history and precedent altogether, for neither sanction this doctrine. It might be all very well to suspend this sword by a thread over their heads, and as his business is to find out everything which might dispose the mind of Parliament to reject the Bill, he conjures up this phantom of dissolution. I would remind the hon. Gentleman that again and again improvements of various kinds have been made in the methods of election, and that they have not disturbed in the slightest degree the comfort and satisfaction of the Members of this House. I suppose, therefore, the hon. Gentleman made use of that argument merely as a ruse of debate. It may be, however, that the hon. Gentleman is sincere, and actuated by a very deep and profound conviction, and that he himself, with his recent experience of elections, looks forward with dread to a very early return to his constituents. If so, I entreat him to tranquillize his own mind and to dismiss from it whatever conceptions of that kind may have disturbed it. I may say on behalf of the Government, and I believe I also speak the sentiments of Members on both sides of the House, that none of us entertain the foolish and wicked intention of cutting short the existence of the Parliament. I trust, then, we may be allowed to consider this Bill on its merits, and that we shall not be perplexed by idle and imaginative fears concocted and created by the sensitive mind of the hon. Gentleman.

SIR JAMES ELPHINSTONE said, that though he had not enjoyed so extensive an experience as the right hon. Gentleman, he had not been an inconsiderate spectator of what had transpired in this country for many years, and it was his deliberate opinion that the House would stand self-condemned if it passed this measure, for the reason that the Bill was brought forward for the purpose of showing the country and the constituencies that they had elected the present Parliament in error, and that so soon as they had the so-called protection of the Ballot it would be their duty to send representatives of a highly different complexion. He represented a large constituency which despised the Ballot—looked upon it as a sneaking measure against which Englishmen should set their faces, and which was only practised in countries inhabited by slaves. In America, so little did the inhabitants value the protection of the Ballot that they went to the voting places proclaiming for whom they intended to vote. Their great object was to pride themselves on the purity of the Ballot, and to vote early and often. He represented a constituency of 12,000 voters, and not one of them had ever said one word to him about the Ballot. At the election he had never heard of the Ballot, and he had never heard of the Ballot since. Under these circumstances, not only should he oppose the measure to the best of his ability, but he should avail himself of every form of the House to defeat it.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

EXCISEABLE LIQUORS (LICENSING).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. BRUCE, in rising to explain the proposals of the Government for the amendment of the laws respecting the sale of intoxicating liquors, said, the measure which he was about to ask the permission of the House to explain, was one which had been demanded by the general voice of the country with an earnestness and an unanimity to which he recollected hardly any parallel. The question was one which had deeply stirred the hearts and feelings of all classes of society. Committees of both Houses of Parliament, the Church in Convocation, ministers of every religious denomination, judges and magistrates collectively and individually, Boards of Health and Boards of Guardians, had all united in proclaiming and impressing upon Parliament the mischiefs which had arisen from the existing facilities for the purchase of intoxicating liquors. Social and sanitary reformers, who spent their lives in doing good, had declared that their labours for the moral and social improvement of their fellow-men were baffled at every turn by the recklessness and moral degradation which sprung from, and were occasioned by, the liquor traffic. They told us how our prisons, lunatic asylums, and workhouses were filled with inmates whose career had originated in their passion for intoxicating liquors. The back streets, courts, and alleys of most large towns were thronged with a squalid and dangerous population, who owed their degradation to the same cause; and even the rural districts were not free from the curse. Above all, the working classes of this country, who were the most sensitive to its effects, and who were affected by and felt most the consequences of this system, had, with united voice, called upon Parliament to deliver them from temptation. He would not stay to inquire what amount of exaggeration there might be in the statements made; or ask whether some of the evils attributed to drunkenness might not be traced to infirmity of character and weakness of principle which, under any circumstances, would have betrayed their unfortunate victims into criminal careers. Nor would he pause to ask whether drunkenness was or was not on the increase, for he felt satisfied that the evil was so great as to be a blot upon our social system, and a disgrace to our civilization. He believed that there was throughout the House an unanimous desire to apply itself vigorously to the removal of these evils; and though he was not sure that unanimity would be found as to the mode of applying a remedy, there were certain leading principles in which he thought he might expect the concurrence of all, or nearly all, the Members of the House. He should expect them to concur in the proposition that, under the existing system of licensing, far more licences had been issued than were required for the public convenience. He had no doubt of this concurrence in the face of the fact that there exists a publichouse or a beerhouse for every 182 of the population. The next proposition he would advance was, that the present mode of issuing licences was unsatisfactory, no guidance being afforded to the magistrates either as to the number to be issued, or the respectability and responsibility of the persons seeking to be licensed. The third proposition in which he expected general concurrence, was that no sufficient guarantees were taken for the orderly management of publichouses or for their effective supervision. His fourth proposition was that the laws against adulteration were insufficient, and, such as they were, were imperfectly enforced; and his fifth and last proposition was that the hours during which publichouses were allowed to be open, admitted of reduction without interfering with the liberty or the material convenience of the people generally. He might add two other propositions, which were at any rate assumed as principles in the Bill of the Government. He did not say that he expected an unanimous agreement upon them, but he expected with regard to them to receive the general support of the House. One was that the public had a right to be supplied with places of refreshment, sufficient in number, convenient, and respectably conducted; and the other was that all existing interests, however qualified their nature might be, were entitled to just and fair consideration. The Bill of the Government, which was framed on the principles he had stated, would repeal, in whole or in part, from 40 to 50 Acts of Parliament, and would consolidate and amend the laws regulating the ordinary retail sale of intoxicating liquors. It affected the wholesale trade only so far as that trade was carried on in in conjunction with retail trade.

Retail trade was of two kinds—one, conducted under licences to sell on or off the premises, the other conducted under licences to sell liquor to be consumed only off the premises. The main distinction between these two classes of licences was that magistrates might, in the exercise of their discretion, refuse to grant licences of the first-named class, there being reserved a right to appeal to the Quarter Sessions in the case of refusal; while they were not authorized to refuse licences for the sale of liquor to be consumed off the premises, except on proof of some statutory disqualification in the applicant. With respect to the licences for the sale of liquors to be consumed off the premises, the Bill would make very slight changes in the existing law. He proposed, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee presided over by his right hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. C. P. Villiers) to abolish the table-beer licences, which were formerly issued by the Excise, without any certificate from the magistrates, on a simple payment of 5*s.*, the licence allowing the sale of beer at not more than 1½*d.* per quart. As these licences were merely used as excuses for keeping houses for the sale of other and more potent liquors, the Government proposed to abolish them; and, with this exception, and that of the obsolete liquor licence, also to be abolished, the law relating to the sale of liquor for consumption off the premises would remain as at present. The changes introduced by the Act of the hon. Member for Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson), which made it necessary that the issue of a magistrate's certificate should precede the granting of a licence by the Excise were retained. That Act was temporary, but considering the very general support which it received in passing through Parliament, he thought the House would agree in its being made the basis of future legislation. Applications for certificates for the sale of intoxicating liquors not to be consumed on the premises were not, however, to be required to be made by the applicant in person, except in the case of the beershop licence. This trade being of a lower character, greater vigilance was needed as to the persons by whom it should be carried on. In two cases no preliminary certificate would be required—namely, that of the wholesale spirit dealer's additional retail licence and the wine merchant's licence. It was conceded on all sides that there was no necessity for applicants for such licences to obtain magistrates' certificates.

He had now stated what was proposed with regard to the sale for consumption off the premises. There remained the far more important branch of the question—that of licences for consumption on the premises. It was necessary, in considering any licensing system, to decide two questions—first, how, if at all, is the number of licences to be determined; and, secondly, how, if at all, is discretion to be exercised in the selection of those who are to be allowed to hold licences. Three antagonistic modes of action had been adopted or advocated for solving these questions. They had actually tried the systems of magisterial selection and of free trade, and it had been urged upon the Government that they should adopt a system of popular control. Between the system of selection and that of free trade there had been much vaccilation on the part of the Legislature; and from that vaccilation had sprung many of the evils of which they had now to complain. Up to 1830 magisterial selection was the rule, and that was a plan which, at the time it was adopted, seemed calculated to work well. The magistrates were supposed to know the wants of their districts, and might, therefore, it was thought, be safely intrusted to select those who should receive licences. As time went on other ideas began to prevail; and the free trade principle led to the passing of the Beerhouse Act, which remained in force until 1869, when it was repealed. The refreshment house wine licence was a compromise between the two systems, for the Act authorizing the issue of those licences allowed them to be freely granted by the Excise, subject to a power of veto in the magistrates, if certain statutory conditions, as to the character of applicant and premises, were not satisfied. Much difference of opinion, however, had existed throughout the country in reference to this subject of licensing, and a most complete inquiry had been made by a Committee presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. C. P. Villiers), and composed of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Morpeth (Sir George Grey), the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lowe), the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington), Mr. Sotheron Estcourt, Mr. Kerr Seymer, and others of great weight and authority in the House. Their recommendation was founded upon the principle of free trade. It took away the magistrates' power of selection; but qualified free trade by the requirement of various statutory conditions. Free trade had also been the basis of the two Bills promoted by the town of Liverpool, where great attention had been paid to the subject of licence reform, and which had become as distinguished in connection with the licensing system, as Manchester in connection with the improvement of the educational system. On the other hand, the evils arising from the unrestricted issue of licences were felt to be so great that in 1857 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. G. Hardy) brought in a Bill investing the magistrates with the issue of beerhouse licences as well as publican's licences. That Bill was defeated; but a similar one, subsequently introduced by his hon. Friend the Member for Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson), passed without a Division. Yet that Act was regarded only as a makeshift until some complete measure could be introduced. The legislation affecting the trade was in such a state of confusion that it had become necessary to have a conclusive measure. Existing Acts contained conflicting provisions; there was a strange variety of licences; while there was no definite principle on which licences were to be granted. The hours of closing differed in various places, and while publichouses in towns were closed from 1 a.m. to 4 a.m., in the rural districts they might be kept open during the whole night. There were also variations in the Excise duties, depending on whether a particular licence was taken out alone or in combination with others. The Act of 1869 recognized a certain vested interest in beerhouse licences existing at the time of its introduction; and the renewal of such licences could not be refused by magistrates except for certain reasons. There was no obligation to renew any publican's licence. Under these circumstances, it was clear that consolidation and simplification of the law was necessary, and there next arose the question—"On what principle shall a new system be founded?" The magisterial system had much to recommend it. It was founded on the principle that the magistrates possess great local knowledge, so that they are well qualified to distribute licences, and he was bound to say that, notwithstanding particular exceptions, the duties imposed upon the magistrates had been discharged with great integrity and public spirit. There was, however, much that was irrational in a system which gave to the magistrates the power of bestowing gratuitously a privilege of great pecuniary value. Again, not a penny from the granting of licences went to the alleviation of local taxation, though publichouses were known to cause a great increase of the rates, and to make necessary a large police force. The ratepayers, too, whose convenience and pockets were so greatly affected by the multiplication of publichouses, had no means of preventing an increase of their number. As far, however, as the country districts were concerned, the objections that had been raised to the action of the magistrates in this respect had less weight, for he was bound to say that the duties of the magistracy in the rural districts had been in the main satisfactorily performed, the number of licences was not so excessive as elsewhere, and the decisions of the Bench were received with general approval and respect. But in large and populous towns the case was very different, and it was not unusual at the annual licensing sessions of such places for 50 or 60 applications for new licences to be made. Every kind of argument was brought forward in favour of the applicants; some asserting that they ought to have the larger licence because they had conducted a beerhouse respectably; others claiming on the ground that they had prepared suitable premises, while some appealed to motives of partiality or interest; and it was known that retired butlers, old soldiers, and widows with many children were frequently regarded with special favour. And, again, there were others opposing. Some had conflicting interests, as publicans already licensed, who did not wish to see others entering into competition with them for the business of the neighbourhood, and behind them were the brewers and distillers, who exercised very great influence, and were interested, either as owners or as mortgagees of a large number of existing houses; it being, probably, no exaggeration to say that in large towns there existed such an interest in as many as two-thirds of the houses now licensed. Besides this, there was the influence exerted by builders, by the representatives of at least two political parties, by the owners of house property, and by the supporters of temperance societies, who were, perhaps, as active in opposing as any who interested themselves in the granting of licences. Under these circumstances it was not surprising to find the magistrates had great difficulty in making a proper selection in the absence of any established principle to guide them; nor was it surprising that the great majority of those who were disappointed in their applications accused the magistrates of partiality, and attributed their want of success to anything but their unfitness. But, apart from that, the magistrates themselves naturally pursued different courses in different parts of the country. In one place the Bench was inclined to adopt free trade, and freely granted licences to all respectable applicants, while others acted with a desire to prevent the increase of publichouses. A distinguished Member of this House had asked a brewer, one of his leading constituents, what course was adopted within his experience? He replied that in the district in which he lived the obtaining a licence depended very much on the licensing division to which the applicant went, and that while in one county hardly any respectable applicant was refused; in another adjoining county a successful application was extremely rare; in his own borough applications were granted only to the adherents of a certain political party; and in another place the temperance societies were uniformly successful in opposing fresh grants. Such a state of things must necessarily give dissatisfaction to those who had failed in their application, and who went away abusing the magistrates for partiality or improper motives, and it was a matter of great public importance that the impartiality of the magistrate should not be questioned. One result of the present system was that the most high-minded men in some places abstained from attending Licensing Courts, and the Bench was therefore composed of those who freely distributed licences. It was long since he had himself acted as a magistrate on licensing day; but he recollected with disgust not only the attempts made to influence his decisions from all quarters, but that there were magistrates on the Bench who were ready to act from motives of partiality; and, acting so, they would ask—"If the applicant is respectable, why should he not have a licence?"

He maintained, therefore, that the dissatisfaction of the magistrates and the ratepayers, and the anxiety of those who had embarked large capital in this species of property with respect to its future value, alike called for the re-adjustment of the licensing system. It must be acknowledged that a system, the administration of which had lost public respect, could not stand, and he believed none were more anxious for its revision than the great brewers. The opinion he had expressed that the magistrates were unfit to decide on the granting of licences was not his own merely; it was the opinion of the Select Committee presided over by the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. C. P. Villiers), which had reported on the subject in these words—

> "Your Committee forbear to enter at length on the evidence condemnatory of the exercise of the magisterial power of granting licences. The existence of a suspicion that licences are withheld and granted capriciously, and that the influence of builders and brewers is more potent than either the character of the applicant or the requirements of the public in procuring a licence, whether it were proved or not, might afford sufficient ground for relieving the magistracy of duties which, however great their desire to do so, it has been found impossible for them satisfactorily to discharge."

The magistrates of Liverpool, sensible of the difficulties of their position, for some years licensed all respectable applicants; but the evils resulting from that course obliged them to abandon it, and to attempt a revision of the licensing system. In 1865, the licensed victuallers of Liverpool, in conjunction with the justices, procured the introduction of a Bill into Parliament for the purpose, the Preamble of which was instructive. It ran—

> "Whereas differences of opinion have arisen for several years past among the justices of the peace for the said borough of Liverpool as to the interpretation to be put on the first herein-before-recited Act (Publichouse Act, 9 *Geo.* IV., c. 61) so far as regards the considerations which should influence the said justices in granting or withholding licences for the sale of exciseable liquors by retail as in that Act mentioned, and it is expedient that such differences should be determined, and that the considerations which should influence the said justices in granting or withholding such licences should be more strictly defined and settled."

The Bill proceeds to provide that all licences should be granted by the justices; that there should be one uniform licence, authorizing the sale of all liquors; that this licence should be obtainable by any applicant who could show good character, and provide two sureties, each of £50, whose premises should be rated at £50 a-year, and who would pay £30 a-year to the Excise. In 1867 another Bill, also emanating from Liverpool, proposed that the ratepayers should have power to veto the opening of a publichouse in their neighbourhood.

The question the Committee had to consider was whether any improvement of the present system could be suggested. If licences were to be distributed at discretion he was clearly of opinion that no better authority than the justices could be intrusted with the power of granting them, since they were men of social position, acquainted with local circumstances, and were frequently men of legal attainments; above all, they were nominated by a higher authority, and were not elected by those who would seek licences. The suggestion that Boards of Guardians should be intrusted with the duty could not be adopted; their very constitution would act as a disqualification, because if Boards of Guardians were constituted licensing boards they would very soon be composed of the nominees of the brewers and licensed victuallers, who had almost boundless opportunities of corruption. On the part of the association of brewers in the country repeated representations had been made in favour of the appointment of barristers to distribute new licences, and decide on applications for renewal of licences; but such officials would necessarily be wanting in local knowledge; they would be unable to say whether the number of licences already granted was too large; they would be quite in the dark as to the character of the applicant; and unless the Act prescribed with the greatest minuteness upon what principles they should go, their decisions would be of the most conflicting character. The objections to the appointment of such officials were so strong that but for the respectability of those who had made the recommendation, he should not have troubled the Committee with it. The next proposal with which he had to deal was that of his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson)—the permissive prohibitory system, the peculiar characteristics of which were that it ignored all vested interests, and treated the licence as merely annual, without conferring any right to renewal; it made no difference between consumption on and consumption off the premises—between mere drinking-houses, and inns and eating-houses; it involved all in common extinction; and it offered no middle course to the ratepayers; it forced them to choose between the present system and complete prohibition of the liquor trade; and, even if carried, it could not in the slightest degree improve the licensing system, except in the particular places in which it had been adopted. His hon. Friend was, no doubt, sanguine as to the number of places in which it would be adopted. He was not able himself to form an opinion on that subject; but certainly there would be a very large portion of the country in which it would not be adopted. He believed, moreover, that that system would lead demonstrably to increased evils, and to violations of the law such as no exertions of the police or the Excise would be able to suppress. There was one sentence in the Report of the Committee of 1854 which had struck him as remarkable for its truth—namely—

> "It is scarcely possible to carry into effect any enactment opposed to the convenience or ordinary habits of any large number of people."

The strongest proof of the correctness of that statement which he had seen—although much evidence might easily be accumulated on the subject—was contained in a very remarkable paper, written by Mr. Richardson, chairman of the Board of Health at Jarrow. He did not know whether that paper had been generally circulated among the Members of that House; but, among the vast number of communications that he had received it had struck him as being one of the most instructive and most fertile in good suggestions. Mr. Richardson's paper embodied his experience as to the working of the licensing system in Jarrow. Jarrow consisted of two parts, one of which contained a population of about 3,000, and the houses there, and the whole of the property, were entirely in the hands of the proprietors of certain works, who allowed no licences to be taken out, and no intoxicating liquors to be sold on the premises; and having effectual power over those houses they were successful in their endeavours. Their next neighbours, the Messrs. Tennant and Co., were equally desirous to suppress that traffic. They had also a large power over the houses inhabited by their workpeople; but, unfortunately for the success of their measures, their power was not so complete as that of the company to which he had first referred. Although the extract was rather long, yet it was so instructive that perhaps the House would allow him to read it. The writer said—

> "The next village, New Hepburn, is inhabited mainly by the workpeople employed by Messrs. C. Tennant and Co., who about five years ago became lessees of about 100 acres of land adjoining the river Tyne, upon which they have erected large works, and have leased portions for house building, so that a village has been built upon land of which they are the lessors. Their workmen's houses are owned by several people, who have built them on the land leased to them by these gentlemen. One of the conditions of the lease is that beer or spirits shall not be sold on the premises under penalty of forfeiture of the lease and consequent loss of the property. This is a usual clause in building leases in this district, and is generally made use of by the lessor to obtain additional ground rent from those tenants who sell beer or spirits. Messrs. Tennant and Co., however, have endeavoured to use it as a means of mitigating drunkenness among their workmen, by prohibiting the traffic entirely. Very soon, however, after the houses were inhabited, beer and spirits were sold in the dwelling-houses. About a-year and a-half after the houses were erected, and when the population of the village amounted to 1,950 souls, men, women, and children, there were 17 houses known to the police where beer and spirits were illicitly sold. The occupiers were at once threatened with dismissal from their employment unless they desisted, and this threat was carried into execution; but though some desisted, it had no effect in stopping the trade, as many persons seemed to find it more profitable, or more suitable to their taste, to suffer dismissal, and continue their illicit trade. The next step taken was to inform the proprietors of the houses that, as beer and spirits were being sold on their properties, they had rendered themselves liable to the forfeiture of their leases, and they were requested to expel the offenders from their houses, as the only condition on which they would be allowed to retain possession of their property. There was, however, so much trouble and difficulty in obtaining evidence, and so much delay in getting a legal conviction, that by the time one offender was evicted, some other person was doing as brisk a trade as before, and often the evicted person got into another house, under another name, and was as bad as ever."

The result was that Mr. Richardson applied to the Excise on the matter. He took infinite trouble and pains to procure evidence as to the illicit sale of liquors; he succeeded in obtaining some convictions, but he found it was quite impossible to prevent that illicit trade, and it was now a flourishing traffic. Mr. Richardson described the state of things in the rest of Jarrow, where the publichouses and beerhouses throve, and where he was afraid, also, that an illicit trade in liquors was carried on in some houses. Everything there was about as bad as it could be, and Mr. Richardson had made a number of suggestions for the improvement of the law—many of them, he was bound to say, showing great sagacity and a thorough knowledge of the subject. But it was instructive to read the final conclusion come to by a gentleman so sensible of the evils of that traffic, and so earnest in his desire to suppress them. He said—

> "After much careful consideration, the writer is of opinion that any radical change in the habits of the people as to intemperance will be the effect of other than legislative measures which it is not the purpose of this Paper to discuss; and that with the present wretched house accommodation available for a large proportion of the workmen of this district, their deficient mental culture—which makes drinking almost their only amusement and relaxation—and the limited number of workmen's clubs, mechanics' institutes, and other places of resort for recreation or profitable occupation of time, publichouses for refreshment and social intercourse are almost a necessity. If their number were reduced, so as to be no more than sufficient for the reasonable requirements of the people, or, what would be the same thing in effect, if proper order were enforced therein and drunkenness and riotous conduct prohibited (in which case many of them would not be worth carrying on), and if means could be devised for insuring a supply of pure wholesome ale instead of the noxious compound now usually retailed in this district, probably all that legislation could effect would be done."

Those seemed to him to be very wise words, and he would anticipate one part of his statement by saying that he had striven with earnestness throughout his Bill to give the utmost effect to them.

He had explained that he could not in any way accept as a solution of that question the Bill brought forward by his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle. At the same time he was bound to say he thought that measure contained a very valuable principle, and that the principle of an appeal to the ratepayers on matters affecting their interests was one of which great use could be made. Over and above the fact that the ratepayers were the persons chiefly interested, that it was their comfort and convenience and not that of other people that should be consulted, that they were the persons who bore nearly all the burden of the crime and misery produced by the multiplication of those houses and by their disorderly conduct—over and above those considerations there was another, and in his view a most important one—namely, the advantage of enlisting the minds and hearts and feelings of the people in the thorough consideration of that subject.

Let them give the ratepayers a voice in that matter—let them give them the power in some way or other of deciding how far those houses should exist amongst them, and they would at once create a strong public opinion, they would encourage among them that sort of feeling which among the upper classes of society had long made drunkenness disgraceful, which was rapidly also making it disgraceful among the working classes themselves, and which no longer permitted them to call a mere sot a good fellow, or to look on the offence of drunkenness as merely venial. He was satisfied, therefore, that if they were to create a wholesome and vigorous public opinion on that subject, they must give the ratepayers of the country some direct control over it, and that the more widely that control could, without injustice, be extended, the greater would be the social advantage. It was true that the establishment of free trade in the liquor traffic had been recommended by the Committee of 1854. No doubt that principle had the merit of perfect simplicity and impartiality, and the question was whether or not those advantages would be counterbalanced by the evil of insufficient restriction. There was this difference between free trade in alcoholic liquors and free trade in other articles, that excess of supply was not self-corrective to the same extent as it was in other trades. It created a demand at once artificial and dangerous to society. Free trade was a good principle where their object was to develop trade to the utmost; but as that could not be their object in respect to the liquor traffic, it seemed to him that it would be dangerous to apply that principle to the traffic. It had been advocated mainly by those who looked only to the abuses of the magisterial system, or who insisted upon the application of abstract principles. The experiment had been tried with regard to beerhouses, and immediately after the passing of the Act great complaints had been made. Act after Act had been passed "weighting" the trade in various ways, certificates of character, and other conditions being attached to the granting of licences—all of which, however, had failed to save the Act from general condemnation. It was also a remarkable fact that among the thousands of Petitions which had been presented to that House in favour of some method of suppressing the evils of that traffic, not one, as far as he was aware, was in favour of the free trade principle.

Having gone through the existing system, and the various other proposals which had been suggested, the result, as far as he had proceeded, would hardly be encouraging to the House, inasmuch as while finding fault with the present system he had found still greater fault with all other proposals. The system proposed by the Government he would now state in as few words as he could. The broad principles upon which the Bill was framed were as follows:—In all cases the grant of licences by the Excise would be preceded by a certificate from the justices. The licences themselves, their conditions, and the licensing jurisdiction would remain substantially unaltered. The licences, called in the Bill "publicans' general licences," would correspond with the present publicans' licences, and those called in the Bill "publicans' limited licences," would correspond with the present beer licences, except that they would confer the power of selling wine. The licensing justices would have the same jurisdiction as they possessed at present; but, for convenience, the area over which it extended would be sub-divided into licensing districts, which the magistrates would have the power, in case they thought fit to do so, to further sub-divide into smaller districts. The question of the number of licensing certificates to be issued on the licensing day would be considered by the justices altogether apart from that of their distribution, and would be determined by the justices, subject to a limited veto to be exercised by the ratepayers. The distribution of the certificates after the number to be issued had been settled by the magistrates would be determined in the only impartial manner that had suggested itself to the Government. Each certificate would be given to the bidder of the highest annual licence-rent. These licence-rents would be appropriated to public purposes, and the certificate-holder would be at liberty to use his certificate where he choose within the district, subject to certain restrictions, the justices, as guardians of the public, being satisfied that the premises were fit and proper for the purpose, and that they were under the control of a fit manager. All these certificates were to be granted for a certain limited period, and were to be liable to forfeiture, not, as hitherto, at the discretion of the licensing justices, but in the event of a certain prescribed number of convictions having being recorded against the holder for offences under the Act.

Having thus sketched the general outline of the main principles of the measure, he would now proceed to enter into its provisions in greater detail. As he had before stated the licensing jurisdictions, would remain practically unaltered. In the boroughs, whether with or without a separate Court of Quarter Sessions, the licensing justices would be the justices of the boroughs, while in the counties they would be the county justices acting in and for the special sessional divisions. Stipendiary magistrates, not being metropolitan police magistrates, would be empowered to act as licensing justices, so far as concerned all certificates within their jurisdiction. No appeal would be given from the decision of the justices in respect of the exercise of their licensing jurisdiction, they, living on the spot, being supposed to be better judges of local and personal questions than the justices of Quarter Sessions could be. But, although the Bill retained the present divisions for licensing purposes, those divisions were sub-divided by the Bill into more manageable areas, chiefly with the view of facilitating the determination of the justices with reference to the appropriate number of licences to be issued. The licensing districts so proposed would be in boroughs where there were wards, the wards, and in boroughs without wards, the whole borough; in a petty sessional division of a county, each parish or place where a separate rate was or could be levied. The justices would be empowered, in the exercise of their discretion, further to divide those districts. At the general annual licensing sessions the justices would deal separately with each licensing district in their division. The first step which the justices would have to take would be to consider what was the number of new certificates which the circumstances of the district would entitle them to issue. In the event of their being of opinion that no increase in the number of certificates was desirable, none would be issued; but, if otherwise, they would then determine, by resolution, what number should be issued. The justices would then advertise the number of certificates proposed to be issued, and it would be open to a certain proportion of the ratepayers mentioned in the Bill to take a vote of the ratepayers on the question, and a majority of three-fifths were to have the power of vetoing or of reducing, but not of increasing the number proposed. There was, however, to be a limit to this power of the ratepayers. The Bill would prescribe a certain proportion of publichouses to population. If at the date of the proposal the number of publicans' certificates in existence in the district, and the number proposed to be issued did not, when added together, exceed the proportion of one certificate to so many ratepayers, no poll could be taken; and if the justices proposed to increase the number above the Parliamentary standard, and the ratepayers voted that it should be reduced below the standard, the justices might, nevertheless, raise it up to the standard by issuing the necessary number of certificates, general or limited, as they might think fit. The number and character of the certificates having been thus determined, the next step was to distribute them. The process was to be by tender. Any person not within the statutory disqualifications might tender for all or any of the certificates. The form of the tender was an undertaking to pay a licence rent annually during the continuance of the certificate, such licence rent to be a percentage on the gross annual value according to the poor rate assessment of the premises to which the certificate was to be attached; so, however, that no tender should be of less than 5 per cent on the gross estimated rental, and no premises should be deemed to be assessed at less than £50 or more than £300. The thing to be tendered for would be a publican's general certificate authorizing the holder to set up a publichouse anywhere within the district unless any part or parts of it had been barred by the justices; such certificate to be good only for a term of 10 years from the passing of the Bill, but during that term to be annually renewable. Applications for tenders would be duly invited by advertisment. They would be received by the justices and opened publicly by them on a given day. The certificates would then be allotted to the persons making the highest tender. The same process would apply to publicans' limited certificates, with this exception—that the minimum licence rent would be lower. The certificates, however, thus allotted would not be finally issued to each allottee until the justices had approved of the premises proposed and of a manager for them. The part of the Bill which related to the manager of premises to which licences were to be attached was, in his opinion, of the greatest importance. The manager was necessarily, as the responsible person, bound to reside on the premises, residence not being required of the holder; but the holder would appoint his own manager, and, of course, might appoint himself. As to premises, the justices might withhold their approval only if either the structure or the fitting up was unsuitable for a publichouse, or if the premises fell within the statutory disqualifications. Opportunity, however, would be given to the allottee to apply to the justices for the approval of the premises before he had actually acquired them, or had been put to the expense of fitting them up, or for the approval of the plans before the premises were constructed. After the manager and premises had been thus approved, the allottee would pay his first year's licence-rent in advance, obtain his certificate, take it to the Excise authorities, and obtain his Excise licence. Having stated the outline of the scheme, he would now point out what he conceived to be its advantages. In the first place the licensing justices would be relieved from the impossible task of considering the requirements of enormous unwieldy districts, which would be partially divided for them by the Bill, and which might be further sub-divided by themselves where necessary. Having so sub-divided the districts, the justices, having thoroughly considered the wants of each particular district, would give public notice of the determination at which they might have arrived on the subject of the number of licences to be issued. The ratepayers would thus have an opportunity of expressing their assent or dissent with reference to the number proposed, and candidates would no longer be exposed to the chance of loss they now incurred by preparing premises to which licences might be refused. The whole of the annual licence-rent would be applied for the public benefit, in the manner to be hereafter explained. Then, with regard to the renewals of licences. At present the renewal of publicans' licences was entirely in the discretion of the magistrates. He was bound to say that the very frequent complaints which he had received from former holders of licences of the manner in which they had been deprived of them were, in many instances, well founded, because not only was no notice required to be given of the intention to oppose the renewal of a licence at the next licensing meeting, but the evidence as to acts which might have occurred months previously, upon which the opposition was founded, was not even required to be upon oath. This did not appear to him to be just. The offence ought to have been charged against the licensee at the time of its committal, when either he might have been able to meet the charge, or it would have been proved in a court of justice. If a certificate was forfeited, the forfeiture should be part of the punishment for a legally proved offence. The Bill would, therefore, give the magistrates power of refusing to renew a certificate at their annual meeting on one or two grounds only, having reference chiefly to the residence of the manager during the past year. Then as to removals. The Bill would enable the holder of a certificate to remove it from one house to another within the district, subject to the approval of the justices. It would be seen that the issue of new certificates, except in very few cases, would depend upon the consent of the ratepayers. As to the issue of certain special certificates their consent would not be required, and he did not think it would be contended that it should be required. This remark applied to inns and eating-houses, which were necessary for the accommodation of travellers and inhabitants of towns. These establishments, if properly conducted, were most useful. So long as they were *boná fide* eating-houses and inns, and not kept for mere drinking purposes, there was every reason why they should be encouraged, and they ought to be placed on a different footing to publichouses and beerhouses. The Bill therefore provided that inn certificates should be issued at the discretion of the justices, which would authorize the sale of fermented liquors and spirits for consumption on the premises, with the restriction that such liquors must be sold exclusively to travellers and persons taking meals in the house. Eating-house certificates issued also at the discretion of the justices would not authorize the sale of spirits under any circumstances. It would be necessary to guard against an abuse of these certificates, and therefore the Bill provided that the justices who were intrusted with the issue of them, should ascertain whether the application made was *bonâ fide*. They would also have the power of summoning at any time the holder of any such certificate for the purpose of meeting any charge made against him of carrying on upon his premises a publican's business. A second conviction would involve a forfeiture of the certificate. Renewal of such certificates might also be refused at any licensing sessions. The issue of certificates for railway station refreshment-rooms would be at the discretion of the justices, and they would only be permitted to supply railway travellers and persons engaged on the premises. The refreshment-house wine certificate would correspond with the licence authorized by the Act introduced by his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government, and would be granted to any person in respect of any premises so long as those premises were within the statutory qualification.

He had now to deal with the question of issuing new licences, and came to an incomparably more important question, the treatment of existing licences. He admitted, and no person, he thought, could deny, that the number of licences in most parts of the country was too great. Temptation was thereby thrown in the way of the population. It was quite clear that in the town of Wolverhampton, for instance, there were too many public and beerhouses, the proportion of them, as he was told, being 1 in 70 of the population. In Middlesborough the proportion had recently been 1 in 60, and in Liverpool 1 in 190. It was utterly impossible that these houses could be carried on at a profit after payment of the Excise duty, and of the other expenses of such establishments, if the law was obeyed, and pure and unadulterated liquor was sold in them. But the question how the number of these licences is to be reduced, was very difficult to solve. He did not think that the House was prepared for any general confiscation of licences. It might be that a vast number of public-houses were ill-conducted, but it was impossible to distinguish between the better and the worse. A Royal Commission could not be issued to decide which of them were respectably conducted, and which were disreputably conducted. If the House dealt with them, it must deal with them on some broad general principle. If the House were not prepared actually to confiscate them, there remained only the question of buying them up. It had been suggested that the Imperial Exchequer should bear part of the burden of buying them up, but he doubted whether his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would entertain that proposal. He thought that hon. Gentlemen opposite would hardly at the first blush sanction a proposal that rates should be applied to that purpose. It would be urged that would be a most impolitic, and unjust application of rates. The fact that a certain number of bad houses would be suppressed by the expenditure of local moneys, would greatly enhance the value of the remaining houses. Having examined the question most carefully with those who were most competent to advise him, he had failed to devise any scheme by which Imperial or local revenues could be applied to purchase the surrender of licences. At the same time he thought it was impossible to present to the House any measure which would be worthy of their reception, which did not attempt to deal with that part of the question. What therefore he proposed was this. He could not assent to the proposition of his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle that these houses had no sort of interest. They had an interest, although it was undoubtedly of a qualified description. His hon. Friend founded his proposition on the superficial fact that these licences were annually renewed, and that the justices might any year refuse to renew them. But the fact was that the justices nearly always renewed these licences unless the holders of them, by bad conduct, had rendered themselves unfit to hold a licence, and it should be borne in mind that they could not be refused without an appeal to the Quarter Sessions: and had anyone ever heard of such an appeal being decided, except with reference only to the conduct of the holder of the licence? On the other hand the House had never recognized any vested interest in this species of property, or any right to compensation, yet it had frequently interfered with the trade. It greatly interfered with it when it passed the Beerhouse Act; again, when spirit dealers were allowed to have retail licences; and again, when the Act for closing publichouses was passed; and in 1854 it was proposed by Mr. Villiers' Committee to introduce free trade into the business without providing compensation. The knowledge of the holders of these licences that their right to compensation was of a very qualified nature, made them extremely anxious for anything like a fair and equitable arrangement of this question. What he was anxious to provide was that Parliament should deal fairly towards the holders of these licences, while without any delay, by means of stringent police regulations, and efficient guarantees for orderly conduct and for the sale of unadulterated liquors, an end might be put to a vast number of the present ill-conducted houses. He, therefore, proposed to substitute for the present precarious annual licence an assured certificate for the term of 10 years, subject to a moderate licence-rent sufficient to pay the costs of proper inspection, and proportioned to the gross estimated rental. The holders of publichouses would be entitled to what was called a publican's general certificate, and the holders of beerhouses would be entitled to a publican's limited certificate. For a publican's general or a publican's limited certificate £2 per cent would be paid on the gross annual value; no premises to be deemed to be assessed at less than £50, or more than £300. That would amount to only £1 per head from beerhouse-keepers, which were all, or nearly all, under £50; and only £1 per head from the 53,000 innkeepers whose premises were under £50. The remainder would have to pay from £2 up to £6, according to circumstances. These certificates would be subjected to the police regulations of the Bill, subject to these regulations, they would be renewable for the term of 10 years, and at the end of 10 years, when they would cease to exist, it would be for the magistrates to decide what number of certificates should be issued. Now, take the case of Wolverhampton, where there were 999 licences to 72,000 persons. After the expiration of the first 10 years the number of certificates, though greatly reduced by the operation of this Bill, would probably be still in excess of the actual wants and necessities of the population. The justices would meet, and their decision, if in favour of a larger proportion than that indicated in the Bill, would be subject to the popular vote. Suppose, for instance, that the proportion mentioned in the Bill was 1 licence to every 1,000 of the population. If, therefore, the Wolverhampton magistrates decided to grant 70 certificates their decision must pass unchallenged; if, however, they proposed to grant 100, the ratepayers might be asked to vote, and might either accede to the proposition or reduce the number proposed, but to not less than 70. There would be another provision in the Bill, giving at the end of 10 years a priority to the holders of existing licences in the distribution of the new certificates. The new certificates, if not fewer in number, would be assigned to the holders of the expired certificates; if fewer in number than those expired, they would be put up to the tender among the holders of the expired certificates exclusively.

He had just now stated that he had no proposal to submit to the House for the compensation of existing licence-holders with a view to an immediate reduction in the number, but he did not altogether despair of seeing some experiment tried with this object within a few years of the passing of this Bill if the House should see fit to adopt it. He did not know whether the House had read a very interesting statement which had been made by his hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool (Mr. Rathbone) with regard to the practice that had been adopted in Sweden. Sweden, as most hon. Members probably knew, did not bear an exceedingly high reputation for the temperance and sobriety of its inhabitants, and though he did not go so far as to say that the practice which prevailed in a part of Sweden was one which they should adopt, still it furnished an instructive example. He referred to the town of Gottenburg, which had adopted a system which had been attended by excellent results. The municipality of that town had bought up all the publichouses and established a number of well-conducted houses, into which they had put managers, who were paid by salary, and had no pecuniary interest whatever in the liquor they sold. They were thus never placed in the position in which publicans too frequently found themselves. A man who had drank too much would often be encouraged by the dishonest and disreputable publican to drink more, because by so doing the profit of the publican would be increased, while many a man who was not disreputable or dishonest would willingly refuse to supply anyone who had drank too much if it were not for the fear of offending a customer. No such reason, however, would apply in the case of a manager appointed in the manner he had indicated. Where this system prevailed there was, too, this further security. It was provided that the liquor sold should be pure and unadulterated, and in addition the manager was allowed to trade on his own account in tea, coffee, and other innocuous beverages, so that every encouragement was given to the conversion of these houses thus under municipality control into places for innocent assembly. The change in the habits of the population, resulting from the adoption of this system, had been very marked, and, where, before intemperance was rife, the people had become a model to every other part of Sweden. He did not think this country was ripe for committing to any body of ratepayers the purchase of publichouses; but he could very well perceive that, as every year the efflux of time would decrease the value of the licence, it might offer to the authorities an opportunity for buying up existing licences, and letting a smaller number to the highest bidders on the principle recommended by the Bill, for thereby at once reducing the number of publichouses. On the whole, he believed the proposition contained in the Bill afforded a basis for dealing fairly with the difficult question of vested interests.

He would now pass to the part of the Bill which proposed to deal with the rating qualification. In counties no licence would be granted to a house of a lower gross annual value than £9 per annum; in towns where the population did not exceed 10,000, £15; where it was above 10,000 and under 30,000, £20; and where the population exceeded 30,000, £25. This part of the subject was one of extreme difficulty, because although the population of two towns might be the same, the rateable value of similar houses varied very much, and what was fair in one place would be unfair in another, and therefore he had not ventured to carry the rating qualification too high.

Now, another important point had reference to the hours of closing. At present, publichouses were closed in large towns between 1 and 4 o'clock in the morning, but were open through the night in portions of the country where the provisions of the Early Closing Act did not apply, or had not been adopted. Beerhouses were closed in the metropolis between 12 at night and 4 in the morning, in country towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants between 11 and 4, and in smaller places between 10 and 4. He proposed to eqalize the hours of closing in the case of beer and publichouses, and, as far as the night went, to adopt the hours now applied to beerhouses. In addition to that, the Bill gave the power, and he had no doubt it would be frequently exercised, to the magistrates to make a further reduction, with the consent of the ratepayers in every case of one hour, so that in the rural districts the magistrates might, with the concurrence of the ratepayers, close the houses at 9 at night instead of at 10, as at present. The hour of opening would be 7 in the morning, instead of 4. There was a great deal of drinking of a very objectionable character between the hours of 6 and 7 by workmen proceeding to their labour, and it would be of great public advantage if the facilities for it were cut off. He then came to a much more difficult question, that of closing on Sundays, in which his hon. Friend the Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands) had especially interested himself. He had had before him a great deal of evidence of the very strong feeling which pervaded the country on this subject, and he had no doubt whatever that a very large number of the working people were in favour of the total closing of publichouses on the Sunday. But, on the other hand, he must be guided by considerations of general policy, and he could not but think that if a great change were suddenly made in the habits of the people with respect to the accommodation they had hitherto enjoyed on Sundays, there would be a revulsion of feeling which would prevent much of the good that might otherwise be effected. He proposed, therefore, a reduction of hours founded on the Report of the Committee of 1854, which inquired very carefully into the subject. The result of their inquiries was that publichouses on Sunday should be closed except from

1 to 3 in the afternoon, and from 7 until 9 in the evening. These were the hours which he proposed to adopt. But it was intended that the justices, with the consent of the ratepayers, might close publichouses for the whole of Sunday, except for sale for consumption off the premises. There would, of course, be special exemptions to meet peculiar cases, as with regard to houses situated near market-places. But he would not trouble the Committee by entering into these details. At the closing hour the houses were to be cleared, after it no article whatever was to be sold, and persons found on the premises would be subject to punishment.

The penal provisions of the Bill had been very carefully considered, because he felt obliged to leave in existence a number of publichouses which he admitted to be a great evil; and that was an additional reason for taking the best possible security for public order. It was well known that licences were very rarely forfeited under the present Acts. However numerous the convictions might have been, the justices were not obliged to forfeit the licence. They were frequently moved by various considerations, as for example that forfeiture would be a too severe penalty, that the licence-holder was not the real owner, and so on. What he wanted to do was to introduce a system which should be self-acting, and, therefore, he proposed that all offences against the licence of whatever kind, whether for selling liquor which there was no right to sell, for adulteration, for permitting drunkenness on the premises, and so forth, should be subjected to a certain penalty under the Bill. Whenever a conviction for these offences occurred the fact of the conviction would be endorsed on the back of the certificate, and under no circumstances should it be removed. If the penalty imposed should exceed half of the highest amount that might be inflicted for the offence, then the whole penalty would be entered as if it had been inflicted; if less than half, then half the penalty would be entered. When the sum of these penalties added together reached £65 in three years, or £100 in five years, the certificate would be *ipso facto* forfeited without any discretion on the part of the magistrates. In the meantime, the existence of the record of these convictions on the back of the certificate would depreciate the value of it; and in conjunction with the next proposal which he had to make would form a strong guarantee against the repetition of offences against the licence. Supposing the penalties for these offences reached a certain maximum within a given time, not only would the holder lose his certificate but the premises themselves could not be licensed after a certain number of offences had been recorded against them; and, moreover, the personal disqualification of the manager would extend to five years. One of the most frequent difficulties which arose at present was with regard to the interpretation given to the word "traveller." Nothing was more difficult than to prove whether a man found in a publichouse when the house ought to be closed was a traveller or not. What he proposed was that a traveller should be held to be a person not less than five miles from the place of his residence, and the burden of proof should be thrown on the publican on whose premises the person was found during the prohibited hours. At the same time the publican would be protected by the imposition of a penalty in persons falsely professing to be travellers. As to a breach of the closing regulations, the Bill imposed the same penalties as those imposed by the Act of the hon. Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson). There had been many and serious complaints with respect to disorderly houses, such as those in the Haymarket, and other such places. The penal provision against allowing persons of bad character to assemble and remain in these houses was made more stringent; and it was provided that a second conviction for this offence should involve the forfeiture of the certificate. One of the greatest offences against the tenour of the certificate was permitting drunkenness on the premises. He could conceive few greater offences. It often happened that when more than enough was given to a man, he became animated by a sort of maudlin liberality, and insisted on treating all round, so that in a few hours he might spend on his boon companions the earnings of a week, and leave his wife and children starving at home. The burden of proof in this case would be thrown on the manager, and he would be required to show that he took reasonable means to ascertain, and had reasonable grounds for believing, that the drunken person when supplied with liquor was not drunk. With regard to the difficulty of proving when a person was really drunk, he thought the keeper of the house should by his long experience be able to know what was the state of his customers; and if it could be shown that a drunken man had been supplied with liquor the burden of proving that he was ignorant of the fact ought to be thrown upon the publican. Further, he proposed to impose a penalty for drunkenness not only in the streets, but in publichouses, and to raise it to 20*s.*; and, in default of payment, the offender might be sentenced, not only to imprisonment, but to imprisonment with hard labour. Then there would be a heavier penalty on persons found drunk when they were specially bound to be sober—as when in charge of a horse or steam-engine, or having dangerous weapons in their possession. With respect to adulteration, the Bill provided that samples might be taken by the authority named therein and duly tested; and arrangements had been made that analyses should be conducted in Somerset House laboratory. This provision was most important. He looked upon adulteration as a most iniquitous fraud, and its effects as of a most injurious character. Acts of the most dangerous violence with which the police had to deal were committed by persons intoxicated with liquors into which noxious ingredients had been introduced. As offences of this kind were very serious, he proposed for the first offence the imposition of a heavy fine, with imprisonment at the option of the magistrates; and for the second offence a still heavier fine, together with forfeiture of the certificate. He came now to a very important part of the Bill—namely, that which dealt with the managers of publichouses. The law at present was that a licence should be granted only to the man who undertook to reside on the premises, the purpose being to prevent the acquisition of publichouses by brewers, and their multiplication in a few hands. But that purpose had totally failed. As a matter of fact it was well known that, directly or indirectly, the enormous majority of publichouses were controlled by brewers. It seemed to him that this enactment was attended with disadvantages without any compensating advantage. If the brewer were capable of holding the licence in his own name, we should have the guarantee of his own character for the proper conduct of the house, and he would choose persons who would do credit to him to manage the business. At present, as the fact of the ownership was known to but few, the brewer might put into the house the first person that offered to sell a certain quantity of liquor; if his conduct imperilled the licence, some other person was put in his place, and the house was conducted very much as before. What was now proposed was that any number of certificates might be taken by the same person, who was to appoint a manager for each house. The manager was to reside in and to be responsible for the conduct of the house. If he committed an offence, the penalty would be indelibly marked on the certificate. At present, if the manager committed an offence the owner would turn him out, and there would be an end of the matter. But when every conviction was registered, and depreciated the value of the certificate and of the premises, the owner would take the utmost care that the next manager would not further depreciate the value, or bring about the forfeiture of the certificate By those means the best security would, he thought, be afforded that managers should be responsible persons; and there would, therefore, be an obvious advantage in their appointment over the present system.

There were already strict laws against publichouses, and all sorts of conditions were attached to a licence, a failure in the performance of which subjected the holder to punishments more or less severe. Practically speaking, however, the law had turned out to be inefficient and inoperative. What was the reason? It was to be found in the fact that those who were charged with the enforcement of the law—that was to say, the police—could not and ought not to be trusted within the walls of a publichouse. Except when called upon to quell disorder, or when it was kept open at improper hours, constables were under orders not to enter a publichouse, because they were there subject to temptations of every kind. An efficient inspection could, in his opinion, be conducted only by a body of men superior to the ordinary police, and not charged with ordinary police duties. He had stated that all the holders of existing licences would have to pay an annual licence rent, which he calculated would produce £130,000 a-year. That amount, he proposed, should be paid into the Treasury; and the Treasury would provide for the cost of an efficient body of publichouse inspectors. There would be one Inspector-in-Chief; and England and Wales would be divided into districts, with an inspector for each—every large town and district having a superintendent, under whom there would be a carefully-selected and well-paid body of men. Those officers would have the power of obtaining admittance to a publichouse at all times, and of asking for samples of liquor for the purpose of having it tested; they would, in fact, be a body of men specially charged with the duty of seeing that no offence was committed in a publichouse which was prohibited by the law; and an efficient system of inspection would thus, for the first time, be established. Under such a system of inspection, and with such police regulations as he had described, and a considerable contraction of the number of hours during which they could remain open, there would, he thought, before long, be a considerable decrease in the number of publichouses. Many of those now in existence would not, it was well known, be able to subsist were it not for the constant infraction of their licences; and if the opportunities of such infraction were cut off, and the system which he had sketched out were vigourously administered, there would be, he believed, not only a reduction in the number of publichouses, but those which remained would be of a much better description. It was impossible to estimate the exact cost of the system of inspection. It would, however, be no real charge on the Treasury, but on the trade which required it. And whatever surplus remained, after the cost of inspection had been defrayed, would be paid into the fund of the district from which it came.

He had now explained the provisions of the Bill. He had endeavoured, to the best of his ability, to deal with a subject, the difficulties of which no one could rightly estimate who had not taken them into consideration. He had sought to deal fairly with the interests of the owners of property in publichouses, on the one hand, and with those of the public on the other—he proposed to give the people a control over the issue of new licences. The Bill would provide also for the impartial distribution of licences. The rules, with regard to early closing, and the precautions taken against adulteration, would, he thought, have a most wholesome influence on the conduct of publichouses for the future. The Bill would not remove all the human misery which proceeded from the excessive use of intoxicating liquors. That was an object which he believed no legislation could accomplish. The ultimate remedy for the evil of drunkenness was not to be found in the mechanical difficulties which might be interposed in its way—though he was far from depreciating such means—but rather in the moral influences of education, in the creation among the people of a high moral standard, of a state of feeling which would lead them to look upon drunkenness as a disgrace, and would give them a truer sense of what was due to their families as well as to themselves. By those means, and by those means only, would the people of the country become a moral, religious, and sober people. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the following Resolutions:—

(1.) That it is expedient, from the 1st day of October 1871, to repeal the duties of Excise charged in England in respect of Licences authorising the sale by retail, and not (except in the case of Publicans' Licences) by wholesale, of intoxicating liquors, and of Licences to keep Refreshment Houses, imposed by the several Acts relating thereto.

(2.) That it is expedient to grant to Her Majesty, from the 1st day of October 1871, the following Duties of Excise to be payable in England (that is to say):—

Publican's General Licence.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
If the annual gross value of the premises do not exceed £10 .	5	0	0
Exceed £10 and do not exceed £20	8	0	0
„ £20 „ „ £30	11	0	0
„ £30 „ „ £40	14	0	0
„ £40	17	0	0

Publican's Limited Licence.

Beer Licence.

If the annual gross value of the premises do not exceed £10 .	3	0	0
Exceed £10 and do not exceed £20	4	0	0
„ £20 „ „ £40	5	0	0
„ £40	6	0	0

Wine Licence.

If the annual gross value of the premises do not exceed £10 .	2	0	0
Exceed £10 and do not exceed £20	3	0	0
„ £20 „ „ £40	4	0	0
„ £40	5	0	0

Beer and Wine Licence.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
If the annual gross value of the premises do not exceed £10	4	0	0
Exceed £10 and do not exceed £20	6	0	0
„ £20 „ „ £40	8	0	0
„ £40	10	0	0

Inn Licence.

Same as Publican's General Licence.

Eating House Licence.

Same as Publican's Limited Licence.

Refreshment House Wine Licence.

If the annual gross value of the premises do not exceed £50	3	3	0
If the annual gross value of the premises exceeds £50	5	5	0

Refreshment House Limited Wine Licence.

If the annual gross value of premises do not exceed £30	2	15	8
Exceeding £30 and do not exceed £50	3	0	0
Exceed £50	4	4	0

Railway Refreshment Rooms Licence.

If three rooms or bars for different classes of passengers	17	0	0
If two ditto	12	0	0
If only one room or bar	6	0	0

Theatre Licence.

The same as for a Publican's General Licence.

Beershop Licence.

If the annual gross value do not exceed £20	1	1	0
If the annual gross value do exceed £20	2	2	0
Spirit Dealer's Retail Licence	3	3	0
Beer „ „	1	2	0

Wine Retail Licence.

If the annual gross value of premises do not exceed £50	2	2	0
If the annual gross value of premises do exceed £50	3	3	0
Sweets Retail Licence	1	1	0

(3.) That it is expedient to authorise the imposition on holders of Certificates from Justices authorising those holders to obtain a Publican's General, a Publican's Limited, an Inn or an Eating House Licence, of a Licence Rent bearing such proportion to the annual gross value of the licensed premises as may be fixed by or in pursuance of any Act to be passed in the present Session.

(4.) That it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to the sale of Exciseable Liquors in England.

Sir **WILFRID LAWSON** said, it was impossible to form any very accurate opinion upon the Bill which the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had brought in, or to master many of its complicated clauses; but he thought it was evident from the careful speech which the right hon. Gentleman had just made, that he had taken a great deal of labour in endeavouring to improve the system which that Bill was intended to improve. All those who wished to see an amendment in the existing state of things must be grateful to him for the labour he had expended in this matter, and he was quite sure that all would think it labour worth so expending, for he had no hesitation in saying that if the right hon. Gentleman could do anything to diminish intemperance, he would have done more than any statesman of his generation for the welfare of England; and he knew, as well as he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) did, that it was only the overwhelming demand of the country for a reform in this matter which had enabled him to bring forward that Bill. Parliament, for generations back, had been dealing with this question, and so far it had utterly failed to do what it had intended—that is, to make the licensing system, instead of a curse, a blessing to the people. The old system, as he had said, had been a total failure; they knew that it was intended to enable the sale of intoxicating drinks to be carried on, and, at the same time, to prevent drunkenness. That could be seen from the very wording of the licences given to every person who succeeded in obtaining one—"He shall not knowingly permit drunkenness or disorderly conduct on his premises." Well, all old schemes had failed. The Beer Act had been a great failure; and they knew also from the examinations and inquiries made by the Committee presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Villiers) how bad the system had been during the years that supervened after the passing of the Beer Act. Archbishop Manning said a short time since, that he had only read the Report of that Committee lately, and that he felt as if going from one chamber of horrors to another, while reading the revelations which it made. So strong was the evidence adduced before that Committee, and so strong was their Report, that a Bill was promised by the Government. That Bill had been promised for 15 years, and to-day they saw the realization of that promise. He was sure the hon. Member (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) would admit—he had heard him say that the Bill which he (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) passed two years ago was only touching the fringe of this question; for after it was passed, they remained in the same position, or, as he thought, in a rather worse condition than they did before the passing of the Beer Act in 1830. His right hon. Friend had now made an effort to put things right, and he wished to make a few remarks on the subject; but he would not like to speak decisively before he saw exactly what was the value of the Bill. But he must protest at this, the very earliest, opportunity against one principle in the Bill which gave a vested interest in licences. As far as he understood, the habit had been that licences for the sale of drink should not be granted for a longer period than 12 months; but he found now that the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to break through this rule, to increase, strengthen, and create vested interests. If that was so, there were, he thought, several hon. Members in that House who would oppose that portion of the Bill. As to the restrictive clauses and the shortening of hours, he would only say, that as they would reduce the facilities for obtaining drink he should cordially support them, for he thought they would result in good. He did not exactly understand how the matter of compensation, in the way of licences, was to be dealt with, and therefore he should not refer to that clause. [Mr. BRUCE: There is not to be any compensation.] He thought there was a decision, by which a veto power was to be given to a certain number of inhabitants on new applications, but that this veto power only came into operation to stop licences beyond a certain given number. He must say that appeared to him to be a very inefficient power, and it was not satisfactory to persons who suffered from those establishments. They were suffering at this moment from the immense amount of crime and pauperism in this country, and the right hon. Gentleman admitted that that arose in a great measure from the sale of intoxicating drinks, and that was a very urgent reason for that Bill. But this veto power was only to apply to new licences —new houses which had never yet done any harm. What he thought was a very serious defect was that, so far as he understood, the Bill was confined to England and Wales, for he saw no reason why it should not extend throughout the whole United Kingdom. The Bill was wanted quite as much in Scotland and Ireland as it was in England. In Scotland there was a strong feeling in favour of a change in the law. Only a few years ago, after much labour and discussion, the House passed a licensing measure, which was, perhaps, as good a licensing Bill as could be passed, and which had shut up a good many of the houses in Scotland. But there was still as great a need of the Act being applied to Scotland as to England. He had read in a recent publication, that no Act had ever been carried out more effectually than the last Scotch Licensing Act, but yet the drunkenness and immorality that prevailed in Scotland was dreadful. The Bill was also needed for Ireland. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would remember that when the Permissive Bill was last before the House, a majority of two to one of the Irish Members in the House voted in favour of that Bill. If he were to ask any hon. Member from Ireland for his opinion, he had no doubt that he should be told that checking drunkenness in Ireland would do more good than the Irish Land Bill or the Church Bill, or any other Act of the present generation. The great demand of the people for the last eight or ten years, was for power to get rid of these places altogether. They could not go into the question of good houses or bad houses; but the people said there are the houses producing pauperism and crime, let us have the power to put them down. An allusion had been made to something that had taken place at Jarrow, but that did not bear any comparison to the operation of the Permissive Bill; for, in that case, houses were not allowed to be open, simply because a certain owner objected, but with the Permissive Bill the ratepayers were the people to say if houses should be permitted or not. He believed in the principle of free trade for everything that would benefit the community; but as he believed the licensing trade was a bad one, he could not understand why publichouses, which increased the rates and promoted disorder, should be licensed, except by the will of the people. He could not understand why they should licence that which was wrong. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would understand that, although they were in favour of the Permissive Bill, they would not oppose his Bill. He did not believe in it, and thought it could be improved; but he was not going to oppose him. They would still go on trying to obtain their scheme, which they believed would secure order and happiness in that country. If the scheme of the right hon.

Gentleman was passed, there would be nothing to prevent the power of total prohibition being given to the people along with it; and if their scheme was carried, it would not interfere with him in any way.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, it was far better that they should not, till the Bill was before the House, discuss its separate provisions; but, having taken some interest in this subject, it might be expected that he should say a few words upon it. He was quite sure that the House would believe that the right hon. Gentleman fully interpreted his feelings on the subject when he said that he (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had always looked forward to the day when the Government would grapple fairly with the subject, and deal with it largely as a whole. He had great satisfaction in finding that the right hon. Gentleman had that night grappled boldly, at least, with the subject. There might be points in the Bill to which he should take exception; but there were also many points which had his hearty and cordial support. The hon. Baronet who had just sat down stated that he objected to that part of the Bill in which the veto was given to the ratepayers against the magisterial licensing power, because it only dealt with a very small portion of the question — namely, the new licences. But he had forgotten that all the existing houses, after a period limited in the Bill, would fall under the same ratepayers' restrictions. If they were to adopt the ratepaying veto at all he thought that supported by the Government was quite as extensive as the country would be prepared to receive. The hon. Baronet seemed to forget, when he talked about vested interests, though no vested interests existed, that there had grown up an equivalent, and that the question could certainly not be dealt with without the recognition of something like vested interests. The Bill seemed to deal with several points which he had always wished to be dealt with in any measure introduced. It dealt with the shortening of the hours throughout the country. It shortened them; and it equalized them. And he had often thought that a great deal of drunkenness existed on account of the different hours for visiting publichouses existing in the same places, enabling a drunkard when obliged to leave a house which closed at 11 o'clock to go to another closing at 12 o'clock. With the hours equalized, this would not exist. As to the placing of the licences up to public auction, that appeared to him to be open, at first sight, to one objection, and that was that the licences might be made to converge to one particular part of the district, and that part the worst part. Another point in the right hon. Gentleman's speech was with regard to the rating qualification. The scale began at £9 in counties; this would be too low in many districts, and that was the beginning of the scale for the beerhouses. [Mr. Bruce: £8.] With regard to the time during which houses were to be allowed to be open for the sale and consumption of liquors on Sunday—1 to 3, and 7 to 9—he did not understand whether they were the hours during which beerhouses could be open for the sale of beer to be consumed off the premises, or on the premises. [Mr. Bruce: For both.] He should prefer to see the time of remaining open restricted exclusively to the sale of liquors off the premises, as in such cases the same amount of attendance on the part of those serving would not be requisite. He was exceedingly pleased with the manner in which it was proposed to deal with the question of adulteration. He believed the effect of that part of the measure would be not only to diminish drunkenness, but crime. He had always thought if they had a general Bill, harmonizing all the Acts, bringing them all into one uniform system, they would do much to strengthen their hands in doing away with one of the worst vices of the country. And though there were many points in the Bill to which he must take exception, it was with satisfaction that he found the Government had at last been bold enough to grapple with the question as a whole.

Mr. LOCKE said, he would not attempt to pronounce any distinct opinion upon a measure which, at present, he understood so imperfectly; but he was glad the right hon. Gentleman had not taken up all the views of the promoters of the Permissive Bill. He thought the Bill a very complicated one; although, perhaps, in dealing with such a subject, it could scarcely be otherwise. With regard to the veto system on the part of the ratepayers he confessed he did not understand it. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) wanted to give two-thirds of the ratepayers the power to prevent the minority of one-third from having any refreshment whatever in the shape of alcoholic drink. They had been told, on evidence that was accepted by the hon. Baronet who brought it forward, that in Scotland the effect of closing the publichouses on Sundays had been to increase the drunkenness of the nation. [Mr. M'Laren: No.] Well, he did not quite know whether that effect was limited to the Sunday, or extended through all the days of the week; perhaps the latter, because if a man could get no drink on Sunday he was certain to take all the more on Monday. The hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren) was a witness before the Committee on the Sale of Liquors on Sunday Bill; and the Committee rejected that Bill. The hon. Member for Edinburgh was not in favour of applying the principle of that Bill to England; he was in favour of the diminution of the hours on Sunday. The chairman of that Committee, Sir James Ferguson, though a Scotchman, was of the same opinion; he highly approved the Report and the rejection of the Bill, because the situation of Scotland was altogether different from that of England. His right hon. Friend was, therefore, perfectly justified in not adopting the permissive system; but he did not understand how magistrates and the ratepayers were to act with regard to licences, or in what manner the character of the person who was to keep the publichouse was to be ascertained. The licence was to be put up to auction, and he that would bid the most money for it was to have the certificate. [Mr. Bruce: After an examination into his fitness by the magistrates.] That was exactly what the magistrates did now before granting a licence. They examined into the character of the person applying for a licence—the fitness or accommodation of the house, and the wants of the neighbourhood. The magistrates made very strict inquiry into these three points, and unless they were satisfied no licence was given. Now a certain population was to have no more than a certain number of publichouses; but how was the veto of the inhabitants, proposed by the Bill, to be applied? He understood that if the number fixed by the magistrates was more than in a certain proportion to the inhabitants, the ratepayers might strike off the excess.

Mr. BRUCE: What I said in regard to the veto is this—the veto shall not apply in certain cases, where the proportion of population that shall be fixed upon is not supplied with the means of obtaining liquor. For instance, suppose it is decided that one publichouse to every 1,000 inhabitants is a fair proportion. If there are already 10 houses in a district containing 10,000 inhabitants, and a proposal should be made to licence another house, it will then be in the power of the ratepayers, if they choose, to refuse it. But if there are only nine houses, it will not be in their power to interfere with the decision of the magistrates that a licence for another one shall be granted.

Mr. LOCKE thought that was quite right, for a population of so many souls might not be "thirsty souls." As to the reduction of houses, he thought it a great hardship that at the end of 10 years of hard work a person who had all along conducted himself and his business properly, without any charge having ever been made against him, should lose his licence and be driven out of his house, and his whole business might be cut away from under his feet—which would certainly be a very harsh proceeding. A more equitable mode of reducing the number of publichouses than that proposed might easily be adopted, for it did not do that justice to the publican which in common with other citizens he had a right to demand; and no doubt Petitions from the publicans would soon flow into the House indicating how they would prefer to be dealt with. The existing law was sufficient, if it were properly carried out, to prevent the adulteration of beer and of spirits; but the law had not been carried out as it might have been if a proper selection had been made from the police of plain clothes officers charged to see that it was duly enforced. The adulteration of food might also be prevented, if it were not for the vestries of the metropolis refusing to incur the expense. In fact, we had permissive legislation, which was ineffectual, because local authorities would not appoint and pay public analysts to test the specimens inspectors might bring to them. Though he did not pledge himself to all the details of the Bill, he considered that the right hon. Gentleman had conferred a benefit on his country by the introduction of so comprehensive and promising a measure. The Bill was, at all events, free from the peculiarities and eccentricities which distinguished other Bills, such as the Permissive Bill, and the Bill relating to the sale of liquors on Sunday.

MR. STRAIGHT said, he was extremely anxious to assist the right hon. Gentleman in his attempt to consolidate the law upon this subject. It would be a most important step to take inspection of publichouses out of the hands of the police and to hand it over to authorized inspectors, for publicans naturally very much disliked police supervision. The licensed victuallers, who felt difficulty in appealing to tribunals that necessarily considered it part of their duty to uphold and support the police, would feel considerable relief in being placed under the supervision of independent persons, charged with a single duty, and directly responsible to Government authorities, instead of being watched by those who were charged with the business of detecting and convicting criminals. The business of a licensed victualler was a most difficult one to conduct, especially in some neighbourhoods. He was surprised to hear the remarks of the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Locke) upon the proposal to require the renewal of a licence every 10 years, seeing that at present it was necessary to renew licences annually. If no complaint was made against a publican his licence was renewed as a matter of course. The proposition to throw upon the publican the onus of proof that he did not know of the drunken condition of a man found drunk in his House, raised a little difficulty; for it was impossible, under some circumstances,—such, say, as the management of a publichouse being thrown suddenly upon the shoulders of one person through the illness of a second, for the person in charge to be cognizant of the condition of everyone in the house, and to know that any particular man was or was not drunk; and under such circumstances it would be hard to convict. After the innumerable conflicting decisions that had been given upon the subject of who was and who was not a traveller, intelligible legislation on the point, something in character to that which the Bill proposed, would be extremely acceptable. He believed that rateable value was a fair test by which to judge of the suitability of a house to be a publichouse. He was anxious to see how the Bill proposed to meet the fair wants of new neighbourhoods, because the applications of the most respectable persons for licences were at present often ignored, even when backed by the recommendations of large numbers of inhabitants, so that it was often impossible to understand why such applications were not acceded to. He was glad that at least some effort had been made to deal with this long-vexed question, and though the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman would require much emendation and alteration, he sincerely trusted that it might be found possible to place the law upon a basis at once fair to the licensed victuallers and to the ratepayers.

MR. LOCKE said, what he had complained of was not that a publican should have to apply for a licence at the end of 10 years, but that, at the end of that time, without having done anything to deserve it, his licence should be taken away from him as a matter of course.

MR. M'LAREN entirely approved the general scope and spirit of the Bill; but some of its provisions would be found so much out of harmony with the requirements of large towns that they would require to be considerably modified. The scale of rate, according to rental, was such that the small publican paying £25 of real rent per annum would pay much more than his fair proportion, and, in some cases, 10 times as much as the great innkeepers. He did not see how the auction system was to work. It would be better that the same rate of licence should apply to the new as to the old houses, instead of making the new houses pay more. Under the new scale of 1 house to 1,000 inhabitants, the number of publichouses would have to be reduced to a proportion much lower than would suffice for the wants of large towns. The Government proposed to buy up the present vested interests by giving the present holders a 10 years' tenure. He did not see how new licences could come into operation for 10 years, because everywhere there were at present more publichouses than 1 to 1,000 inhabitants.

MR. BRUCE said, the licensing magistrates would have the power of dividing the present districts, so as to make the growing portion of a town a separate district, and allot licences to that district. In many growing towns there were new districts springing up, and it was desirable that the magistrates should have the power of separating those districts from the rest.

Mr. M'LAREN (in continuation): What he wanted to call particular attention to was the utter improbability of getting the limit of the publichouses fixed at the line the right hon. Gentleman had drawn before any new houses could be established. He knew a large town which now had nearly 1,000 licences, but which, according to the proportion presented by the Act, ought only to have 200. It was very improbable that during the next 10 years the 1,000 licences would be reduced to 200, but unless they became diminished to that extent there would be no room for any new licences. One to 1,000 of the population was far too small a proportion, and he said so after having acted as a magistrate for many years, and in that capacity having succeeded in reducing the number of publichouses. In fact, such a proportion was practically unattainable in large towns. If attempted, hundreds of unlicensed houses would spring up which all the power of the Executive could not put down. He would therefore urge that that question should be re-considered. In Scotland it was arranged by the magistrates that three convictions for a breach of licence forfeited the certificate, and under that wholesome enactment 145 publichouses were wiped out within three years in one city. Unless they adopted a rule of that kind in England they could not hope for a reduction in the number of publichouses to any considerable extent. He was gratified to see that under this Bill the premises were not only to be closed at 11 o'clock, but cleared at that hour. With regard to diminishing the number of licences by declaring those forfeited where fines of a certain amount had been inflicted, he did not believe that if the police records throughout the country were searched, a single case could be found of a publican who had been fined so much as £65 in three years, or £100 in five years; the number of offences would be a better ground for withdrawing a licence than the amount of fines. In his opinion it would be well to re-consider some portions of the Bill, which would excite very great interest throughout the country. He entirely approved of the ratepayers getting a veto with regard to the opening of new houses. From personal knowledge he could state that the amount of drunkenness was enormously diminished in Scotland from closing on Sundays, although he must admit that shebeens had increased. For the last 20 years there had been a register kept of all the parties apprehended on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday in Edinburgh, and the result was that not one-fifth of the number of persons were now taken up by the police for being in the streets drunk on Sunday that there were before the Sunday closing enactment. That was surely a complete proof of the efficiency of the legislation in that direction. At the same time he confessed he should be afraid of trying the experiment of wholly closing the publichouses for the enormous population in London, on the Sunday, because many of the publichouses here were also eating-houses, and the poorer class of people required beer for their dinners, and considered it as much a necessity, and to be used in the same way as they used soup in Scotland.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER wished to learn from the right hon. Gentleman whether the districts to be mapped out under the provisions of the Bill would be enumerated in the Schedule of the Bill. He expressed satisfaction with the general provisions of the Bill, while reserving to himself the right of discussing the details in Committee. It was most important that the Government should deal with the subject in a bold spirit, and he was glad the right hon. Gentleman had done so. On the whole he was glad to believe that the measure would do much to promote temperance in this country. On the last occasion when the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle brought forward his Permissive Bill he gave it his support, because he was anxious to show that the subject should be dealt with in a comprehensive spirit. He had always entertained doubts, however, as to whether the measure would work satisfactorily. Indeed, he believed it would operate in districts where it was not particularly wanted, while in the districts where it was most required it would be totally insufficient to attain the desired end. In illustration of this he mentioned that some years ago he attended the Quarter Sessions for Middlesex when applications were made for music and dancing licences. One application was for a dancing licence for a low house near the docks, and a petition was presented against it, signed by the clergy of all denominations, the churchwardens, overseers, medical men, and, so far as he could judge, every man of position in the district. The local magistrates also attended to support the same view. This petition bore about 160 signatures, but on the other hand some 400 persons signed one in favour of the licence. This showed that if the power of granting licences was relegated to the ratepayers the licence would have been granted, and that in low parishes a very large number of houses would be licensed. The hon. Member for Edinburgh had referred to the scale in the Bill. That was a matter which required to be well considered in Committee. He wished the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether the scale was not too high in cheaply-rated houses, and too low in houses rated at a very high rent. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would give the House some further information with regard to the inspectors. In conclusion, he expressed his gratification that the Government had taken up this question in a bold spirit, and had dealt with it in a measure which he believed would produce good results.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE congratulated the Home Secretary on the fact that he had not been induced to recognize the Permissive Prohibitory principle, or to advocate the total closing of publichouses on Sunday. Being intimately acquainted with the licensing system in the City of London and the county of Middlesex, he would point out to his right hon. Friend that if it were intended to limit the number of publichouses in proportion to the population, an exception to the rule must be made in the case of the City of London, where there were nearly 1,000,000 persons who required refreshment in the day-time, but who, as they slept elsewhere, would not be recorded in the Census as inhabitants of the City. With respect to the complaints which had been made as to the mode in which the licensed victuallers carried on their business, and respecting the administration of the present licensing system, he could say that the magistrates for the county of Middlesex and the City of London had paid the greatest attention to the licensing of publichouses, and he considered that men carrying on a lawful business in a lawful manner had a right to that protection of law which was extended to other trades. He believed there were too many publichouses in some parts of the country; but if some were closed compulsorily, compensation ought to be given either out of the Imperial Exchequer or the rates of the district. Unless that was done great injury would be inflicted on the present occupiers and their families. If they were only to enjoy their present licences for 10 years their property would be deteriorated in value year by year. The hon. and learned Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Straight) thought that the licences were to be renewed at the expiration of the 10 years, unless the occupiers had committed a breach of the law, which would prevent their renewal; but the right hon. Gentleman had distinctly stated that there would be an end of all the licences at the close of the 10 years, and that then the number would be largely reduced, and the remainder be put up to public competition. The injustice of this course would be the greater upon men who had conducted their trading in a respectable and careful manner, because it would be not only their licences but their business that would be put up for sale. Another and great difficulty would be that of deciding upon whom to place the responsible duty of granting new licences when the existing ones were forfeited at the end of the 10 years. The number of years during which a man had occupied a house would have no weight in support of his application for a renewal, as the Bill proposed to hand over the licences to those who offered the most money. Why was the poor publican to be subjected to a ruinous competition with a new comer, who might take his business and compel him to retire into the country upon a pittance? Purchase in the Army was to be abolished, at a cost to the country of £7,000,000, and the officers were to be largely compensated for sums which they had paid in acquiring their commissions beyond the amount recognized by law. But in the present Bill the publicans were to be disestablished, and sent adrift at the end of 10 years, without sixpence in the shape of compensation, the system of purchase being introduced in order to secure a better mode of distributing licences. At present, only one person was licensed for a publichouse; but if publichouses were to be let in the same way as toll-gates perhaps a joint-stock company might purchase a large number, and again put them up to the highest bidder. If owners were to be turned into managers or superintendents and committed an offence, they might be thrown over by the company, and others placed in possession. He objected to the system of putting up houses of this description in such a wholesale manner. It had been said that the brewers held a large number of these houses, and advanced a large portion of the amount paid by the occupier, and therefore that it would be better to meet the brewer at once. If houses were to be put up to public competition in the manner proposed there would be a competition between Bass and Allsopp, between Hoare and Reid, between the City Brewery Company and Barclay. Now, supposing the brewers to obtain possession of the whole of the publichouses, they might district the whole metropolis in the same manner as the Gas and Water Companies had done. Parliament fixed the price of gas and water. Now, was Parliament prepared to settle the price at which liquor of various kinds should be supplied in publichouses? The system of putting up publichouses in the manner proposed was quite novel, and he believed that many evils would arise from it. He hoped on further consideration that that proposition would be swept out of the Bill. He hoped also that the licences of those who had carried on their business honourably would not be forfeited at the expiration of 10 years. Innkeepers had been often regarded as publicans and sinners; but he trusted the House would not look upon them in that light. The Chancellor of the Exchequer derived a large amount of his revenue from publichouses, and probably expected to obtain still more from the disposal of their licences. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman who had asked leave to introduce the Bill would re-consider and amend these clauses, for by so doing he could alone prevent the great outcry against the measure which would arise in all parts of the country, and he could assure him that worthy and respectable individuals, who had acquired property in their houses by long years of thrift and management, would not submit to be mulcted of their hard earnings in the manner proposed by this Bill.

Colonel BERESFORD said, he had had 12 years experience as a magistrate in Surrey, and for the past seven years he had taken an active part on the Bench in the Wandsworth and Battersea division, and he protested against the censure which the right hon. Gentleman had passed upon the publicans as a body who permitted a large amount of drunkenness in their houses. Between Wandsworth and Vauxhall 7,000 houses had been erected within the past few years, yet three years ago, when the licences came on for renewal, there was not a single complaint against a licence-holder; in the following year there were but three, and last year there were two only. With regard to the proposal to forfeit all licences at the end of 10 years, he agreed with the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence) that it would fail utterly. If a publican knew that in case of offence against the law his licence would be suspended or taken away he would have in that quite as strong a reason as was necessary to induce him to conduct his business properly. He disapproved the proposal to appoint inspectors of publichouses who should be independent of the police force as being unnecessary and enormously expensive. So far as his experience enabled him to judge, no body of public servants in the metropolis were more zealous, independent, and respectable in the discharge of delicate and responsible duty than the superintendents and inspectors of police, taken as an aggregate force. There was not the least necessity for imposing an additional burden of taxation upon the country for the inspection of publichouses. When the Bill reached the next stage he should propose certain amendments of detail.

Mr. RYLANDS expressed his gratitude to the Home Secretary for introducing this Bill. A large amount of public feeling had been excited on this question, and it would inevitably lead, whatever might be the fate of this Bill, to a large reduction in the number of publichouses, and in the number of hours during which they should be kept open. The great point was how to reduce the number of these places of public resort and so lessen these temptations which led to so much crime and pauperism in the country. The right hon. Gentleman's scheme of reducing the number of publichouses through the operation of the penal clauses of the Bill might not be so effectual as was expected, and it should be considered whether it would not be practicable to increase the stringency of the Bill by at once sweeping away all houses that were not rated up to a certain point, for unless the effect of the measure was to reduce the number of publichouses in places where they were in excess of the requirements of the population the Bill would not meet with public support. Such a provision would get rid of the lowest class of houses, and by reducing the number of houses it would decrease the competition and improve the value of those that remained, thus affording some measure of compensation to the large owners of publichouses for those which were refused licences. He presumed that in places where the number of existing publichouses exceeded the limit fixed in the Bill no new houses would be licensed.

Mr. BRUCE said, the ratepayers would have to confirm the decision of the magistrates in that respect.

Mr. RYLANDS hoped that no increase would be made, for he desired to see an immediate prospect of a rapid decrease in places where the number of publichouses was already excessive. With regard to the number of hours during which publichouses should be open he concurred in the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman, but was not sure whether they might not have been limited to a greater extent than was contemplated in the Bill, and in regard to the option of the extra hour given to the magistrates, he thought that option might have been left, to some extent, with the ratepayers themselves. With regard to Sunday closing, public opinion was ripening with great rapidity on that point, and he had just learned that, in Crewe, it had been shown from a canvass instituted by the working men themselves that a large majority of inhabitants were in favour of closing the publichouses altogether on Sundays, while he held in his hand a memorial signed by upwards of 1,000 magistrates in all parts of the country in favour of such a scheme. If the right hon. Gentleman could not go to that extent he might, at least, give the ratepayers the option of deciding the point, and with this view, when the Bill got into Committee, he should give the House an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the question of Sunday closing as applied to publichouses. He hoped the result of this measure would be to check one of the greatest evils under which the country suffered, and in that case Government would be successful in dealing effectually with a most important question.

Mr. T. CHAMBERS said, he approved of the Bill, and thanked the Home Secretary for having undertaken the difficult and anxious task of introducing it, which had been forced upon the Government, who were rather behind public opinion on this matter than in advance of it. This Bill he regarded as the result of those measures which had been introduced by independent Members who represented the popular feeling, and desired to promote public morals, for had there not been that action on the part of hon. Members no such Bill as this would have been framed by the Government. If the Bill proceeded upon the popular feeling it would be supported by the country, and much good would be accomplished. As to the objection made by the hon. Member for Penrhyn (Mr. R. N. Fowler), that by giving effect to the popular voice the result would be that the worst houses would be established in the worst districts, the hon. Gentleman seemed to forget that in all districts the magistrates would still possess their present control over the issue of licences.

Mr. EYKYN said, the House was under a disadvantage in discussing a Bill, the details of which were not yet before them; but he congratulated the right hon. Gentleman for having introduced a Bill which had long been required, and in the result of which the public were deeply interested, especially with regard to the provisions relating to adulteration and intoxication. Some such measure had been loudly called for, for some time past, and it had now become an imperative necessity. Considering the large amount of capital which was directly and indirectly invested in the brewing interest, he trusted that the effect of this Bill would not be to frighten away capital from its legitimate domain. He was exceedingly glad to find that the supervision which at present was inefficiently performed by the police, was to be transferred to another body. With regard to the brewers becoming licensed owners of houses, he was afraid the right hon. Gentleman had overlooked the fact that distillers had almost as large an interest in them, and he thought both ought to be placed on the same footing. It was, no doubt, very difficult to accurately define a "traveller;" but he thought that a man should not be permitted to get intoxicated simply because he had travelled five miles. He thought the Bill might impose some limit on the amount which the traveller should be allowed to expend in drink, at a time when a restriction was imposed on other persons. Serious amendments would have to be made when in Committee on the Bill in regard to vested interests.

Mr. T. E. SMITH was extremely disappointed with the Bill, and was sure that the majority of the working classes in the North of England had expected a much stronger and more sweeping measure. In fact, the Bill only dealt with one part of the question—the relations of the publican and the Government, or its representatives, the licensing body. Whatever advantages might result from the proposed changes in the law, there was nothing in the Bill which would tend to diminish the evil of drunkenness. Hitherto it had been a disputed question whether publicans could be considered to have a vested interest in their holdings; but this Bill created for them a vested interest for at least 10 years, and he was sure this would be greatly disapproved of. Again, it was known that a large section of the population wished to have the power of depriving both themselves and their neighbours of the temptation of indulging in intoxicating liquors; and he believed that it was not just for the Government to prevent their exercising this power. It was said that they could not make people sober by Act of Parliament; but if they could not make people wiser and happier it was a serious reflection upon modern legislation. He hoped steps would be taken in Committee to enable those who were virtuously disposed to have some influence in making the Bill more effective, not only in improving the management of publichouses, but in promoting sober habits amongst the population generally.

Mr. BRUCE, in reply, observed, that he had been very much gratified by the comments that had been made by hon. Members that evening. The speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down was a sufficient answer to the argument of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence) that this was, in some respects, a measure of confiscation. He wished to remove some misapprehensions which had arisen as to the nature of several provisions of the Bill. The hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren), who had studied this question so thoroughly, and who understood it so well, had objected to the apportioning of the publichouses at the rate of 1 to every 1,000 of the population, on the ground that at the end of the 10 years the number of licensed houses would be reduced very greatly below what the necessities of the people required. But that was not the principle of the Bill. The limit, whatever it was—and it would be fixed in Committee—was simply to interfere with the action of the ratepayers. The Justices might recommend the licensing of more houses in places like the City of London or Edinburgh; and, with the concurrence of the ratepayers, these licences would be granted —but, while the proportion to be fixed in the Bill was maintained, the ratepayers would have no voice in the matter. The hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) criticized one portion of the Bill; and, in reference to that, he should state that one object of the Bill was to secure the impartial distribution of licences, and they proposed to go a great way in the direction indicated by the hon. Member. But if a publichouse were needed just outside a village, the magistrates had the power of granting it where it was required, instead of being bound, as his hon. Friend supposed was the case, to give it to the village, which might already be amply supplied. Again, the licensing rent of new houses would be higher than the licensing rent of the older ones, because, in the case of the latter, large sums would, in all probability, have already been paid by the occupiers. There was hardly one of those persons who had not paid a heavy sum in acquiring his licence, and they had thought it unfair to put the licence rent, in their case, at as heavy a sum as in the case of those who started afresh and had their licences free. His hon. Friend had rather misunderstood the application of the cumulative penalties provided for by this Bill. There were many small matters which would not affect the licence, and for which the fines imposable by the magistrates would be sufficient punishment; but the forfeiture of the licence would follow two convictions of the more serious offences — such as permitting drunkenness and intoxication. He had to thank the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) for the manner in which he had spoken of the Bill; also the hon. and learned Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Straight), who had spoken with so much knowledge on the subject, for his offers of assistance. The measure could not but be improved by the impartial criticism of hon. Members, and he was especially obliged for the offers of assistance made in this instance, because it was impossible successfully to carry a measure dealing with the multitude of interests involved in the Government proposals without the cordial support of the House.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE hoped that, upon a subject of such importance, sufficient time would be allowed to elapse before the Motion for a second reading of the Bill, in order to insure a full consideration of its various provisions throughout the country.

(1.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient, from the 1st day of October 1871, to repeal the Duties of Excise charged in England in respect of Licences authorising the sale by retail, and not (except in the case of Publicans' Licences) by wholesale, of intoxicating liquors, and of Licences to keep Refreshment Houses, imposed by the several Acts relating thereto.

(2.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to grant to Her Majesty, from the 1st day of October 1871, the following Duties of Excise to be payable in England (that is to say):—

Publican's General Licence.

	£	s.	d.
If the annual gross value of the premises do not exceed £10 .	5	0	0
Exceed £10 and do not exceed £20	8	0	0
„ £20 „ „ £30	11	0	0
„ £30 „ „ £40	14	0	0
„ £40	17	0	0

Publican's Limited Licence.

Beer Licence.

	£	s.	d.
If the annual gross value of the premises do not exceed £10 .	3	0	0
Exceed £10 and do not exceed £20	4	0	0
„ £20 „ „ £40	5	0	0
„ £40	6	0	0

Wine Licence.

	£	s.	d.
If the annual gross value of the premises do not exceed £10 .	2	0	0
Exceed £10 and do not exceed £20	3	0	0
„ £20 „ „ £40	4	0	0
„ £40	5	0	0

Beer and Wine Licence.

	£	s.	d.
If the annual gross value of the premises do not exceed £10 .	4	0	0
Exceed £10 and do not exceed £20	6	0	0
„ £20 „ „ £40	8	0	0
„ £40	10	0	0

Inn Licence.

Same as Publican's General Licence.

Eating House Licence.

Same as Publican's Limited Licence.

Refreshment House Wine Licence.

	£	s.	d.
If the annual gross value of the premises do not exceed £50 .	3	3	0
If the annual gross value of the premises exceeds £50 . .	5	5	0

Refreshment House Limited Wine Licence.

	£	s.	d.
If the annual gross value of premises do not exceed £30 . .	2	15	8
Exceeding £30 and do not exceed £50	3	0	0
Exceed £50	4	4	0

Railway Refreshment Rooms Licence.

	£	s.	d.
If three rooms or bars for different classes of passengers . .	17	0	0
If two ditto	12	0	0
If only one room or bar . .	6	0	0

Theatre Licence.

The same as for a Publican's General Licence.

Beershop Licence.

	£	s.	d.
If the annual gross value do not exceed £20	1	1	0
If the annual gross value do exceed £20	2	2	0
Spirit Dealers Retail Licence .	3	3	0
Beer „ „ „ . .	1	2	0

Wine Retail Licence.

	£	s.	d.
If the annual gross value of premises do not exceed £50 . .	2	2	0
If the annual gross value of premises do exceed £50 . . .	3	3	0
Sweets Retail Licence . . .	1	1	0

(3.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise the imposition on holders of Certificates from Justices authorising those holders to obtain a Publican's General, a Publican's Limited, an Inn or an Eating House Licence, of a Licence Rent bearing such proportion to the annual gross value of the licensed premises as may be fixed by or in pursuance of any Act to be passed in the present Session.

(4.) *Resolved*, That it is expedient to amend the Laws relating to the sale of Exciseable Liquors in England.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

RATING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

LEAVE.

MR. GOSCHEN: I rise to redeem the pledges given by the Government to the effect that they were prepared to submit measures to Parliament on the subject of local rating and local government. The House is aware that these two subjects are so closely interlaced that it is scarcely possible to deal satisfactorily with the one without also dealing with the other, for this reason, that in both cases it is the ratepayer who has the *locus standi*, that it is impossible to touch the question of local government without dealing with the areas of rating, and equally impossible to deal with the areas of rating without disturbing the present incidence of local rates. The Government is also desirous, in dealing with this question of local government, to adopt as many as possible of the recommendations of the Sanitary Commission; but everyone who has studied this question of local government and taxation is aware that the subject is so vast that it is impossible to deal with every portion of it in one Bill or in one Session. We must endeavour to legislate as far as we can; and, above all things, I think it is our duty to make up our minds clearly as to what we want, and to put a stop to that piecemeal legislation as regards local government which has produced the chaos at present existing. One of the sources, the endless sources, of confusion in this matter of local government has been that, in the various enactments which have been from time to time passed respecting it, the need of the hour only has been considered. Whether it has been the Government or a private Member who has proposed legislation—often wise and beneficial legislation—on the subject, the Bills they have introduced have generally looked to the immediate object before the House at the time, and never has the attempt been made to fit in the new pieces of legislation with the old. The consequence is that the whole country is covered with overlapping areas and conflicting jurisdictions. It is impossible to lay hold of any one principle that has guided Parliament in this matter, and the most zealous efforts of the Royal Commission to which I have referred were made to bring out that portion of the subject in the most striking relief. And not only is there this difficulty as regards jurisdiction, areas, and purposes, but that same confusion has been reproduced, and reproduced from the most remote times, on the subject of the rates which were at the disposal of the various local authorities. There was, in the first instance, the old poor rate. Afterwards, new purposes had to be defrayed by additional taxation, and for some time every such new purpose was to be provided for by a new rate. At a later period a portion of these rates was merged in the poor rate, and the overseers collecting the poor rate were directed to pay out of the poor rate a certain amount to other purposes; but it was found that, owing to the overlapping of the areas, it was impossible to levy the whole of the new rates with the poor rate; and, consequently, we have had this anomaly, that while, for instance, the county rate is generally levied with the poor rate, there are cases in which it is levied separately. In the same way the borough rate has generally been levied with the poor rate; in other cases it was not so levied; and in the annual Reports published by the Poor Law Board there is one column to this effect — Borough, hundred, county, and police rates paid out of poor rates. The amount which was contributed to each of these rates no Report has ever stated, and no person, as far as I can discover, has ever yet analyzed it. The confusion is increased by the facts that the accounts of these various authorities are made up to different dates. With some the year ends in September; with others on the 31st of December; with many on the 25th of March. The consequence is that it is impossible ever to arrive at any coherent view of the whole of our local rates. This matter has formed the subject of two Committees which have sat on local taxation; and there has been entertained for many years past the view that it is absolutely necessary that all rates should, as far as possible, be consolidated, and the same principles applied to all rates. The truth, Sir, is, that we have a chaos as regards authorities, a chaos as regards rates, and a worse chaos than all as regards areas. And not only that, but every different form of election which it is possible to conceive is applied to the various local authorities administering these various rates in these various areas. It is a curious fact that while the principles that govern these matters might be supposed not, perhaps, to be identical, but, at all events, very similar, in the case of the election of guardians, in the case of the election of local boards, in the case of the election of highway surveyors, overseers, and other local and parochial authorities, there is a different form of election in nearly all of them. In some instances you have an election by plurality of votes, in others by single votes, in some instances you have an election by owners and occupiers, in others by occupiers only; and where you have a plurality of votes the scale varies —there being, for example, one scale for the election of guardians and another for the election of highway surveyors. Now, the Government are anxious to deal, as far as possible, with these matters, and to see whether some kind of order cannot be introduced into what I have called this chaos. But, quite separate from that subject, at least, in the minds of Members of this House, although, as I have shown intimately connected with it, is the question of the burden borne by the various classes of property. Side by side with this question of simplifying local administration, it has been the duty of the Government carefully to examine and take their decision upon the allegations made by ratepayers in the towns and in the country that certain kinds of property were unduly burdened, and that, quite irrespective of administration, it was necessary, from a financial point of view also, that great reforms should be effected. We have had to consider these two classes of subjects—first, the improvement of local administration with a view to simplicity, and next the alleged grievances of the ratepayers. On both of these topics it devolves on me to address the House to-night. The House will observe that Notice has been given of two Bills; and the reason is this—that, so far as local administration is concerned, we do not propose to deal this year with the metropolis. I think the House is aware of our intention in that respect. Our reforms in regard to local government are applied to England exclusive of the metropolis. But it will be seen that when we come to the second branch of the question — namely, the grievances of the ratepayers—it would be exceedingly difficult to take measures that would apply to a part of the kingdom only, and not to the whole. Consequently, it has been requisite to divide the subject into two portions, so as to meet that difficulty.

I believe, Sir, that in treating of this question, I may assume that the House is acquainted with the vastness of the matter of which we are treating, and I need only repeat that the amount of the rates levied in England and Wales is £16,500,000, and if to that you add the amount raised by indirect taxation, such as tolls, dues, and fees, and if you further add the subventions made by the Government, the receipts derived from the sale of property and from rents and miscellaneous sources, and likewise the receipts derived from loans, you will get a total of £30,000,000 sterling administered by local authorities. The total for England, Scotland, and Ireland is £36,000,000; but for England and Wales alone it is £30,000,000. Then, as regards the number of bodies administering these rates: in a Report circulated among hon. Members this morning there is an enumeration of the various classes of local authorities. They amount to about 20; but some of these are what may be called maritime authorities—managing harbours, ports, and bridges; and therefore if you deduct these there will remain really 16 different classes of local authorities, elected, as I have stated, generally upon different principles, proceeding in an entirely different manner, and standing in very little relation to one another. I am sure the House will feel that we must approach this subject with considerable anxiety, and it will be our duty—and I hope we shall be able to do it with success—to appeal to the House to support us in our task, irrespective of the local pressure which is certain to be brought to bear on many hon. Members when we come to deal with existing local institutions. But the desire for reform is so great that I am confident that the House will give us that support, and that the country itself will not be unwilling that some of the older forms of local government should be materially changed, provided we thereby secure simplicity and improvement. In the first place, I may say that the Government purpose accepting, in its entirety, the Resolution of a Select Committee of this House which sat two years ago, and decided in favour of the consolidation of all rates into one. That Resolution was re-affirmed by the Select

Committee which sat last year. The Government propose, in the first instance, that, instead of the present system of various authorities being entitled to levy separate rates, only one rate should be levied; and that every authority now entitled to raise funds should obtain those funds by a requisition upon the parochial authorities. We propose, for example, that the Boards of Guardians, the highway boards, the county justices, the local boards, the town councils, and all the bodies who will have a claim on a particular parish, should each on a particular day in the year send in an estimate of the particular amounts which they will require in the course of that year. The parish officers will add all these together, and will accordingly be enabled to make an estimate of the total sum that will be required from the parish for the whole of the year. A demand-note will be sent to each ratepayer, specifying all the items of which the rate is composed. It will have to state that so much is collected for the relief of the poor, so much for the purposes of the highways, so much for the county expenditure; but the whole is to be thrown into one and to be collected in one sum. I will give the House the general form in which we propose that this shall be done:—On and after the 25th of April, 1872, a rate, called the consolidated rate, shall be made and assessed in every parish under which all sums hitherto levied under the form of different rates shall be raised, and all sums usually paid out of such rates shall be paid out of such consolidated rate of each parish on the requisition of the authority entitled to demand payment of such sums. This one reform, it appears to me, will be of considerable use and convenience, because not only will it effect a considerable saving in the cost of collection, but it will introduce such simplicity into the rating system, that any ratepayer will know what he never knows now—namely, the amount which he has to pay in the course of the year in the shape of rates. But besides the advantage of every ratepayer knowing what he will have to pay, the House will see that this change, small as it is, involves many corollaries, because the rates now collected separately are made upon different principles, they are made upon different valuations, and, to a certain extent, they are subject to different deductions. For instance, two years ago the Assessed Rates Act was passed, by which the owner was made rateable instead of the occupier in the case of certain small tenements under the annual value of £8 in the country, and of £20 in the metropolis. That Act only applied to the poor rate, and, consequently, you have this anomaly, that while the owners of this class of tenements are rated for the poor rate it does not follow that they are rated for other rates at all. Thus it is possible that in a town where the occupier is not rated to the poor rate, but the owner is, the occupier may be rated to the general district rate while the owner is not. Such cases are, of course, extremely intricate and complicated; but they are further complicated by the fact that in certain cases where the owner is rated, one rate may be subject to deductions amounting to 30 per cent, while the other may be subjected to deductions amounting to 40 or 50 per cent. In such divergence no principle can exist, and as the House has adopted the practice of rating the owner instead of the occupier below a certain line in the case of the poor rate, there is no reason whatever why precisely the same principle should not be extended to other rates, and therefore to the proposed consolidated rate. Therefore, by a clause in the Bill, it is proposed to enact that the principle of the Assessed Rates Act shall apply to the Consolidated Act, whereby the anomalies in the case of deductions from rates which now exist would be put an end to. As regards the question of audit, the Government propose that, having one consolidated rate, we shall also have one consolidated audit of all local funds throughout the country. At present the expenses of the guardians, and those of the local boards, are very carefully audited by the Poor Law auditors; but those of boroughs are exempted from this public audit. The accounts of highway surveyors are only audited by the justices, who do not at all examine the legality of the expenditure, but simply see whether the accounts are correct according to the vouchers. There is also this difficulty, which every person conversant with the subject is aware of—namely, that if one of two accounts is audited and the other is not, a collector who collects both rates will frequently make good defalcations in that which is audited out of that which is not audited. No doubt there may be some little reluctance on the part of certain local bodies to adopt this general system of audit; but I trust that that will be overcome in a very short time. I now come to another difficulty, which is of a far more serious character. The House is aware that the political franchise under the present law depends upon the payment of the poor rate, while it is not affected in any way by the non-payment of other rates. The Government, therefore, have had to consider what will be the position of the ratepayer and of the voter if, when the consolidated rate is substituted for the poor rate, the former should remain unpaid. This is a subject of some difficulty, because the consolidated rate will possibly be twice as high as the poor rate, and therefore it would be unjust to require that the franchise should be dependent upon the payment of this higher rate. The House is aware that, by the Assessed Rates Act, the vote was reserved to the occupier notwithstanding the rate was paid by the owner, and therefore it does not seem that the House attached much value to that part of the Reform Act which required that the rate should be paid by the voter. The Government, therefore, propose not to raise the qualification, by enacting that the consolidated rate shall take the place of the poor rate, but to make the fact of being rated to the consolidated rate, and not the payment of it, the qualification for the franchise. The Government would not have dealt with matters of this semi-political character in a Bill like this were it not that it was absolutely necessary to encounter the difficulty if they desired to prevent the creation of a consolidated rate from practically disfranchising a large number of ratepayers. In connection with the consolidation of the rates, we propose to make another very considerable reform —namely, to appoint paid collectors all over the country. The system at present in vogue by which the rates are collected by unpaid overseers who are only indirectly responsible ought to be abolished. The system of the appointment of paid collectors would be far more efficient, and where it has been adopted, has led to considerable economy in the collection of the rates, notwithstanding the salaries paid to the collectors. We do not insist upon every small parish appointing and paying its own collector—we permit a certain number of small parishes to group themselves together, and to appoint a paid collector between them. As far as I have gone, therefore, it will be seen that the Bill proposes the consolidation of all rates into one, the enforcement of a general audit, and the appointment of paid and responsible collectors. The next question we have had to determine was over what area is this rate to be collected, and we have chosen the parish. And this brings me to the general question which forced itself upon the Government throughout the whole of their preparation of this Bill—namely, what area shall be taken as the unit in dealing with the aggregate areas into which the country is covered? As they at present exist, the areas overlap each other, parishes and unions and country districts being mixed up together, and differently portioned out for various rating purposes. It has been said that the Poor Law union might be utilized, so as to be made the principal area for local government. An examination has proved that it is almost impossible to adopt that view, and for this reason, that out of the total number of 650 unions there are, I think, 250, at least, partly situate in one county and partly in another; and, that which is still more serious, that, in the case of boroughs, a borough very rarely is coincident with a union. A borough is generally partly in a union and partly out of it. Again, unions do not coincide with highway districts; and the question, therefore, to determine is, whether a union is an area which you can so touch as by a rectification of its boundaries to bring it into a more regular form? Examination shows that a union is precisely an area the most difficult to touch on account of the poor rate. You would be introducing a new Union Chargeability Bill, and changing entirely the rates in every Union in the country, if you were to begin to deal with the boundaries of Unions. And, again, unions have been so mapped out that the workhouse might be in the central part of the union, and if you were to do anything to rectify the boundaries of the union it would be necessary for you to consider what distance the poor would have to travel in order to get to the workhouse. You would have to re-constitute the whole of the unions in the country in order to make them coincide with the boundaries of boroughs, with the boundaries of highway districts, and the boundaries of counties. On the whole, therefore, after mature consideration, it has been thought best to make the parish the general unit for local administration, the rectification of the boundaries of a parish being infinitely easier than the rectification of the boundaries of a union. Nothing would conduce more to the simplification of our local administration than the securing of this object—that no parish should be cut in two by the boundary of any other area—that there should be a given number of parishes in a union and a given number in a highway district. We propose, therefore, to deal with parishes. But we are met with this difficulty, that of all the defective arrangements for the purposes of local administration the arrangements of the parish are probably the worst. You have overseers in the first place who are really appointed by the justices though nominated by the vestry. It is, however, a striking example of the general ignorance upon these subjects, that even Parliament at one time clearly did not know this. Although there is no legislative enactment whatever which requires vestries to be called together on a particular day for the election of overseers, yet in one of our Highway Acts it was laid down that the highway surveyors should be appointed at the same vestry meeting as that at which the overseers were appointed. Besides overseers you have the vestry, you have in many agricultural parishes inspectors of lighting and watching, you have waywardens or highway surveyors, all elected in a different way and not brought together in any systematic manner. I believe my right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council and my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary have found the greatest difficulty in working the Education Act and many Sanitary Acts because they do not know with whom they ought to correspond in any particular parish. It may be said that the overseers are the oldest parish officers, and that they should represent the parish; but they have no functions except those definitely assigned to them by statute. As to the vestry, its powers are almost undefined. You have no one to convoke it, and no one to preside over it; everything is done in an irregular manner. The vestry is not bound to meet at stated intervals. It has no continuous existence. It cannot hold property. Trustees must hold property for it. The House might say, is this the organization which you wish to make your unit in your new scheme? We propose to re-constitute the parish entirely. We propose that there should be in every parish what I will call a "civil head," a person who shall be responsible for the affairs of that parish. We propose that the ratepayers in every parish should annually elect from themselves a person, to be called chairman of the parochial board, and that he shall be associated with a certain number of other members of the parochial board, varying from 3 to 20, according to the population of the parish, and that to this regularly constituted body, the parochial board, should be transferred the duties now exercised by the overseers, by the highway surveyors, by the lighting and watch inspectors, and the executive duties of the vestry such as those which it possesses, although the House may not be aware of the fact as a sanitary authority. It is exceedingly difficult in a large parish to cause a vestry, which consists of all the inhabitants of the parish, really to do business. They exercise their proper functions when they determine on the adoption of Acts of Parliament which are voluntary; but so far as concerns the carrying out of Acts of Parliament, the making of contracts, the construction of sewers, and business of that kind, it is quite clear that a vestry is not a proper, competent, or efficient authority; and so strongly has that been felt, that in many cases the tendency of legislation has been to appoint what may be called a committee of the vestry. In some parishes, again, you have select vestries created for the same reason, which have superseded the old parish authorities, and perform many important functions. As between vestries and select vestries the choice has to be made between a vestry which is too large for the performance of business and a vestry which is too small really to represent the wishes of the parish. Generally speaking, it is readily admitted that the whole of this question of vestries has been in a most unsatisfactory state. The Government, therefore, propose to have a small board—

whose functions I do not wish at all to magnify—and to constitute them into the executive of the parish, with a chairman of the parochial board, who is to be its organ and mouthpiece, and to represent it in every sense. He will be the authority to prepare the various estimates and to make a rate. He will make a rate without, as at present, going through the empty form of obtaining the sanction of the justices. At present you have no authority in a parish who can make a rate unless it is the overseers; but the office of overseer is generally felt to be a burden. It is liked by no one. We intend that the chairmanship of the parochial board shall be an office of honour, and we should hope that the chairman of the parochial board would be the principal person in the parish. We trust that the person who may be elected chairman will inspire the ratepayers with confidence that the financial affairs of the parish are safe in his hands, and in those of the parochial board. We propose—

> "That there shall be elected by the vestry of every parish on the 25th day of March in every year a board, to be called the parochial board, to consist of a chairman to be named by the vestry, and of such other members as will, together with the chairman, make the whole board consist of such numbers not being less than 3 nor more than 20, as may be prescribed."

There is a further clause, according to which the chairman of the parochial board is to represent the parish in all matters. The House is aware that there are many parishes where the number of inhabitants is so small that they would be unable to elect a board. There are provisions in the Bill which meet that case, and it is proposed that in such places the vestry, if not composed of more than 12 members, can itself become the board. These parochial boards will have to perform all the duties now discharged in a disjointed manner by the various parochial officers at present constituted. There is a good deal that is new in the proposal that we submit to the House; but we think that it is simple; that it will tend to facilitate the conduct of parochial business; that it will bring together into one hand those duties which are now scattered over a number of officers; and that it will insure that responsibility which it would be well worth the attention of the House to provide. These boards will be assisted by the paid collector, of whom I have already spoken. We do not consider that in any case any further expense will be incurred by the formation of these boards, for we shall provide that where there is a clerk of the vestry he shall be clerk of the parochial board. The House must distinctly understand that we leave to the vestry those functions which properly belong to the deliberative assembly of the parish—namely, the adoption or not of voluntary Acts of Parliament. It is the executive duties of the vestry that we propose to transfer to the chairmen of the parochial boards, and we consider that we shall in this way organize the parish in a manner that will be efficient for the conduct of the business that belongs to it. When the chairman of the parochial board and the board itself have been established in each parish, great advantages, other than those I have spoken of, will be found to attach to the plan. At present, when you wish to combine a number of parishes for any particular object, it is difficult to find any representatives, and the consequence is that it is necessary always to have a separate election. If there be a highway district it is necessary, in order to get a highway board together, that there should be a separate election in the parish. For your Board of Guardians you have a separate election, and there is no representative of a parish whom you can lay hold of when you wish to aggregate a number of parishes. But having by the Bill appointed a chairman of the parochial board, who represents the parish, if Parliament should think fit to aggregate a number of parishes for any particular purpose, the thing is done at once by simply saying that the matter shall be carried into effect by the chairmen of the particular parishes included in the aggregate area. For instance, if we say that a certain number of parishes shall be brought together for sanitary purposes, and that the board shall be composed of the chairmen of the respective parochial boards, the thing is done. That is not our plan for the sanitary objects to which I shall presently have to allude; but I wish to state it by way of illustration, in order to show that when we have once obtained representatives of the parishes, it is possible to bring them together for unity of action for any purpose whatever, a thing which at present is entirely impossible. Another important change is this. I wish to do away with the variety of elections, of which I have spoken, and to substitute one annual election for all parish officers whatever. Instead of having one election conducted in one mode for Boards of Guardians, another in a different mode for overseers, another for highway surveyors or waywardens, I propose that we shall have but one election every year, when all the parish officers shall be elected on one registry, by one mode of voting at the same time and with the same forms. I am sure that is a reform which the House will consider desirable. We propose that this election should be by Ballot in the same way as in the Parliamentary and municipal elections, in order that there may be one general system throughout the country with which people may be familiarized, and that they may not be continually distracted by various forms of voting. Instead, as I have said, of having separate elections for the various officers, when the election for the parochial board is held, the electors will be called upon at the same time to return Poor Law Guardians, and also their representatives at the highway boards. We consider that more interest will attach to the parochial elections if all the representatives are chosen at the same time than if there are scattered elections. One of the first purposes to which we propose to turn the organization of the parish which I have described is to create those county financial boards of which so much has been said, and which have been so long desired by the farmers. One of the great obstacles in the way has been to find the best mode in which county financial boards could be elected by the ratepayers. There was no difficulty as to the representatives of the justices; but there has been great difficulty on account of the overlapping areas in determining who shall be the representatives of the ratepayers on the county financial boards. It had been suggested that the Guardians of the unions should elect representatives; but as the unions overlap the counties there would be considerable inconvenience attending such a plan. What we propose is that the chairmen of the parochial boards in the petty sessional districts shall elect representatives from among themselves to represent the ratepayers on the county financial boards. We propose that these boards shall be composed half of representatives of the justices, and half of representatives of the ratepayers, the latter to be chosen by the chairmen of the parochial boards in the petty sessional districts. It will be seen that in this way we bring the parochial organization in direct contact with the county organization, and that a certain number of the officers whom we propose to create by this Bill will sit with the justices on the county financial boards—a circumstance which will heighten the position of those chairmen of the parochial boards. I need not discuss the separation of the judicial business of the Quarter Sessions from the administrative business which we propose to give to the county financial board, for that is a matter with which the House is well acquainted. Up to this point the House will see that we propose to reform, to the best of our judgment, the parish organization, and, at the same time, to create a new county organization in which the ratepayers are represented, while we retain, as far as possible, the local character of the organization by making the petty sessional divisions the electoral areas. I now come to a very complicated part of the subject—namely, the question of sanitary authorities. As regards sanitary matters, broad distinctions must be drawn between the towns and the country. In the urban part of the country you have the following authorities:—town councils, improvement commissioners, and local boards administering certain sanitary laws. Beyond the towns there are very small portions of sanitary laws vested in the Guardians. As regards drainage and sewerage, special districts have been made. As regards the towns the position is not very satisfactory, and for this reason—that you may have in a borough a town council existing side by side with a local board, the town council exercising municipal functions, while the more important sanitary functions are performed by the local board. Now, we propose that whenever there happen to be two boards exercising jurisdiction over a conterminous area they should be merged into one, so that there should not be a double board having jurisdiction over the same area. But, with regard to the general question of sanitary jurisdiction, we do not propose—following in this respect the recommendation of the Sanitary Commission—to take away their powers from the present sanitary authorities, such as local boards and improvement commissioners. It may be a question for future consideration whether the number of local Acts may not be worked into a more harmonious whole; but the House will, I think, see that we are proposing considerable changes, and that it would not be desirable that we should overweight ourselves this Session, for we are anxious to avoid doing anything which would not fit in with the general plan of the simplification of boundaries. The question of most urgent importance is to look to those parts of the country which are at present most insufficiently provided with any sanitary authority. These are the rural districts and the outlying parts of the towns, and they constitute the most difficult parts of the problem with which we have to deal. In the suburbs of large towns you find the most imperfect arrangements as regards sanitary purposes very often existing, while in the country districts there is, practically speaking, no authority which carries out the sanitary laws at all. The Guardians are not elected for that purpose, while as far as the vestries are concerned, they are not fitted for the discharge of executive duties. Thus we have to consider what should be the sanitary area which we should adopt in the country. It has been suggested that the highway district would be the most convenient as the sanitary district, and the Government have considered the proposal with the greatest care. There is a great deal to be said in favour of the highway district, because there is some connection between sewers and roads, and the highway district does not overlap the counties. But, on the other hand, we had to consider whether the union would not be a better area for this particular purpose. The Sanitary Commission were in favour of the latter area, and we have adopted their recommendation, and taken the union, with some modification, as the area for sanitary purposes in those cases in which no part of the union is contained within the district of a local board or of improvement commissioners. In such unions we propose that the Guardians should be the sanitary authority. I admit that Guardians were elected for a different purpose; but there is this advantage connected with them—that they have a staff; they have a medical officer and a clerk, and although, for many reasons, it might be desirable to have a sanitary board unconnected with the poor, we have come to the conclusion that the ability to utilize their officers for sanitary purposes outweighs every theoretical objection. There are several cases in which we shall not be able to take the whole union, but only a portion of the union—namely, in cases where part of the union may be within a local board district and the rest without. In these cases we propose that in the extra-urban part of the union, the sanitary authority should be composed of the Guardians of that portion of the union and the chairmen of the parochial boards of the parishes contained in it. By these means we propose to cover the whole country with sanitary boards. These proposals would remove the difficulty of the Secretary for the Home Department not knowing to what authority he should apply to carry Acts of Parliament into execution. We have endeavoured to make regulations for the sanitary authority in every part of the country; but we have been unable to carry out the whole of the sanitary code which has been recommended by the Commission. Still, there are some questions of sanitary legislation which could not be postponed, and with these we have endeavoured to deal. We propose that in addition to the powers at present exercised by various authorities certain other powers should be conferred on them. Every sanitary authority, for instance, will have the power to provide a proper place for the disinfection of clothes, and carriages for the conveyance of persons infected, or supposed to be infected, as well as hospitals to which infected persons may be removed. Recent events show how necessary it is to deal with this portion of the question at once, and I trust the House will support us in carrying our proposals with respect to it immediately into effect, for by this means we bring together, for the purpose of checking disease, the sanitary authorities and the Guardians of the poor. And now let me turn to the question of the central administration.

We have been considering whether this legislation should remain, as now, in the hands of three or four different

Ministers, or whether, having consolidated locally, we should not also consolidate centrally. As matters now stand municipal rates are dealt with by the Secretary for the Home Department, while the Poor Law rates are dealt with by the Poor Law Board, and there is no Minister in this House whose duty it is to watch every Bill relating to those various charges, in the same way as it is the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to look after the general burden to be imposed on the taxpayers at large. We feel it, therefore, expedient to bring matters to a point at which one Minister may be responsible for local finance. The Government are desirous of bringing under one head this branch of legislation, and the Royal Commission, though approaching the matter from a different point of view, came to the same conclusion. We propose, therefore, that all matters relating to local government and to local rating which are now dealt with, partly by the Home Office, partly by the Poor Law Board, and partly by the Privy Council, should be placed under the control of one central department. The natural department to which these subjects would be referred would be the Poor Law Board. As, however, there may be a prejudice against associating the administration of the Poor Law with the administration of local affairs, it will be desirable to change the name of the department.

Although these questions are very important, and although the reforms which we contemplate are considerable and comprehensive, they may be carried out by means of a few clauses, and if the proposals I have indicated are acceptable to the House, I have no doubt that we shall be able to pass the Bill this Session. I must beg to remind the House of the urgency which exists for organization, and all those who are acquainted with our sanitary, municipal, and rating laws will be ready to admit that the first thing is to get them into order, and introduce some uniformity in that respect. I now approach the question of the ratepayer, on whose behalf four grievances are alleged in this House and elsewhere. It is said that while most real property is liable to local taxation, there are many classes of real property which are exempted. Again, it is said that the mode of valuing certain property unduly favours such classes of property, which do not, consequently, pay their fair share. Thirdly, it is said that the occupiers exclusively pay the rates, and that the ground landlords in all cases, and the owners in many, escape all local taxation whatever; and, lastly, it is said, chiefly by the hon. Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) in this House, that the occupiers and owners of rateable property bear an unfair share of local and Imperial taxation, and that the Government is bound to provide for their relief. Now, with regard to the first grievance, the exemptions made have arisen chiefly from the wording of the Act of Queen Elizabeth, under which these rates are levied. The wording of this Act gave rise to a series of judicial decisions, in consequence of which Government property, metalliferous mines, timber other than underwood, and various other classes of property not so important, have been exempted. We propose to take one intelligible and uniform system, and to render "every hereditament, corporeal or incorporeal," liable to these burdens, with the exception only of certain kinds of property, of the nature of a rent-charge, which are specially exempted by the Act, because otherwise it would happen that the same property would be charged twice over to the same rate. The effect of this will be that Government property will be rated; but the rule must be universal. We believe that the claims of Government property to exemption are very considerable, and if claims are set up on behalf of municipal buildings, charities, and the like, it must clearly be understood that it may be necessary for us to re-consider our decision on this point. This uniform rule will include metalliferous mines, timber, rights of way, canals, and game, and by adopting it we shall get rid of many of the anomalies which at present are so vexatious. With regard to the question of valuation, the Government would have been very glad if they had been able to introduce a Bill to extend to the country the principle adopted a couple of years since in the case of London; but we have been deterred from taking a step in that direction, as we have been from proceeding in reference to other points, by the consideration that such a course would considerably lengthen the discussions, and possibly endanger legislation on the main subject of local taxation this Session. Having thus taken in some new classes of property, we found that the existing difficulty of discovering the letting annual value in many cases was considerably increased. With regard to metalliferous mines, for instance, we have been much inclined to legislate specially; but we have found so much difference of opinion among gentlemen representing that species of property as to render it impossible for the Government to satisfy each of the interests concerned, if the special claims of the different parts of the country were regarded. Under these circumstances, the Government have found it necessary to propose one uniform system—namely, that metalliferous mines should be rated as other property, and the assessment committees must in those cases, where royalties were reserved, endeavour to deal with them as with coal mines. With regard to another kind of property, where the system of valuation is very imperfect, it is proposed to make a change. There are many buildings and large houses in the country districts which cannot be valued on a calculation of what they would be let at from year to year, and in consequence escape paying on a fair rateable value. It causes a considerable amount of not unnatural irritation among the farmers to see a large neighbouring property escape at a low rating for this reason, while their own smaller farms are, as they complain, highly rated, and the Government, therefore, propose, where it is held to be impossible to get the letting value, to take the selling value, minus a certain percentage, as is done in the case of the Scotch railways, and to take 4 per cent on the selling value as the estimated rental. I now approach the third grievance, which I call specially that of the ratepayers—namely, the question between the owner and the occupier, in consequence of the exclusive payment of rates by the latter. Considering this matter in connection with the evidence produced before the Select Committee last year, the Government have become more and more convinced that both justice and public policy require that the owner shall pay a certain portion of the taxes. At present, through the nature of the contracts made between the occupiers and the landlords, by which the former engage to pay the whole of the rates, any increased rate, which is not foreseen by either party, falls entirely on the tenants. This is a question more seriously affecting the towns than the country districts; but it is generally inexpedient that the landlords should be allowed to contract with their tenants that the local authority should impose no taxation on them. With regard to Imperial taxation, such a practice is not permitted; for if it were legal to make contracts that the whole of the income tax should be paid by the tenants, the House of Commons would be hampered in its legislation; knowing that on any increase in the income tax the payment would fall not on the landlords, who ought to pay their fair proportion, but exclusively on the occupiers. The result of the present state of things has been that many great improvements in the metropolis, Liverpool, Manchester, and other large towns have been made within the last 10 years exclusively at the cost of the occupiers without the landlords contributing a single shilling towards the expense. The Government have decided that such an anomalous state of things shall no longer exist; and a provision rendering void any engagements, by which owners contract themselves out of the payment of local taxation, is embodied in this Bill. The division of rates between owners and occupiers is not a new proposal, for a similar provision exists in Scotland and in Ireland. In England alone, the exclusive payment of rates by the occupiers has been maintained, and I will point out to the House one of the consequences which flow from such a system. The landlords, not being considered ratepayers, have no share at all in the administration of the money raised by rates, although I feel sure that the House will agree with me that it is important both for the interest of the public, and for the good administration of affairs, that they should take a direct and practical interest in all the great works paid for out of the rates. It may be said that if the tenant pays an increased rate he gets a deduction of rent on account of it; but for every small increase of rate the tenant cannot go to the landlord and tell him he must reduce the rent. In the first place, the tenant knows that he will suffer far more than the landlord if he is compelled to leave his farm; and, secondly, whichever of the two contracting parties has to take the initiative in asking for an alteration in the terms of the bargain is thereby placed at a serious disadvantage. Again, I have seen it stated repeatedly that it would be no relief to farmers or occupiers in towns that half of the onus should be thrown on the owners. I believe, on the contrary, it will be a very great boon if, unfortunately, there should be an increase of rates, that it should be so divided, and for the reason which I have just stated—namely, that the occupier will no longer be compelled, in order to relieve himself of the whole burden of the increased rates, to place himself at the disadvantage of taking the initiative step. Having dealt with three of the grievances of ratepayers I now come to the fourth—namely, the general allegation that the owners and occupiers of rateable property together pay more than their share of local and Imperial taxation, I say of Imperial as well as of local taxation, because the two classes should be treated as one when such an argument is raised. I will not repeat here the argument into which I entered on a recent occasion, showing the great difference, which should never be lost sight of, between the urban and the rural classes of occupiers. I will only remind those who urge this grievance that there is a vast amount of property liable to rates which is only in one sense real property, such as railways, and other industrial enterprises—an item which was almost nil 30 or 40 years ago. These classes of property now represent no less than £14,000,000 to £16,000,000 a year, and all contribute from their profits to rates. I admit that there is a great aggregate increase in the amount levied for rates. But how is it composed? The broad lines are clear and distinct. I allow that there has been an increase in rates generally so great as from £8,000,000, to £16,000,000; but of this increase £5,000,000 are due to improvement rates in towns and metropolitan rates of every description. These are rates with which the country has nothing whatever to do. Then there is an increase of £2,000,000 in Poor Law expenditure; but of that, £1,600,000 falls on 150 urban unions, and only £400,000 on 500 county unions. Of the remaining £1,000,000, £500,000 are due to the county police. As regards poor rates, I have shown that by far the greater portion of the increase has fallen on the towns. Again, as regards the number of paupers, the increase during the last seven years has been only 2 per cent in the counties, and 36 per cent in the towns. I cannot find, looking to any part of the statistical materials which have been collected, that there has been any great increase in the rates on land. I have no wish to raise the question between town and country; but in legislating on this subject with the view of remedying a grievance we are bound to recollect that the ratepayers do not form one homogeneous class, we are bound to see which class it is that is burdened most, and not to hurry to the relief of those who are infinitely better off now than they were 40 years ago, and are not so much in need of relief as other large classes of the community. We must consider who are the ratepayers who are most burdened and most entitled to relief. As regards burdens on land, I have formerly indicated that in this country they are not excessive. In this country land has certainly been relieved, both in respect of Imperial and local taxation, more than in any other country in Europe. There can be no doubt of that, whether we take the subject historically, geographically, or comparatively. It is a mere chimera of the hon. Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) to speak of land being so heavily burdened with rates and taxes that capital is flying from the land and seeking other investments. Has land fallen in value on account of the taxes placed on it? Have rents fallen on account of the taxes on land? Have the farmers' profits over the country generally been diminished in consequence of the increase on rates? I believe that a glance at schedule (B) of the income tax will show clearly that they have not. But if they have, it has been upon the farmers that the rates have fallen, and the owners have not paid their proportion of the burden. If the rates had been divided between the owners and occupiers, the occupier would not have had his profits reduced by the payment of the rates. It is impossible for two persons to pay the same rates. If the occupier pays the rates, then the owner does not. But if the Returns contained in the Report placed in the hands of hon. Members this morning are examined county by county, it will be seen that in most of the counties there has been a considerable decrease of the burden upon land as compared with earlier periods, although a comparison of particular years might show an increase, and this decrease is owing largely to the great alteration in the relative proportions of land to house property. If, for instance, we take the case of Suffolk, which is strictly an agricultural county, we find that the annual value under schedule (A) was £1,150,000, 50 years ago, whereas now it is £2,000,000. The amount of poor rates in that county in 1813-15 was £215,000; in 1826-27 it was £290,000; now it is only £223,000. The rate in the pound has raised from 4*s.* 4¾*d.* in the first period, to 5*s.* 1*d.* in the second, and now stands at 2*s.* 8½*d.* While the Government are prepared to listen to counter statements, they do not see the grievances that are alleged on the part of the owners of land; but they are prepared to propose a division of the consolidated rate between occupiers and owners—a measure which, they believe, will conduce to the relief of the former. But the Government have further measures to propose. If the burdens on land have not increased, the burdens on houses have most undoubtedly increased to a very considerable extent. It is therefore necessary to consider how far relief should be given. It is conceivable that relief might be given either by a local income tax, or by transferring local charges to Imperial funds, or by inventing new taxes, or by the transfer of Imperial taxes to local funds. As regards the first method, it appears to be impossible to devise an equitable local income tax, for you cannot localize income. An attempt was made in Scotland, and it broke down when an English Lord Chancellor, who drew his £10,000 a year in London, but had a small place in Scotland, was made to pay income tax on the whole of his income in that country as well as in this. No country has been able to levy a local income tax. In the United States there has been not a local income tax but a personal property tax. What has been the result of that? A very able Report has just been published by Mr. Wells, who with two other Commissioners was appointed to inquire into its working. On the cover of that Report is this sentence—

> "I insist that a people cannot prosper whose officers either work or tell lies. There is not an assessment Roll now made out in this State which does not now tell and work lies."

In making the assessment to this personal property tax, the oath of the person to be assessed was not questioned there, and there was an instance, adduced by Mr. Wells on undoubted authority, in which a man, assessed at $20,000, swore he possessed only $15,000, and swore himself down $1,000 yearly, until, in the year 1869, he reached $1,000; in that year he died and, as the Report expressed it, "passed to a tribunal where oaths could be inquired into," and his devised property was found to be worth $150,000. Mr. Wells concludes that the system is pregnant with fraud and perjury, and that the house a man lived in is the best test of what he could pay, pointing to England as offering a model system of local taxation because it has adopted that test. With us, too, there is another important consideration. How far ought we to impair the use of the income tax as a great engine of public finance, to be resorted to in times of sudden pressure when a great amount has to be raised? Nor could the statements so often made, showing the amount of real property on the one hand, and of personal property on the other—statements from which the inference was suggested that personal income largely escapes taxation — be relied on. A great part of the personal income thus placed on one side of the account consists of the earnings of the class that has no property at all. The whole calculation is erroneous. With respect to the second alternative, that of charging certain local charges upon the Consolidated Fund, the Government entertain the gravest objections to it. I am sure that the House would take such a step as the transference of many of the branches of local to Imperial administration with great reluctance. It might be right to do so if the case were made out, but the claim is, in fact, made only because other local funds cannot be invented. The invention of new local taxes, exclusive of a local income tax, the third alternative of which I spoke, appears scarcely to have been deemed practicable in any quarter. Seeing, therefore, that none of these three alternatives were feasible, the Government have examined the fourth alternative. They have analyzed Imperial finances and Imperial taxes to see whether there were any Imperial taxes of so local a character that they might be transferred to the local authorities. After looking through the list of Imperial taxes and consulting with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who met me in the most liberal spirit, I have come to the conclusion that, as the increase of rates has mainly fallen upon house property, the relief ought to be given in that direction. It is, therefore, the intention of the Government, at a certain date, not mentioned in the Bill, but to be hereafter fixed by an Order in Council, to hand over the present house tax amounting to about £1,200,000, in relief of local rates, which would then be payable, not to Her Majesty, but to the local authorities. This relief will extend to the whole of England and Scotland; but the house tax will not be surrendered until the next financial year. At the same time, I must ask hon. Members clearly to understand that this relief is to be contingent in a certain sense. It may happen that, owing to events at present unforeseen, it will be impossible for the Imperial Exchequer to part with so important a source of revenue as the house tax. With this proviso, however, the Government are prepared to grant it at the date fixed by the Order in Council, believing that they will by this step afford considerable relief to the most heavily-burdened class of ratepayers in the most equitable manner. It may be asked, why should not the house tax be entirely repealed? For this reason: if it were repealed, the benefit would go exclusively to the owners and occupiers of houses of £20 value and upwards; whereas it is desirable that the occupiers of every class of houses should be relieved. In other respects, the effect is practically equivalent to a repeal of the house tax. For instance:—if a parish now has to pay £2,000 a-year for rates and £400 for house tax, after the passing of this Bill, it would have to raise £1,600 a-year only by rates, the difference between that sum and £2,000 being covered by the house tax. The relief, therefore, will be very considerable. The aggregate rates of the occupiers will be diminished by the sum which they now pay to the Imperial Exchequer in respect of the house tax. I have now, I believe, explained to the House all the main points in the proposals of the Government, except one—namely, that in reference to the representation of owners. The Government have had to weigh the various modes by which representation of owners might be secured. The following alternatives were before them:—Plurality of voting, the cumulative vote, or the selection of a certain number of owners by a constituency also composed of owners. None of these alternatives commended themselves to the Government. Plural voting has become generally discredited, and owners have not exercised much influence under it owing to the defects in registration. Again, the plurality of voting is incompatible with the Ballot for obvious reasons. As regards the cumulative vote, the Government feel that much is to be said in its favour, Whatever may be its demerits in party conflicts, it appears to secure that variety of representation which is peculiarly to be desired in local government. But I freely admit that many objections may be urged against it, and the Government have resolved to look in another direction for the means of giving representation to the owner. It is proposed that on every board spending local funds there shall be a certain proportion of justices or of owners, and that to secure that proportion, the chairman of the parochial boards of the parishes, comprised in the area to be represented, should elect so many owners as, with the justices, should make up one-third of the representative board. We further propose that where the parochial board is a sanitary board, and contains more than six members, the qualification of one-third of the members of the board should be that they are owners of property within the parish. However, there is one exception contained in the Bill, owners have no votes at all in municipal elections. The Government do not wish to weight the Bill with a reform of the municipal franchise. They have consequently determined that, as regards so much of the consolidated rate as represents the borough rate, the occupier should not be entitled to make the deduction from the owner. The Government regret the exception; but it is either necessary to enact that owners should have votes at municipal elections, or that they should not be directly liable for any portion of municipal rates. I will now briefly sum up the proposals contained in the two Bills. It is proposed to consolidate all rates; to have one universal system of deduction; to have one parochial system of elections instead of many; to have an audit covering the whole of the country; to organize the parish; to establish a civil head who would represent the parish in all parochial affairs; to limit the powers of the vestry to deliberative functions, and to transfer the Executive functions to a single parochial board; to utilize the chairman of the parochial board in order to elect the representatives of the county financial boards; to extend the provisions of the Sanitary Acts so as to provide for hospitals and other matters not sufficiently provided for at present; to give greater coercive powers to the central authority to carry out the Sanitary Acts; to combine in one department all the business relating to local government, and to provide for the simplification of areas. With regard to finance, we propose to make all hereditaments, both corporeal and incorporeal, visible and invisible, liable to rates; to improve the mode of valuation, to make owners and occupiers each liable for half the rates, and to surrender the house tax in relief of the local rates. Her Majesty's Government trust, notwithstanding the large amount of business to be transacted in the course of this Session, that they will be able to carry through Parliament the measure the provisions of which I have sketched, because it is not only important in itself, but will provide the means for still further legislation, which is at present almost at a standstill for the want of powers necessary to carry it out. I beg to move for leave to bring in the Bills of which I have given Notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Rating and Local Government."—(*Mr. Goschen.*)

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH moved the Adjournment of the Debate.

MR. NEWDEGATE: After listening to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, it seems to me that his measure would deal out anything but even-handed justice. That which the right hon. Gentleman desires seems not to be so much a re-adjustment of local burdens as a re-adjustment of local government. It is, however, the financial aspect of this scheme to which I wish to draw attention. What does his scheme come to in this respect? It proposes that all hereditaments shall be liable to taxation. So far so good; but it moreover proposes a separate property tax upon land. That is about the purport of the right hon. Gentleman's proposal. He proposes a new property tax on the land, instead of imposing a new property tax on house property in towns, which is the property that has so much increased in value. Upon this increasing property he proposes a reduction of the general taxation, by proposing that the house duty shall be abolished in relief of the rates. For the first time in the financial records of this country, the right hon. Gentleman would divide real property into the two classes for the purpose of taxation—he would disturb the contracts throughout the whole agricultural community, in order to place a direct tax upon the landowners: that is to say, a direct tax, a new property tax upon land. Whilst with regard to house property, the value of which has been increasing in a far greater ratio than the value of the land, he would place no additional tax whatever such as he puts upon land; but he would make a present to the owners of house property of the whole of the inhabited house duty. This, certainly, is not dealing out even-handed justice as between these two classes of property. The ground which the right hon. Gentleman laid for this unequal distribution of relief—relief from the burden of Imperial taxation in the case of house property, and the imposition of a property tax on land, is this—that the poor rate has increased more upon house property in towns than upon land. Now, it does so happen that, because population has been attracted towards the towns, house property in the towns has increased in value; the increase of houses constitutes the source of the increased value of town property, which the right hon. Gentleman proposes to relieve from taxation. I should have recognized some justice in this scheme, if, in proportion to the pressure of the rates, the right hon. Gentleman had given relief to both classes of property. But the right hon. Gentleman does not propose to do this. For the first time he proposes a tax levied exclusively upon land, an exceptional property tax; whilst with respect to the house property in towns, which has been so rapidly increasing in value, instead of imposing upon that a property tax, he gives direct relief to the owners out of the Imperial taxation. I will not now dwell upon all the changes of Administration which the right hon. Gentleman has submitted to the House, nor upon their effect—they will doubtless attract the attention of the country —I will content myself with pointing to this one fact, that, for the first time, the right hon. Gentleman proposes to separate real property into two classes, and to inflict a direct property tax upon land only, whilst he would give almost immediate relief from rates to house property in towns, which relief is drawn from Imperial taxation. I will not detain the House longer; but I hope the country will clearly understand what is the nature of the financial arrangement which the right hon. Gentleman proposes.

Mr. GLADSTONE hoped the Motion for Adjournment would not be pressed, in order that the Bill might be now read a first time, and printed and placed in the hands of Members. He feared there would not be time that day (Tuesday) to take a satisfactory discussion of the measure.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he thought a measure of this importance should not be read a first time without discussion.

Mr. PELL said, he concurred with the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sclater-Booth) as to the stages of important measures being taken without discussion.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*, at Two of the Clock.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Returns *ordered*, "in tabular form, showing the number of Notices discussed on going into Committee of Supply (excluding Fridays), with the number of pages of 'Hansard' occupied each evening in the discussion of these Notices, for the Sessions 1868-9 and 1870:"

"And, of the number of Morning Sittings held before the 1st day of July in each year, showing the number of hours occupied in each Sitting before 7 P.M., and the number of pages of 'Hansard' occupied in discussion in each Sitting before 7 P.M., in the Sessions 1868-9 and 1870."—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck.*)

Mr. Newdegate

PIER AND HARBOUR ORDERS CONFIRMATION BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill for confirming certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade under "The General Pier and Harbour Act, 1861," relating to Curran, Dover, Hastings, Herne Bay, Hornsea, Northam, and Stornoway.

Resolution *reported:* — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Peel and Mr. Chichester Fortescue.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 101.]

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Hardcastle, Bill to repeal the Minority Clauses of the Representation of the People Act, 1867, and the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Hardcastle, Mr. Bayley Potter, and Mr. Gilpin.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 98.]

CHARITY COMMISSIONERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Winterbotham, Bill to amend the Charitable Trusts Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Winterbotham and Mr. Secretary Bruce.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 99.]

BATH CITY PRISON BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Winterbotham, Bill for amending the Law relating to the appointment of the Gaoler and Matron of the Prison of the City of Bath, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Winterbotham and Mr. Secretary Bruce.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 100.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 4th April, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—*Third Report* —Public Accounts [No. 162.]

Public Bills—*Resolutions reported—Ordered—First Reading*—Exciseable Liquors (Licensing) * [104].

Ordered—First Reading—Rating and Local Government * [106]; Local Taxation * [105]; Debtors (Ireland) * [108]; Bankruptcy (Ireland) Amendment * [109]; Court of Chancery Funds * [107]; Anatomy Act (1832) Amendment * [110].

First Reading—Lunacy Regulation (Ireland) * [102].

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Inclosure Law Amendment [32].

Committee — Report — Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal)* [45-103].
*Considered as amended—*Trades Unions* [94]; Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen) [95].

The House met at Two of the clock.

BOARD OF TRADE RETURNS.

QUESTION.

Mr. EATON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Why in the case of Ribbons, Broad Silks, and Watches, the usual practice has been departed from by omitting the quantities imported in the case of these articles, and giving the values only in the Returns of the Board of Trade for January and February?

Mr. A. PEEL said, in reply, that it had been found that the practice followed by the trade of including foreign substances in the gross weights which they returned, had destroyed the value of the Return of quantities, and therefore the Return had been discontinued.

METROPOLIS—MUSEUM OF PRACTICAL GEOLOGY.—QUESTION.

Mr. FLETCHER asked the First Commissioner of Works, If it is the intention of the Government to transfer the Museum of Practical Geology from Jermyn Street to South Kensington; and, if so, upon what grounds?

Mr. AYRTON, in reply, said, he had received no instructions from the Government to transfer this Museum to South Kensington, and he believed the Government had come to no conclusion on the subject.

METROPOLIS—HAMILTON GARDENS.

QUESTION.

Mr. DENISON asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether advantage will be taken of the opening up of a new thoroughfare through Hamilton Place to restore that portion of Hyde Park known as Hamilton Gardens to the unrestricted use of the public; if he will place upon the Table a nominal roll of all householders having a privileged right of entry to those gardens; and, if he will inform the House in whose hands the right of entry or exclusion is legally held to rest?

Mr. AYRTON said, in reply, that he was not aware that the construction of a new road in Hamilton Place would render it necessary to make any change in the small gardens which were practically detached from Hyde Park, though legally forming part of it. The hon. Member was under some misapprehension in supposing that, in the proper sense of the term, there was a privileged right of entry. The practice was to allow the occupiers of houses in the immediate neighbourhood to resort to these gardens on payment of three guineas annually for their key, which was probably the full value of the enjoyment they received from this very small space. The money so received was sufficient to pay all the expenses of keeping the gardens in order; and the effect of the arrangement, therefore, was that this little detached spot was maintained without cost to the public. Under the circumstances, he thought there was no necessity for the Return requested by the hon. Member, or for any change in the existing arrangement.

FRANCE AND GERMANY—THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AT BRUSSELS.

QUESTION.

Mr. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Treaty of Peace about to be signed at Brussels is to be ratified by the whole or any of the other European Governments without previous discussion or revision on the part of the Ambassadors of such Governments; and, if it be correct that the Dutch Government has demanded the adoption of the principle of respect for private property at sea in time of war, as well as an international definition of articles contraband of war?

Viscount ENFIELD: Sir, we have no knowledge of the parties engaged in negotiations at Brussels proposing to submit the result of them before ratification to discussion or revision by other European Governments; and with respect to the second Question of the hon. Member, nothing is known of any demand or proposal by the Dutch Government which would affect private property at sea in time of war or the definition of articles contraband of war.

POOR LAW—THE SMALL-POX.

QUESTION.

Mr. M'CARTHY DOWNING asked the President of the Poor Law Board, Whether any steps have been taken or advised to guard against the removal of the destitute from Unions in England and Scotland, where the small-pox has prevailed, to Ireland; and, if so, the nature thereof?

Mr. STANSFELD, in reply, said, the Poor Law Board had no power to suspend any removals; but he had addressed a Circular Letter to those Unions from which removals to Ireland most frequently occurred, advising the suspension of such removals while the epidemic prevailed.

ARMY—UNATTACHED OFFICERS.

QUESTION.

Colonel TAYLOR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the officers of regiments disbanded last year, and the officers promoted to unattached majorities and companies will, when brought into service, be gazetted into regiments according to the date of their last Commission, or be placed at the bottom of the list of their respective rank?

Mr. CARDWELL said, in reply, that it was an established rule that when an officer was gazetted to a regiment he took his place at the bottom of the list of those of his own rank, and that rule would be followed in the case of officers of regiments disbanded last year, and of officers promoted to unattached majorities and companies when they were again brought into the service.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND TAXATION.

QUESTION.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked in what way the Government proposed to deal with existing contracts in the new Bill about to be introduced? It was intended that the rates now paid by the occupier should be paid half by the owner and half by the occupier; but the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen) made no reference last night to the case of existing contracts such as leases for terms of years?

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he had omitted to state last night that existing contracts at the time of the passing of the Bill would not be interfered with by the Bill.

INCLOSURE LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

[Bill 32.]

(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Secretary Bruce.*)

SECOND READING. ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [23rd February], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. FAWCETT said that there appeared to be at length some prospect of Parliament giving to this important subject a portion of the attention which it deserved. Probably amongst the many shortcomings of this Parliament, and its predecessor, there was nothing which posterity would more entirely condemn than the fact that the inclosure of lands had been left to an irresponsible department, which, as he would prove, had neglected the interests of the public with wanton recklessness. Up to the year 1845 inclosures were carried on by Private Bills, and by this process, in a century and a-half, 7,000,000 acres of land were inclosed. The late Duke of Newcastle, a distinguished friend of the present Prime Minister, who carefully investigated this subject, stated, with regard to those 7,000,000 acres, that in almost every instance the public and the poor had been most shamefully neglected. Since 1845 a different system had been introduced. This House had taken upon itself the responsibility of considering the inclosure of lands, and it was almost unnecessary for him to describe the way in which they had discharged that duty. In regard to this question, there was no difference to be drawn between Conservative and Liberal Governments—they were all alike. The most passionate declamation about interest in popular rights, strong vociferations that the Government were anxious to prevent the people from being divorced from the soil, were forgotten; and a Liberal Government, in a householder's Parliament, used its whole influence to force Inclosure Bills through the House without comment or discussion. Anyone who had considered the condition of the agricultural labourer must be perfectly well aware that no inconsiderable portion of the present unsatisfactory state of things was to be traced to the manner in which inclosure of land had been permitted. This was abundantly proved by a great mass of evidence collected by the Commission which lately inquired into the condition of women and children employed in agriculture. Mr. Kebbell, summing up the evidence in a book which he had recently written, came to the conclusion that in the middle of the last century the agricultural labourer, so far as the power of obtaining the material necessaries of life was concerned, was in a far better condition than he was now; and this opinion was corroborated by almost every writer on political economy. The Rev. Mr. Davis, writing at the end of the last century, stated that the proprietary rights of agricultural labourers in the soil were greatly lessened, owing to the inclosure of land, and a class once possessing independence was being gradually reduced to the position of miserable Pariahs. The same process had gone on unchecked during the present century. It was no justification, but rather an aggravation, of this state of things to be constantly repeating platitudes about agricultural prosperity. What was the use of saying that the land was better cultivated, that wealth was rapidly increasing, that rents were rising, and farms were actively competed for, when, as a background to this glowing picture, there was a class of labourers eking out a miserable existence on 9*s.* or 10*s.* a-week; sometimes living in houses which did not deserve the name of human habitations; their children growing up in a state of ignorance, which could not be greater if England had lost her Christianity and her civilization; living day by day uncheered by hope, with no other prospect before them than that when their work was done they would have to become supplicant mendicants for the pauper's dole? It was true that during the last 10 years wages had been increased by 10 per cent; but in the same time there had been a rise of 20 per cent in articles of food consumed in the rural districts; while, in consequence of improved means of communication, prices had been, to a great extent, equalized throughout the country, so that the labourer could scarcely live more cheaply in the country than he could in the metropolis. Before the opening up of the railway system, 25 years ago, articles such as milk, of essential importance to the labourer, could be obtained in the rural districts for nothing; but now, labourers' families suffered greatly from the difficulty of obtaining milk. Formerly there was a common in nearly every village, on which the labourer could keep cows, pigs, or poultry; but in the present day it was a rare thing to find a labourer who was able to keep a cow. Probably it would be said that this Bill would remedy the evil, and if he thought so he would cordially support it. He did not blame his hon. Friend who had charge of the Bill (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), because a subordinate Member of the Government, to a great extent, sacrificed his individuality; and he was sure that if the Prime Minister gave the hon. Gentleman despotic power in this matter, he would bring in a measure which would fully satisfy those who held the most extreme views. His fundamental objection to this Bill was, that it still left the whole question to the irresponsible department of the Inclosure Commissioners. It might be said that securities were taken to prevent their neglecting their duties in future; but he would show that powers far too great were left to them, and that if the Bill passed it would be more difficult than ever for the House to resist improper inclosures. He had intentionally spoken in strong terms of the Inclosure Commissioners; and when the House had heard a few facts which he had to mention it would agree that it required a more accomplished speaker than himself to find language of sufficient severity to condemn their conduct. Hitherto he had been obliged to call attention to this subject at 2 o'clock in the morning, when the reporters had left the Gallery; and, therefore, he intended to avail himself of the opportunity of a Morning Sitting to show what the Inclosure Commissioners had done in the past, and then he was sure the public would require the House to prevent such proceedings in future. Two years ago an Inclosure Bill was introduced to the House, proposing to inclose 6,900 acres of land in different parts of the country. The Inclosure Commissioners were bound, by the most solemn obligation, to reserve a proper quantity for the public and the poor. How did they discharge that duty? Out of the 6,900 acres they reserved three acres as recreation ground for the public and six acres as allotment gardens for the poor. Not only did the Commissioners do this, but the Government—a Liberal Government—did not utter one word of protest against their proceedings. They introduced this Bill, read it a second time, forced it through Committee, and it was only on the third reading, and with great difficulty, that it was stopped and referred to a Select Committee. The Government evidently thought an hon. Member was travelling out of the usual forms of the House in venturing to express a dissent from measures which they seemed to consider ought to be passed merely as matters of form. The Bill was eventually referred to two Select Committees. One of the commons proposed to be inclosed was in the metropolitan area at Wisley, and the proposal with regard to that common was referred to a separate Select Committee. The common consisted of 380 acres, and the Inclosure Commissioners reserved two acres as recreation ground for the public, and nothing for the poor. The Select Committee examined witnesses from the neighbourhood, and as the result of their deliberations proposed to increase the reservation ground by 300 per cent, and unanimously decided that the poor should have the utmost that could be allowed as allotment gardens under the Act. But he would mention a still stronger case. It was also proposed in the Bill to inclose another common at Withypool of 1,906 acres, and out of that number of acres the Inclosure Commissioners reserved one miserable acre as recreation ground for the public. The Committee sent for evidence from the neighbourhood, and being a Member of the Committee, he wrote for the parish clerk and the village schoolmaster. In giving evidence before the Committee the Inclosure Commissioners justified their extraordinary reservation upon four distinct grounds. In the first place, they said that a larger recreation ground was not used; in the second, they asserted that the common was never resorted to by the inhabitants of Withypool; thirdly, that there were numerous other commons close to it; and, lastly, that only one acre was reserved because the rise of the ground was so steep that it was impossible to find any other ground suitable for a place of recreation. In answer to their precise allegations, the parish clerk and schoolmaster, whose evidence was not shaken, stated, firstly, that the miserable reservation of one acre had caused the greatest possible discontent in the neighbourhood; second, that the common was constantly and repeatedly used, that the friendly societies held their meetings there, and that on summer evenings there were generally 50, 60, or 70 people walking about on it; thirdly, they proved by maps that the nearest other common was five miles away; and, fourthly, they proved by plans that the acre reserved was in the corner of a triangular piece of 10 acres, the remaining 9 acres being in every respect identical with the character of the soil and their elevation. Was it necessary for him to say more in order to convince the House that these Inclosure Commissioners could not be safely trusted; that their statements must be narrowly watched, and their proceedings carefully scrutinized? Possibly the supporters of the present Bill might say that it provided security against the misdoings of the Inclosure Commissioners; but that he denied. It came out in evidence that the local inquiries were a farce and a delusion, because they were almost invariably held at half-past 11 in the morning, when none of the labouring poor could attend. No notice of that practice was taken in the Bill. Again, there was no provision to ensure the public, who were interested, being invited to these inquiries to give evidence on the wants of the neighbourhood. It would be said that the Bill proposed, in every instance, to reserve the fixed proportion of one-tenth; but such a provision would not satisfy the requirements of every case. The Prime Minister the other night said it was necessary to pass the Bill, because its delay paralyzed the activity of the Department. What did that activity mean? The very moment this Bill should be passed another Bill, which was ready in the Department, would be introduced, proposing to inclose 28 commons consisting of 18,000 acres. He wished to check that kind of activity. Amongst those 28 commons was one of 70 acres, in the heart of a most populous district, surrounded by the hard-working population of the Potteries. The common possessed great natural beauties, and was much resorted to by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood; but what would the present Bill effect with regard to that common? It would take away all the 70 acres, with the exception of three and a-half acres for allotment gardens and three and a-half acres for recreation ground, and would also deprive the population of the enjoyment they derived from the natural beauties of the place. However difficult it had been to fight the Inclosure Commissioners in the past, it would be more difficult to fight them in the future, if the present Bill was passed, because it would be said that the House was bound to pass Inclosure Bills with a reservation of one-tenth, as that was the arrangement sanctioned by Parliament. Inclosures would then go on more rapidly than ever, and that House, composed in a great measure of landowners, wrapping itself up in self-complacency, would be able to say that it had done all that was required in reserving one-tenth of the inclosures for the public. The Inclosure Act of 1845 was described in its Title as "An Act to facilitate the Inclosure and Improvement of Commons and Lands held in common." He wished to have the policy of the past reversed, and to retard inclosures. It was of the utmost importance that all waste land should be surveyed; that such parts as had great natural beauty should be reserved for the public. This was the proposal of his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department; and he was quite sure his hon. Friend was far too sound a politician to change his position.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE begged to state that he had never promulgated any such scheme.

Mr. FAWCETT meant the present Under Secretary for the Home Department (Mr. Winterbotham). He very well recollected his hon. Friend's speech. The most plausible arguments in favour of inclosures were supposed to be furnished by political economy; but probably no other science had ever had so many bad things done in its name as that had. He ventured to assert that after inclosure had attained a certain point, and one which was long since attained in this country, political economy did not supply a single argument in favour of inclosure; but, on the contrary, its principles, if worth anything, would tend to show that inclosure, if not stopped altogether, should be carried on with great care and caution. One of the most remarkable changes in the rural districts was that within the last 25 years there had been a strong tendency in favour of having pasture land. The reason was this—we obtained corn from all the world—India, Australia, California; but for dairy produce and such perishable commodities we had to rely chiefly on our own soil. The consequence was that produce became inevitably dearer with our progress in wealth and population. Much of the common land that had been inclosed was some of the best pasture in the kingdom; and if it should be said that whilst common it did not, from want of drainage, produce so much as it might, he would remind hon. Members that that argument might be extended to private property, which in many cases did not certainly produce the utmost of which it was capable. Again, it might be said that commons were ill looked after; but that was an argument for better management, and not for inclosures. Why not issue some kind of Commission, and treat all the commons in the country in the same way as those within the metropolitan area, providing some means for their improvement by means of a rate? If a common was not used for the purpose of recreation the whole rate should be paid by the lord of the manor and the commoners who used the common. If, on the other hand, the common was used for the purpose of recreation, then it was only fair that a considerable portion should be thrown on the rates of the neighbourhood. It was said that the inclosure of commons promoted the production of wealth and gave employment to the poor; but this remarkable fact came out in evidence—that in many localities where the largest inclosures had been made the population had absolutely diminished since these inclosures had been effected. What was the reason? Nothing could be more erroneous than to suppose that this desire to inclose land was solely promoted by philanthropical anxiety to increase the productive resources of the country. In thousands of instances the commons inclosed did not produce a single blade of grass or a single ear of wheat more than when they were an open space; the only difference between their inclosed and uninclosed condition was this—that now a privileged few could shoot tame pheasants and hares and rabbits over them, whereas before they could be enjoyed alike by the whole public. It was said that we should have better securities in the future against improper inclosures; but what securities would there be if this Act were passed? In the present Session a Bill would be introduced to inclose 28 commons, and last Session there was an Inclosure Bill, which they had to fight night after night to prevent the Government from sneaking it through the House at 2 o'clock in the morning. It was quite by accident he discovered that, if that Bill had passed, it would have destroyed, as far as man could destroy, two of the most lovely pieces of scenery in the kingdom—it would have destroyed the beauty of the Lizard Point and Kynance Cove. There could be no satisfactory legislation until the method of procedure was entirely changed. Every Inclosure Bill introduced ought to be referred to a Select Committee, which should have power to take evidence from the locality. If they did that they would not be legislating in the dark as at present. When the Government were trying to pass an Inclosure Bill at 2 o'clock in the morning, he used to think of their platform speeches about elevating the people and not divorcing them from the soil. How could they more effectually divorce them from the soil than by inclosing every bit of common land, and what was the use of trying to elevate the people when they shut them out from those open spots where they could enjoy nature in her most beautiful aspects? All they did to elevate the people would be of no avail if they assisted those whose desire was to make this country as ugly as they could, instead of rendering assistance to those who wished to enjoy the invigorating influence to be derived from conversing with nature. It was said this Bill incorporated the provisions of the Bill of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Cowper-Temple) for the preservation of urban commons; but even if the commons were brought within the Metropolis Act, that would not give a security against inclosure. Commons might be inclosed either by common law, or by means of Parliamentary interference, and there was nothing in the Act to prevent an inclosure at common law. This being so, every common in the country would be in imminent peril; and, indeed, every common might be inclosed unless commoners, sufficiently public-spirited and sufficiently wealthy, were found to resist it. The commons of Berkhampstead and Plumstead—two of the most lovely in the country—would have been inclosed but for the efforts and expenditure of two gentlemen—Mr. Augustus Smith and the junior Member for Rochester (Mr. Goldsmid)—who spent in legal proceedings many thousands of pounds. What he desired was that the survey suggested by his hon. Friend the Under Secretary for the Home Department should be carried out with the least possible delay. We should then know all the commons that were worth preserving on the score of natural beauty or proximity to large towns, and the Government might be left to take on itself the responsibility of preserving them—always bearing in mind, as at Wimbledon, that lords of the manor should be amply compensated for any rights they might have. He should be sorry to be misunderstood on that point, anxious as he was to preserve commons. He never would be a party to any such proceeding without compensating all those who had a legal interest in them. He begged to thank the House for the great patience with which they had listened to what he feared had been too long a statement. Every Inclosure Bill ought to be referred to a Select Committee, and that should take evidence from the neighbourhood of the land proposed to be inclosed. These waste lands offered areas for the present enjoyment of those who possessed privileges over them, and they ought to be further regarded as reserves which might be used for promoting the future well-being of the country; for instance, after those who possessed rights over them had received proper compensation, it was possible they might be used for trying great social experiments in co-operative agriculture. He would vote with the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Colonel Barttelot) for referring the Bill to a Select Committee, for, although their views might be different, it was impossible to have a more straightforward opponent than the hon. and gallant Member was, and time only could show which of them would gain most by further inquiry. This was a matter on which the House was bound to act with the greatest care, because if any mischief were done it could never be repaired the same as an ordinary error of taxation or legislation. If a common were improperly inclosed, the evil would be continuous for all time, and would be absolutely irrevocable. A great statesman, whom many in the House aspired to follow, said there was no subject on which the House ought to act with greater care and circumspection. If these words had been heeded, an incalculable amount of mischief, which could never be remedied, would never have been committed, and the public would not have been deprived, as they had been, of privileges which money could not restore. This was not a question of a day nor of an hour, nor for to-morrow only, but for all time. Not the least valuable of what we had inherited from our predecessors were portions of the country in which nature had not been spoilt by man; and let us be careful that we were not less generous to those who would come after us, for no amount of vaunted civilization, no accumulation of wealth, could justify us in the eyes of posterity if we left this country shorn of the beauty with which it had been endowed by nature.

Mr. BONHAM-CARTER, having heard the evidence given in relation to Withypool Common, on the borders of Exmoor, thought it desirable to correct the impression produced by the reference made to the case by the hon. Member for Brighton. The acre of land spoken of as all that had been reserved for recreation purposes was only set aside as the playground of a very small school. The population of the village was only from 120 to 150. The number of houses was about 30; there was no other village in the neighbourhood, and it was only once a year that a friendly society resorted to the common. He believed that the inquiries of the Assistant Commissioners were conducted in a proper manner, and that, when all circumstances were considered, the results were generally satisfactory. It was desirable that local authorities should have power to buy land required for parks, but to take land without purchase was unjust. He believed that the Inclosure Department had served the country well; and as to the interests of the poor, he could quite understand the labourer saying, in reference to common land, that he could earn good wages from it if it were under the plough. He believed that the present law worked beneficially.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH entirely demurred to some of the statements made by the hon. Member for Brighton, and there were three points to which he would more particularly refer. First of all, he told the House that it was largely representative of landowners; but he would ask the House to consider the provisions of the Bill proposed to be brought in the previous night by a right hon. Gentleman who commanded a large majority in this House of landowners. The hon. Member for Brighton also told the House that the pasture land was diminishing, and that consequently the produce of pasture land was more expensive to obtain. He also descanted upon so much property being turned to private use. Now, with regard to the whole subject, it appeared to him (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) that much of the difficulty which had obtained in this measure was owing to the uncertain and vacillating conduct of the Government. Two Sessions ago the hon. Member for Brighton had objected strongly and successfully to the consideration of the Inclosure Bill; and his objections had been so strongly pressed that he secured the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the whole question, and his hon. Friend the Member for Sandwich (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen), the then Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, represented the Government on that Committee. He would with confidence appeal to the hon. Member for Brighton, and those who supported him on that Committee, if the hon. Member for Sandwich had acted in a retrograde spirit. Had not all his wishes been embodied in the Report which had been presented? And having done that, the hon. Member for Sandwich brought in a Bill last Session, which not only comprised the recommendations of the Committee, to which he, for one, had no objection, but which very seriously interfered with the rights of property. And this Bill which was now brought in was, to a very large extent, a copy of the Bill of last Session. He did not blame the present Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) in the matter, as he had acted in perfect accordance with the opinions he had held at all times. This Bill had been introduced by him when Under Secretary of the Home Department; but the hon. Member who succeeded him at the Home Office could not be supposed not to have devoted his attention to this question. On the contrary, on the second reading of this Bill he laid down his views at very great length. And what did the hon. Member for Stroud (Mr. Winterbotham), the present Under Secretary, say? He told the House that the present Bill which was now before the House did not go far enough; that it only recognized the interests of the locality; and he laid down as his opinion that no inclosure ought to be made until the Secretary of State was satisfied that the interests of the public at large would not be injuriously affected. These might be the opinions of the hon. Member; but if they were, it was extremely odd that he should be obliged to sit on the Treasury Bench and hear another Member of the Government advocate a Bill connected with his own Department, and with which he himself did not agree. [Mr. WINTERBOTHAM: I do approve of it.] The hon. Gentleman went beyond it. It seemed to him a most anomalous position for any Member of the Government to be placed in, as he believed the rule was that Members of the Government were in the habit of proposing measures with which they concurred. He was willing to leave the question in the hands of his hon. Friend the Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), and he believed it would be better dealt with by him than by the hon. Member for Stroud; because the views of the hon. Member for Reading were moderate in comparison, and were more likely to commend themselves to the House than those of the hon. Member for Stroud, which, if adopted in legislating on more important subjects, might seriously interfere with the stability of Her Majesty's Government. He would now briefly refer to the principles of the measure which were not recommended by the Committee of the year before last. The 3rd clause took away the discretion which Parliament had hitherto vested in the Inclosure Commissioners. The hon. Member for Brighton did not consider that this went far enough, and wished to see the Commissioners abolished altogether. But these inclosures could not be properly considered generally; and the merits of each case required to be gone into by some body like the Commissioners. The Bill provided that in every case an allotment not less than one-tenth of the whole land inclosed, except where it would exceed 50 acres, should be set apart for recreation ground or field garden. Now, in a thinly-populated district it was possible there might not be 50 persons living within a reasonable distance who might be able to take advantage of that allotment. An allotment to that extent was simply waste ground, and he could not see any purpose whatever to which it could fairly refer. Then, the 4th clause dealt with land of a description which had never before been subject to an allotment of this kind, because under the old Acts only land subject to the rights of common were subject to allotment. That clause provided that—

> "Where the public have been in the habit of using any commonable land at any time of the year for the purposes of exercise and recreation, and such commonable land is proposed to be inclosed, the Commissioners shall, in their provisional order relating to such land, specify, as one of the terms and conditions of the inclosure thereof, the appropriation free of all charge of an allotment for a recreation ground."

But what did recreation mean? Did it mean that a small number of people by simply strolling over commonable land all the year round should be entitled to claim an allotment for the purpose of exercise and recreation, which, probably, would be of no use to them? Then, again, it was proposed to keep up public paths, rides, and rights of way. He was glad they were going to keep these up, as they were of very much more use than recreation ground could possibly be. It seemed to him that the Bill proposed to set apart allotments for the purpose of field gardens, in utter disregard of the number of the poor. He was in favour of allotments for the benefit of the neighbouring poor, but he would like to know of what service these allotments would be if they were too large for a labourer to cultivate during his spare time, or if they were so far distant from his cottage that he could not convey to them manure, or reach them within a reasonable time. In every case they would be of no service at all. Disagreeing with the hon. Member for Brighton, he held that inclosures were, as a rule, very beneficial to the country. He certainly admitted that there might be cases, and frequent cases, where a common, or part of a common, would act as the lungs of a great town, and in such cases it would be by no means desirable to inclose them. But, as a general rule, inclosures were beneficial, because they directly increased the number of the proprietors of the land in the country. In the second place, they increased the produce of the country, and therefore were of service to the whole of the population. In the third place, they provided work for those who might be otherwise unemployed, and that was a purpose, to his mind, of very great use. All those benefits taken together, greatly outweighed the advantages to the professional vagrant, if he might use the term, to the professional man who wanted a right to ramble over a common, and who was rather disposed to claim a "knapsack title" to property which did not belong to him. But even after the commons there were plenty of mountains which he could wander over wherever he would. While he was in favour of the Bill, he should like to see it referred to a Select Committee, in accordance with the Notice of the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Colonel Barttelot) because he believed it could be better considered by such a body than by the whole House, and would thereby stand a better chance of being made fair and equitable in its provisions.

MR. LEVESON GOWER said, he would like to see some modification of the Bill; but, at the same time, he could see that these modifications could be introduced in a Committee of the Whole House, and therefore he would vote against the Amendment. He was also certainly anxious that fuller inquiry should be made into the subject. He had been a Member of the Inclosure Committee which sat two years ago, and he regretted that the scope of the inquiry had been limited to the operation of the Inclosure Act. He thought it would have been desirable, if they had had it in their power, to inquire into the general policy of inclosures. Such an inquiry was most desirable, and he did not see why such an inquiry should not be made independently of this Bill. He thought that his hon. Friend the Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett) in referring to this Committee, had been a little hard upon it, for he had listened to the evidence brought before it, and he could not come to the conclusion which had been come to by his hon. Friend, as he believed the Committee had exercised its duties in a satisfactory manner. He agreed with the hon. Member in lamenting the condition of the agricultural labourers of this country; but he did not think he could go the length of concurring with him in his statement that their condition had deteriorated. He could say from his own experience that their condition had decidedly improved. They were now better lodged, clothed, fed, and educated than they were only a few years ago, and they had the great advantage of cheaper and more abundant fuel. Still less could he agree with his hon. Friend that inclosures had injured the condition of the labouring classes; in fact he held an entirely opposite view. He held they had been of benefit to the community, and had conferred important advantages on the labouring classes. He generally found that the labouring poor in the neighbourhood of commons were in a less satisfactory condition than where no commons existed. In the county with which he was connected there was a desire among the people that the waste lands should be inclosed, and the poor people were very anxious indeed, in many cases, for inclosures; they felt they would be benefited. It was true that philanthropy was not the motive which caused inclosures of commons to be wished for, but the converse was equally true, for, after all, the people who obtained the greatest enjoyment from the maintenance of large open tracts of land were those who could afford to take the greatest amount of equestrian and pedestrian exercise upon them. Much as he desired a general inquiry into the question, he desired the passing of the Bill more, and he should therefore support the second reading as against the Motion for reference to a Select Committee.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he thought, if this Bill was passed in its integrity it would forestall the greater part of the inquiry which was desired by his hon. Friend who had just sat down, and for this reason he intended to support the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Barttelot). The hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett) had asserted that the agricultural population owed their present position very much to the fact of these inclosures. But, in general, it could be shown that the cultivation of the soil did not always improve in proportion to the small holdings which were created, and there was a very remarkable instance of that in the state of cultivation in Ireland. The great difficulty in raising the cultivation of the soil there, in many instances, was the difficulty of bringing labour into the country, because the soil, in every part of the country had been divided into small holdings, and the inducement had not been sufficient to import capital into the cultivation of the soil. Further acquaintance with the Bill had not increased his admiration of it. There were some parts in it of which he could not approve, and he should wish to see it referred to a Select Committee. The first part of the Bill dealt with commons in rural districts; and, with respect to them, he thought the Bill laid down too hard-and-fast a line. In preventing inclosure they would prevent a considerable addition to the arable land of the country, and thereby the employment of much labour, whilst the portion set apart would, in many instances, become the haunt of tramps, and of no benefit to anyone. When he came to consider the second part of the Bill he was still more impressed with the notion that it was desirable that a Select Committee should consider it. He maintained that the principle of the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Hampshire (Mr. Cowper-Temple), which had originated this part of the present Bill, had never been properly investigated, and he thought that the details of this measure called for the most careful consideration. As the provisions of the Bill then stood, he thought it would operate very prejudicially in many parts of England; and on this point, especially, it was that he desired to see further inquiry.

Mr. T. HUGHES concurred in thinking that further inquiry was necessary. He thought that great confusion would result if the Bill were adopted as it then stood. It must be remembered that this Bill would affect every village where there was common land to be dealt with. This Bill would have to be considered with a number of other Acts which were not easy of interpretation, and which it would not be easy to reconcile with each other. If passed into law as it stood, it, in conjunction with the Acts referred to in the schedule, would form the inclosure law of the kingdom. The aspect of the British vestryman sitting down to consider these 12 Acts with a view to their interpretation—especially considering that portions of several of them were repealed by the Bill now before the House—was not very cheerful. No person, not a skilled lawyer, could interpret them satisfactorily; and he thought there should be some codification of these various Acts, so that the law upon the subject might be made clear. In the present day, when historical monuments were beginning to be valued, the question was of peculiar importance as regarded some of the spots in the country rendered most famous by events of historical interest. He regretted to hear that so interesting a spot as the Roman camp at Wimbledon was about to be broken up, and the site to be used as building ground. The battle-field of Newbury, near which he had lived for many years, was classic ground; and he regretted to say that the spot where Falkland was killed, and the spot where the train-bands of London had made their famous stand, with Essex and his white hat and plume in their centre, had been inclosed, and the mounds where the dead were interred cut through and defaced. If the question were taken to a Division, he should vote for the Motion of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Colonel Barttelot). With respect to what had been said as to the advantage of inclosing these wastes, in order to give industrial employment to unemployed labour, he did not think that was a very strong argument. Inclosure would throw all these lands into private hands, and that policy had gone too far already in his opinion.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE declined to take notice of invidious comparisons drawn between himself and his Colleagues further than to say that it was untrue that he had sacrificed his individuality to their demands. Many hon. Members were aware that he had always given great attention to the subject of commons, and he would be wanting in self-respect if he had consented in office to support a Bill inconsistent with his professions out of office. But this Bill he entirely approved; it was a liberal and practical measure, although it did not respond to the full extent of the wishes of his hon. Friend the Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett). The House would bear in mind that this question was one of considerable difficulty and delicacy. Two classes of opinions had been expressed on this subject. Some persons contended generally that the commons should remain as they were, and that, at all events, it was an almost absolute necessity that commons in the neighbourhood of large towns should be kept open. On the other hand, there were persons who entertained an opposite opinion, and who contended that, for the sake of the employment of the labouring classes, all available land should be brought into cultivation. The Bill was framed so as to meet the views of both to same extent. It would not interpose difficulties in the way of inclosure in rural districts, but would, in all such cases, insure greater regard to the interest of the labouring classes and the public than had heretofore been the case, and as regards the commons in the neighbourhood of towns, it prohibited inclosure through the Inclosure Commissioners. His hon. Friend the Member for Brighton had hardly done justice to the Inclosure Commissioners under the Act of 1845 in respect of the allotments they had made for public use. The duty of those Commissioners was undoubtedly to inclose, and they were bound by very narrow restrictions as to the amount of allotment they could set apart; and it should always be remembered that their orders had, in all cases, been submitted to Parliament, so that Parliament was as much, if not more, responsible for any errors of the past than the Commissioners. The Bill under consideration dealt with allotments in a more liberal spirit than the Act of 1845, and required one-tenth of any land dealt with to be set apart for recreation ground or labourers' allotment. It contained, however, a proviso that the allotment should not exceed 50 acres. This restriction was not originally contained in the Bill, but had been inserted at the instance of the hon. Member for Radnorshire (Mr. Walsh), who had pointed out the case of commons, consisting of mountainous lands in Wales, which it was desired to inclose rather for the sake of separating the sheep and cattle than for the purpose of increasing the production of the land; and where, if so large a proportion as one-tenth were required, no inclosure would take place. The proposal to set apart one-tenth would yield a much larger proportion of land for the public than that yielded under the Act of 1854. But it was necessary to fix the maximum of land reserved to 50 acres, or owners would be disinclined to sacrifice so large a proportion to achieve their object in the case of wastes of above 500 acres. The difference between the operation of the Act of 1845 and this Bill was easily seen. Of the 370,000 acres inclosed under the Act of 1845, 3,700 acres only, or 1 per cent, had been reserved for labourers' allotments and recreation grounds; but 14,500 acres would have been reserved if the provisions of this Bill had been adopted. That part of the Bill dealing with suburban commons had been framed upon the model of an Act passed in 1866 having reference to metropolitan commons only. The Select Committee which had considered that Bill unanimously inserted a clause extending its provisions to the suburbs of all large towns; but the clause was struck out by the House of Lords as being foreign to the Bill. London was perhaps more fortunate than any other town in the country from the great number and beauty of the commons in its vicinity. There was no fewer than 140 or 150 commons, varying in size, but comprising altogether some 13,000 acres, within 15 miles of the metropolis. The Committee of 1865 made a careful examination into the condition of those commons. As regarded the legal position of the public, they reported that, although the law recognized the right of every village to its village green, founded upon user, yet it did not seem to have pressed the doctrine further in respect to commons in the neighbourhood of large towns—so that commons like Blackheath were not to be considered analogous to village greens. Well, what was the prospect of those commons remaining open for the public? They had hitherto remained open in consequence of the conflicting rights between the lords of the manors and the commoners; and the Committee thought there was every probability that the same causes would operate to keep them open in the future. The Report of that Committee and the Metropolitan Commons Act of 1866 was followed by very important consequences. The lords of the manors around London appeared to have been roused to the vindication of their supposed rights, and a considerable number of the commons near the metropolis were shortly afterwards inclosed. As had been anticipated by the Committee of 1865, in all these cases the commoners took action against the lords of the manors, and either brought suits in equity to restrain their inclosing or resorted to the ancient and constitutional practice of pulling down the fences. [*A laugh.*] The Master of the Rolls in one case affirmed that that was a constitutional practice, declaring, in answer to observations made upon what at first sight seemed to be rather a bold proceeding—namely, the sending down of 200 men from London to pull down the fences in the well-known case of Berkhampstead Common, that it was a perfectly legitimate transaction. Other suits in equity were brought through the unfortunate differences between Lord Spencer and the commoners of Wandsworth, and much light was thrown on the relations between lords of the manor and commoners by those proceedings. In all the cases that were tried out the decision had been that the lords of the manor were not justified in inclosing. In some cases compromises had been effected, as in the instance of Hampstead Heath, the Metropolitan Board of Works having agreed to give £45,000 for the lord's right, which was about one-tenth of the sum asked by the late lord, Sir Thomas Wilson; and in respect to Wimbledon and Wandsworth Commons, Bills were now before the House for dealing with these Commons, Lord Spencer agreeing on very liberal terms to resign his rights to trustees for the benefit of the public. He hoped to see that arrangement carried out. In the case of Plumstead Common and Tooting Common, the Master of the Rolls, he believed, had decided that the inclosures were illegal, but appeals to a higher Court were now pending in respect of them. The result, however, of that litigation, as far as it had gone, was not, indeed, that the lords of the manors had no right of inclosing, but that if any single commoner objected, the inclosure was practically impossible. It was, however, impossible not to admit that there was something curiously out of date in these suits. They were instituted ostensibly for the purpose of vindicating rights of turfing or of turning out cattle, but really in the interest of the public for the purpose of preserving them for recreation. The rights asserted by the commoners of cutting turf, lopping trees, and turning out sheep and cattle on those commons had long ago ceased to have any value to them. Everybody knew that on all the commons around London no cattle or sheep were turned out, no trees lopped, no turf cut by the commoners, and therefore the rights of the commoners were of an unsubstantial nature; but they were of the greatest value, so far as they could be used to prevent inclosure, and it might, therefore, be a question whether the law should not be amended so as to prevent illegal inclosures by lords of manors. He had frequently asserted his opinion that it would be competent for Parliament to step in and either recognize practically what had been the user of the public or to prevent such inclosures as he had mentioned. At the same time, he would not recommend that clauses to that effect should be introduced into the present measure, because such a proposal, even if adopted by that House, would probably be rejected in the other House, and the Bill as it stood contained provisions of such value that he would be sorry to see it postponed until a more comprehensive measure had a fair chance of passing. The litigation to which he had alluded had somewhat deferred the operation of that part of the Bill of 1866 relating to the metropolitan commons, which had reference to schemes for their management. At the same time, two such schemes had been framed under that Act, from which they might judge of what was likely to be the effect of the Bill now before them in regard to the commons near other large towns. Those schemes related to Blackheath and Hayes Commons. The first was for enabling the Metropolitan Board of Works to drain and generally to improve the aspect of Blackheath, and the second, in respect to Hayes Common, was to much the same purport. The Bill before the House as to suburban commons extended the policy of the Act of 1866 to all commons within certain prescribed distances from towns in the country. The distances specified in the Bill were so moderate that he thought it reasonable to extend the measure to commons so situated. Formerly almost all our towns of importance were surrounded by commons on which the freemen had the right of turning out cattle; but those rights had either been lost to a great extent or the land had been inclosed; but there still remained a considerable number of commons in the neighbourhood of towns which it was desirable to keep open. In conclusion, he admitted that the subject was one of considerable difficulty, and therefore, looking at the general opinion that had been expressed by the House, he should not oppose the proposal for sending the

Bill to a Select Committee after it had been read a second time, upon the understanding, however, that every endeavour would be made to pass it this Session, for, as had been stated the other evening by the Prime Minister, the action of the Department was altogether stayed by this Bill, and there were already about 30 cases of provisional orders waiting for the enactment of this measure.

MR. COWPER-TEMPLE, in reply to observations respecting the principle of the Bill, denied that the measure would interfere with the rights of private property. The hon. Member for Winchester (Mr. Bonham-Carter) seemed to forget that the rights of property in the lords of the manor never was of the same description as those which they had in their private estates. From the earliest time the lord of the manor had the fee-simple of that portion of the waste used for the enjoyment of the tenants of the manor; but he had never any right of excluding them, and practically now he could not exclude the public from it. If Parliament, in the exercise of its legislative power, conferred rights on the lords, the public ought not to be left without adequate compensation for being deprived of the use of the land. The allotment made to the public since 1845 had been insufficient; but the appropriation of one-tenth of the inclosed common to the use of the public, would not always be suitable, the quantity of land so set apart being sometimes above and sometimes below the requirements of the district. Under the circumstances, he was glad that the Government had assented to the proposal for sending this Bill to a Select Committee. The health and happiness of the inhabitants of towns would suffer if suburban commons ceased to be used for the recreation of the public. A Select Committee would make inquiry as to whether the prescribed area around towns could not be extended. Many suburban commons became a nuisance for want of management; a local authority enforcing order and expending rates in improvement, would convert them into people's parks for innocent amusement without infringement of rights of property; and the House would be guided to take that course most advantageous to the public interests while dealing justly with all parties.

MR. WINGFIELD BAKER expressed his gratification at the prospect of lords of manor becoming general benefactors of the public under the provisions of the Bill; but he wished their real position to be understood. Under the Bill, one-tenth of the proposed inclosure, not exceeding 50 acres, was to be set apart for recreation grounds and gardens for the public. He asked the House to look how they would act with an inclosure of 400 acres at the rate of £1 per acre, from which 40 acres would be deducted as the tenth of the whole quantity. These 40 acres at £1 per acre would, at 30 years' purchase, be worth £1,200, equal to three years' purchase of the whole estate. Nobody could doubt this was a large contribution on the part of the lords of the manor. Then came, besides, the expenses of drainage, fencing, levelling, together with the expenses of passing the Bill through the House, which might be put at two years more purchase on the whole value of the inclosed 400 acres. What, he asked, was, that the state of things should be considered, and that the lords should be put in the same situation as the public, and as they got their 40 acres without paying any Parliamentary fees, the lords—the donors—should be put on the same footing as regards paying no fees.

MR. GOLDSMID said, that having during many years had occasion to assert the rights of the public, he was glad that this Bill had been brought forward though he did not think it went quite far enough with regard to those commons which were in the suburbs of large towns. He hoped the Committee would consider what would become of a common which the lord of the manor desired to inclose without application to the Inclosure Commissioners, no commoner being in a position to oppose him in consequence of the enormous expense of legal proceedings. That was almost the condition of Plumstead Common when he took up that case on public grounds; for the authorities of Queen's College, Oxford, knowing that the consent of the commoners had once been refused, had actually began to inclose the common without any application to the Commissioners, and also without the consent of the commoners. He hoped that an attempt would be made in Committee to solve this problem; for as frequently it was impossible that a lord of the manor should be opposed by one commoner, who could only apply to the Court of Chancery, which had been proved by experience to cost an extravagant sum of money, it was most expedient that a lord, who thus endeavoured to exercise entirely illegal (so-called) rights with a high hand, should be met by a summary method of proceeding.

Mr. ASSHETON objected to the principle of the Bill, although he would not move its rejection, as it seemed to be the general feeling of the House that it should be read a second time. He should not be doing justice to his constituents, however, if he did not express his opinion that the Bill would be a very bad one. We had had Inclosure Law Amendment Bills repeatedly since the general Act of 1845, having for their object the facilitating of the inclosure of land. From the provisions of this measure, and the speeches delivered in its support, he thought it might have been more appropriately entitled a Bill for securing a certain amount of open spaces in the neighbourhood of large towns. Certainly it was a great national object to obtain fresh air and recreation grounds in the vicinity of populous places; but there were two means by which that object could be accomplished more aptly than by those contained in the present measure. The burden ought to be undertaken by the people who brought the population there, and who made money out of the manufactures of large towns; yet there was no proposition to tax them; or it might be imposed upon the landowners whose land in the neighbourhood of busy and thriving towns had enormously increased in value without any effort having been made towards that end on the part of the proprietors. The Bill contemplated provision being made for the wants of populous places by a small class—namely, the joint owners of commons lands; and consequently, if passed, this would be class legislation of the worst type. He did not wish to use unparliamentary language, but, altogether, he looked upon it as a very curious Bill.

Mr. WHITWELL said, in the county in which he resided 33 per cent of the whole land was uninclosed, and he thought this a most valuable Bill. On the first reading a promise had been made that the rights of the public should be fully considered; but so far as foot-paths over mountainous districts were concerned, there was only power taken to set up such foot-paths for the people in the neighbourhood. That power ought to be extended, as no injury could be sustained by the pasturage, and he hoped that portion of the Bill would be altered. The right to prohibit inclosure on the part of any single individual should be abrogated; more than 50 acres should be taken as the quantity for the benefit of the community, and the expense of the dividing walls should be diminished. He hoped these points would receive the best attention of the Committee.

Question put, and *agreed to;* Bill read a second time.

Colonel BARTTELOT, in moving that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, wished it to be distinctly understood that the Committee should have power to send for persons, papers, and records. He did not desire to impede the progress of the Bill, knowing that it was absolutely necessary that some Bill should be passed; but it was important that evidence should be taken as to the quantity of land proposed to be taken for recreation grounds and garden allotments, and as to the commons around large towns where there might be minerals.

Mr. FAWCETT said, he hoped that the stipulation of the Secretary to the Admiralty about no delay taking place would not be held as controlling their freedom of action. Whether this measure passed this Session or not, above all things it was most important that there should be a thorough, complete, and searching investigation. The Government must understand that there was no pledge whatever to pass the Bill this Session as it came from the Committee.

Colonel SYKES expressed the hope that the Select Committee would have due regard for the rights of those labourers who had cottages and gardens on commons, and take care that they were not disturbed. The right to graze a donkey enabled the labourer to convey the produce of his bit of garden to market; and his wife enables him to eke out his scanty wages by the sale of a goose or two and a few fowls.

Mr. BRUCE thought that, instead of agreeing to the suggestion of the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Colonel Barttelot), it would be better to refer the Bill in the ordinary way to the Committee, who, if they required further information, would take the necessary steps to obtain it.

Bill *committed* to a Select Committee.

And, on May 3, Committee *nominated* as follows:—Mr. Cowper-Temple, Mr. Liddell, Mr. Charles Howard, Mr. Walsh, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Mr. Vernon Harcourt, Mr. William Lowther, Mr. Julian Goldsmid, Colonel Barttelot, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Simonds, Mr. Marling, Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Knight, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre:—Seven to be the quorum.

TRADES UNIONS BILL—[Bill 94.]

(*Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH desired to call attention to a point of some importance, as it affected the interests of the best class of workmen in the country. The Bill proposed that trades unions should be registered precisely in the same way as Friendly Societies now were; and since many persons were led to believe that the registration implied Government sanction of the financial character of Friendly Societies, and acting on that belief, they invested in them to their personal loss on account of the unsoundness of the finances, he hoped the Government would not lend any influence to further the mischief. He believed the harm would be greater in the case of trades unions than in that of Friendly Societies, for while the former might run to extravagance only through their management expenses, the latter had several sources of peril to their funds—namely, payments to workmen travelling from one place to another in search of employment, payments to men on strike, and other matters of expenditure quite distinct from the proper purposes of a benefit society. He should suggest that no trades union should be registered unless provision was made that the funds accumulated for the benefit of the members should be kept separate from the funds applicable to a strike or other purposes.

Mr. BRUCE said, such an Amendment as that indicated by the hon. Baronet would entirely defeat the object of the Bill, because no trade union would accept a condition of that kind. Trades unions being both trade societies as well as friendly societies, it would be impossible to apply to them the rules adopted by Friendly Societies. They were altogether separate and distinct in their character.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM moved an Amendment with regard to the constitution of the Court of Summary Jurisdiction, to the effect that in England it should consist of a stipendiary magistrate, or where there was no stipendiary magistrate then of two or more justices of the peace; in Scotland, the sheriff of the county or his substitute; in Ireland, the resident magistrate; in the metropolitan districts, a stipendiary magistrate; and in the City of London the Lord Mayor or any of the Aldermen.

Mr. HINDE PALMER said, he saw no reason why the County Court Judges should not be included in the list. There could be no difficulty in intrusting to the County Court Judges this small portion of criminal jurisdiction. Through administering the Friendly Societies Acts they had become familiar with kindred questions, and as there were no stipendiary magistrates in many places their administration of the law would be relied upon by the workmen. He therefore moved, after the word "justice of the peace" to insert "or a Judge of the County Court."

Mr. MORLEY seconded the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend, because the fact was undisputed that many of the magistrates who would have jurisdiction under this Bill were themselves employers of labour; and however high their character might be, they would more or less be open to suspicion in regard to their judicial conduct.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM said, the Amendment proposed a serious alteration in the principle on which County Courts were founded. If there were any growing discontent with the operation of this Act, and with the decisions given under it by the unpaid magistracy, it was always open to the localities to request the appointment of a stipendiary magistrate; but the Government could not accede to the proposal to turn the County Courts into Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction.

Amendment (*Mr. Hinde Palmer*) *negatived.*

Amendment (*Mr. Winterbotham*) *agreed to.*

Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday* 17th April.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (MASTERS AND WORKMEN) BILL—[Bill 95.]

(*Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM stated the changes which the Government proposed to make in the Bill. The definition of the Court of Summary Jurisdiction would be identical with that in the other Bill. The Government would also accede to the suggestion of the hon. Member (Mr. Melly); and, though they did not attach much importance to it, would avoid the use of the words "Trade Unions" in the Bill. These words only occurred in the 1st clause, and in their place the Government proposed to insert the words "temporary or permanent association or combination." The definition of a trade union would also be omitted. By substituting the words he had suggested the offence would be made wider, because a trade union might be a combination with certain objects, whereas an association or combination with any objects would now be included in the Bill.

Mr. AUBERON HERBERT moved an Amendment on Clause 1, to leave out to the end of sub-section 3, and insert other words in lieu thereof. The hon. Member said the clauses in the Bill took some Acts which would naturally occur during a strike, and which would not be improper in themselves, and made these acts criminal. For example, a man was to be punished for persistently following a workman from place to place with a view to coerce. But what was persistently following? Was it following a man along half a street, or whole street, or two streets? Again, suppose a man on strike followed a man who was at work in the shop and reasoned with that men, showing him the effect of his conduct, and telling him it would be "cast up" against him hereafter? The person so followed expressed no sort of objection, did not decline to enter into conversation, and continued the argument. Yet the man who followed him might be brought under the operation of the Bill as having persistently followed with a view to coerce. The fact was that under the clauses of the Bill you got into a region of subtle differences. The workman would say that he walked and talked with the other workman in order to induce; the master would say that he did so in order to coerce. How could you properly decide between the two? A few nights ago, when the Premier appealed to the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke) not to bring on his Motion, it seemed to those hon. Members who supported that Motion that the right hon. Gentleman was endeavouring to coerce, although he might have thought he was only endeavouring to induce. They all knew the difference which the law attached to acts done with a motive and to acts done without a motive; but he denied that anyone could prove what was in the mind of another so that he could tell whether the resulting action was an inducement or a coercion. What happened when a strike took place? The people on strike followed those not on strike about the streets, shouting, perhaps, "Black sheep" and "Baa, baa." He wished that, in order to complete the offence, the Bill should say that he used abusive language or insulting cries. He wished to enlist the moral feelings in favour of the unions themselves, rather than try to put them down by violence. We ought to be obliged to the trades unionists for teaching us how to carry out the principles of arbitration amongst the working men. If there was any reason why the danger of revolution was less with us than it was with other countries, it was not that the condition of our working people was better than the condition of others, but because our working people had a well-grounded belief that in these associations, by their own efforts, they were working out for themselves a better state of things. He begged to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 5, to leave out from the word "who," to the word "person," in line 14, inclusive, in order to insert the words "shall offer violence to or shall threaten or molest any person, with a view to compel such person to do any act, or to abstain from doing any act, in respect of his business or occupation, shall be liable to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding three months.

A person shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed to threaten another person if he act toward such person in such manner as would justify a justice of the peace, on complaint made to him, to bind over the person so threatening to keep the peace.

A person shall, for the purposes of this Act, be deemed to molest another person in any of the following cases, and no other cases (that is to say):

1. If he hide any tools, clothes, or other property owned or used by such person, or deprive him of or hinder him in the use thereof;
2. If, with two or more persons, he shall hinder any such person from free passage to or from his work or occupation, or shall follow him about with abusive language,"

—(*Mr. Auberon Herbert,*)

—instead thereof.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL protested against the tone of the speech of the hon. Member, who seemed to think that the framers of this Bill occupied a position antagonistic to those large bodies of workmen in whose interest the hon. Gentleman had addressed the House. This Bill had been brought forward to get rid of much of the narrow, unwise, and Judge-made law of which those men had had so much reason to complain. The clause brought forward by the hon. Member was framed by a member of the Trades Unions Commission (Mr. Frederick Harrison), who advocated the total repeal of the statute of George IV. without proposing any clauses in substitution. The House, however, was not prepared for any such legislation, since there were specific acts of wrong-doing which had been committed in past times and might again be attempted. In the interests of the unions themselves it was most important that those offences should be ascertained and described as definitely as was possible in the English language, which was not a clear one; and he had endeavoured in the Bill to accomplish that object by means of the clause for which the hon. Gentleman proposed a substitution. He had endeavoured to confine the legislation to offences which he thought should be redressed, and he had tried to describe the acts in a clear and intelligible manner. He had said that every person who used violence to persons or property, or who used language which would justify a magistrate in binding him over to keep the peace, should be subject to certain punishment. And then, for the word "molest" or "obstruct," which had been diversely interpreted, so as to render it difficult to know what was "molesting" and what was "obstructing," he had put down acts of molestation for the purpose of coercion, such as following a man about, hiding his tools, &c. Could anyone say that these were not acts which ought to be punishable? The hon. Gentleman said it was possible that the magistrates might strain the law against the workman, and that the magistrates would have to find a motive, and say that the act was done with a certain intent. He (the Solicitor General) did not think that it would be at all likely that the magistrates, as far as he knew them, would be inclined to strain the law in the way the hon. Gentleman supposed. But if so, the hon. Gentleman forgot that any subject of a summary conviction had a right to demand a case of the convicting magistrate, to have all the facts set out for the consideration and adjudication of one of the Courts of Law at Westminster, as to whether he had committed the offence for which he had been sentenced to punishment. This was legislation which the trades unionists themselves would desire.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. MELLY moved, in line 28, after "liable to," to insert "penalty not exceeding fifty pounds, or to." The object was to give the alternative of a fine.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 28, after the words "liable to," to insert the words "a penalty not exceeding fifty pounds, or to."—(*Mr. Melly.*)

Mr. WOODS supported the Amendment. He thought it would be much better to impose a fine than imprisonment for such offences.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said, he hoped that the Amendment would not be pressed. It was a question between workmen and workmen—not between workmen and master; and the offences were such as could not properly come within the range of penalties, which would be inefficacious to prevent them. But it was well known that a nominal imprisonment might be imposed, in cases where the Judge thought proper, and where the moral guilt was very slight.

Mr. MUNDELLA supported the Amendment. He denied that the offences in question were peculiar to workmen, and it was every way desirable that there should be the alternative of a fine. Although the Act applied to masters and masters' associations, it never would be carried out against employers.

Mr. BRUCE said, that he had considerable personal experience in the matter, and it was his conviction that the punishment would be rendered utterly worthless if the alternative of a fine was allowed.

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday,* 17th April.

EXCISEABLE LIQUORS (LICENSING) BILL.

Resolutions *reported,* and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Dodson, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Winterbotham.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 104.]

RATING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [3rd April], "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Rating and Local Government."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Goschen, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Secretary Bruce, and Mr. William Edward Forster.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 106.]

LOCAL TAXATION BILL.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [3rd April], "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to make better provision respecting the liability of Property to Local Taxation, and for transferring the Inhabited House Duty to the Parochial Authorities."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Goschen, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Secretary Bruce, and Mr. William Edward Forster.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 105.]

DEBTORS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Bill for the abolition of imprisonment for Debt and for the punishment of fraudulent Debtors in Ireland; and for other purposes relating thereto, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland and The Marquess of Hartington.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 108.]

BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Bill for the amendment of the Law of Bankruptcy in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland and The Marquess of Hartington.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 109.]

COURT OF CHANCERY FUNDS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Baxter, Bill to abolish the Office of Accountant General of the High Court of Chancery, and amend the Law respecting the Investment of Money paid into that Court, and the security and management of the moneys and effects of the suitors thereof, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Baxter, Mr. Attorney General, and Mr. William Henry Gladstone.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 107.]

ANATOMY ACT (1832) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Winterbotham, Bill to amend the Act of the second and third years of William the Fourth, chapter seventy-five, for regulating Schools of Anatomy, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Winterbotham and Mr. Secretary Bruce.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 110.]

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
till Monday, 17th April.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 17th April, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee*—Army Estimates.

Public Bills—*First Reading*—Benefices Resignation* [111].

Second Reading—Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes [91]; Marriage Law (Ireland) Amendment* [93]; Charters* [97]; Bath City Prison* [100]; Anatomy Act (1832) Amendment* [110]; Lunacy Regulation (Ireland)* [102].

Committee—Pauper Inmates Discharge and Regulation* [70]—R.P.

Third Reading—Trades Unions* [94]; Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen)* [95], and *passed.*

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION.

RESOLUTION.

Captain BEAUMONT rose to move the following Resolution:—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, no scheme of Army reorganization is satisfactory which does not form the reserves for the defence of this country by men passed through the ranks of the Regular Army."

It was because he thought it desirable that legislation on the subject should be final that he proposed the Resolution.

It might be said that the Government had already accepted the principle involved in the Motion, and he thought that they had, as far as words went; but, upon that matter, the effect given to those words by the provisions of the Government Bill, upon being look into, did not induce him to believe that they were ardent supporters of the principle they advocated—he believed, indeed, he should be able to show that the Government measure, to a certain extent, contradicted itself. He had read the debates that had taken place on the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay), in which two propositions were prominently brought forward. The first proposition established seemed to be that, with the exception of the question of purchase, the House was of opinion that the provisions of the Army Regulation Bill, so far as they went, were good; whilst the second proposition seemed to be that due effect had not been given in that Bill to the great principle of re-organization. The simple course pursued by the Government seemed to be to ask for more money in proportion as more men were required; but there was a strong opinion abroad that an increase in the forces necessary for the defence of this country ought to be got—at all events, so far as the men were concerned—without calling upon the people to pay more money. He himself agreed in this opinion. He voted in favour of a Motion to that effect brought forward by the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), because he was of opinion that a proper system of re-organization would render it unnecessary to require an increased grant of money. It was, no doubt, the province of that House to deal with principles rather than with matters of detail, because they had not that knowledge of detail which was possessed by occupants of the Treasury Bench. Now, he wished to show that the principle he laid down in his Resolution was a great, and, he maintained, a correct one, and its full adoption would preclude the necessity for asking for more money. As to the principle itself, he would refer to the Prussian Army, for which the men were recruited by conscription and Ballot. Some 30 per cent passed into the Army and the remainder passed into the *ersätz* Reserve. The men who passed into the Army had three years with the Regular Army; then they were for four years in the Reserve, liable to join the standards in time of war; and then for five years they were in the Landwehr. This liability occupied their time between the ages of 20 and 32, and implied 12 years continuous service with the Army. The argument for this system was, that there was a close connection maintained between the various portions of the Army, and that the men passing regularly from one branch of the service to the other, had the benefit of the schooling to be obtained in the Regular Army. Each man was first taught in the Regular Army, and then passed through the other grades of the service. It would be in the knowledge of the House that the Russians were largely increasing their forces, and the Russian Secretary for War reported in favour of the Reserves being composed of men who had served in the Army, and added that the number of annual recruits must be increased and the period of service altered. The principle which pervaded the Prussian service had therefore been accepted by Russia, and he had no doubt that France would shortly recognize it, though he should not like to pretend that this was the reason why so disastrous a result had attended the French Army in the late campaign, yet when she should obtain a powerful Government he was of opinion that the first thing that they would attend to would be Army reform upon the principle of passing the Reserves through the ranks of the Regular Army. With these remarks he thought he might consider the first part of his text proved. He now came to the second—that the full adoption of this principle would have rendered any increase of the Estimates unnecessary. The present connection between the Militia and the Regular Army certainly deteriorated the Militia by taking away its best men. We had now the Regular Army enlisted for various periods; the Army was sometimes supplying the Militia, and sometimes the Militia was supplying the Army with men. Then we had the Militia generally recruited in the same way as the Army, though under exceptional circumstances there was the Ballot. The only connection between the Regular Army and the Militia was one that would deteriorate the latter by taking away its best men; and the Militia was not under existing circumstances properly drilled. He knew that under existing circumstances it was almost impossible to drill the Militia so as to put them upon a footing with the Landwehr, because they had so short a time for drill. That was not the fault of the Militia, but of the circumstances under which they were organized. As to the Volunteers, he must say that he did not like to look a gift horse in the mouth, especially when the highest praise was due to the men for their patriotism in giving up their time without pay to the service of the State; but he denied that a service which was voluntary and, from the nature of the case, prevented a sufficient strain being put on the machine to insure its efficiency ought not to be relied on by the Government as one of its main defences. He might, in illustration of this, quote a paragraph from a letter which had appeared in the papers from Colonel Shakespear, who commanded the artillery at the late Review at Brighton. He was anxious to obtain a further supply of artillery, and he sent to a captain who was in command of an artillery corps, who refused to come because he was tired; upon which Colonel Shakespear remarked that perhaps the best excuse that could be made was that the officers thought they were on a picnic. Putting the force under the Mutiny Act might, he hoped, have the effect that the Secretary for War anticipated from it, though at the same time he must say that he doubted it. As to artillery, he would simply state that they had sufficient artillery for the Regular Army, but not for the Reserves, and the reason was that the Reserves were organized in a higgledy-piggledy sort of way. The three branches of our military service had not that connection with each other they ought to have. A radical change in their organization was necessary. For the Government to state that, in their opinion, the system of passing recruits through the Army was right and proper, and yet to ask the House to vote £500,000 to increase the Militia and perpetuate a state of things which was in itself bad could not be regarded as a satisfactory scheme for Army re-organization. In the first instance, he held, they should ascertain the amount of force required for the defence of the country, for on that basis the whole question of organization must turn. His view was, if we had 80,000 men of the Regular Army, supplemented by 300,000 of Reserves in proper proportions, combined with a proper amount of artillery and Army stores, the defence of the country would be in a more satisfactory condition than at present. How would he carry that out? By accepting boldly the principle of his Motion, and passing 55,000 at once from the ranks of the Regular Army into the Reserves. He denied that this would in any material degree weaken the defence of the country, because the men thus passed from the ranks of the Regular Army into the Reserves would still be old soldiers, with all their admirable training, at the service of the country. Instead of increasing the Militia he would increase the Regular Army. The Secretary for War might say that they proposed to increase the defence of the country by adding to the Militia; but to this he would say that the men they proposed to add to the Militia should rather be added to the Regular Army. It had been supposed that they could not get 55,000 men to pass into the Reserves; but he believed that this objection had no solid basis; and, indeed, his own opinion was that they would have rather a plethora than a deficiency of men willing to join the Reserves. He now came to the question of obtaining recruits, of whom at present we required 10,000 annually; but, if the Regular Army were reduced to 80,000 men of three years service, we should require 30,000 recruits annually. Under the circumstances he had contemplated, with the recruiting for the Militia stopped, with the inducements to enter the Reserve increased, and with the term of service in the Army shortened to three years, he thought there would be no difficulty in getting 30,000 recruits annually for the Army; but if there was any difficulty it would easily be got over by increasing the attractions of the Reserve rather than those of the Regular Army. The 20,000 men voted by the House at the close of the last Session were recruited in about six months—it must be admitted that the quality of them was not very good—and the reports from officers in command of the Militia were to the effect that there would be no difficulty in obtaining Militia recruits. There were one or two points he would touch upon briefly, lest it should be said they had been forgotten; and one had reference to the ages of recruits. He was well aware that from 17 to 20 was not the right age; a man ought to be 20 at the very least before he was fit to take his place as a soldier in the Regular Army; and confirmation of his view was furnished by the fact mentioned in the pamphlet of Major General Simmons, that, in the case of the Prussian Army, nearly the whole, or 98 per cent of the men returned by the ballot at the age of 20 were absolutely put back by the medical officers as physically unfit to go through the hardships of a campaign. With reference to the Indian Army, his impression was that it ought to be separate from the Home Army, for it was wrong to make Imperial interests subservient to colonial ones; but the principle he advocated had nothing at all to do with the question whether we did or did not separate the Indian from the Home Army, and it would accommodate itself to whatever might be thought in that respect desirable. Assuming that the scheme he proposed to the House was possible and could be carried out, he proceeded to discuss the results that would flow from it. It was necessary to get at some figure which should represent the real values of the Reserve man and of the Regular soldier—because he did not place entire and implicit belief in the figures which had been brought forward by the Treasury Bench, in so far as those figures represented the cost of the men. It was his impression that the £34 which had been said to be the cost of the soldier was too low a figure; and an analysis of the Estimates showed him that the sum of £50 more nearly represented the cost of the Regular soldier. When the Secretary of State for War asked for 20,000 men, he also asked for £1,000,000, which was at the rate of £50 per man. For the purposes of his argument, the Army Estimates, amounting to £16,000,000, might be divided into three parts. The first consisted of the direct charges for pay, provisions, fuel, and clothing; the second of indirect charges for administration, medical service, divine service, &c.; and the third of indirect charges for the non-effective services. The direct charges for 134,961 men in the infantry amounted to £3,500,000, or £43 per man; and the direct charges for the other arms of the service—cavalry, artillery, and engineers—amounted to £2,750,000, which represented £52 per man. In the Army Reserve, including the Staff, the number was 39,000, and the direct charge, £125,000, represented £3 10*s.* per man; the Militia, consisting of 139,000 men, cost £1,250,000, which gave the cost per man £58 for the members of the Staff and £5 for the other individual members of the force; the Yeomanry numbered 15,773, and cost £81,700, which was £54 per member of the Staff and £4 per man; and the Volunteers, numbering 170,000, cost, with the Staff, £2 10*s.* per man. These direct charges amounted to a total of £8,250,000; the first class of indirect charges amounted to £5,500,000, and the cost of the non-effective services was £2,250,000. These figures showed that the Army proper was costing £8,250,000, while the indirect charges and the cost of the non-effectives amounted to £7,750,000. The result at which he arrived was that the infantry soldier cost £43, and the Reserve soldier at present £3 10*s.*; but, with such a Reserve as he proposed to organize, the cost of the Reserve soldier would no doubt be very much higher. If we took £50 as the cost of the Regular soldier, and if we took 55,000 men and passed them at once into the Reserve, we should, without impairing the efficiency of the service, save £2,750,000, against which must be set off the cost of £10 per man paid to those who on leaving the Army joined the Reserve, which would amount to £500,000, so that the net saving would be £2,250,000. The excess of the present Estimates over the former Estimates was £2,750,000, which was made up by £1,000,000 for men, £750,000 for auxiliary forces, and £1,000,000 for stores; but the last item was one of exceptional occurrence; the excess owing to the demand for men was £1,750,000, and more than that could be saved by the plan which he submitted to the House. The policy of the Government was, to a certain extent, self-contradictory; they wished for an Army Reserve, and yet they would not pay sufficient to obtain it; they would not make the terms sufficiently attractive, while they proposed to spend £1,750,000 in bolstering up services which they admitted to be unsatisfactory. Their conduct was almost like that of a girl on the steps of a bathing machine, splashing the water with her foot, and yet afraid to take the exhilarating plunge. He might quote in favour of his Motion speeches which had been made from the Treasury Bench this Session. On the 17th of March the Prime Minister said the Government thought that our Reserves ought mainly to consist of men who had gone through the training of soldiers, so that when they entered the ranks they might be what the German Landwehr was to the German Army. The Secretary of State for War had also said—"As you increase your Reserve, you will, without impairing your power, be able to diminish your present numbers;" and, again—"In time of peace the Army will give you a Reserve; in time of war the Reserve will give you an Army." He could only express his regret that the Government had not given effect to this language in a manner more satisfactory than was done by the Army Re-organization Bill, and he therefore moved his Resolution as an Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, no scheme of Army reorganisation is satisfactory which does not form the reserves for the defence of this Country by men passed through the ranks of the regular Army,"—(*Captain Beaumont,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

COLONEL NORTH said, the policy of the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Captain Beaumont) might lead to the formation of an efficient Reserve; but he thought it would involve the destruction of the Regular Army. The Order that had been issued during the holidays, calling for recruits who were to serve with the colours for three years, was about the longest nail that had yet been driven into the coffin of the British Army. It was all very well to pay no regard whatever to old soldiers; but he was sure that his right hon. Friend would recollect that a former Secretary of State for War had said, on an important occasion, on this very subject—

> "The efficiency of the Army is at stake, and, in any change which we desire to make, we ought to be careful to have with us the assent of the great body of the profession."—[3 *Hansard*, p. 1841.]

Now, as he took a very deep interest in the welfare of the Army, he had made it his business to speak on this subject with officers of every rank, and he had scarcely found one who approved the present management of the Army. It might be recollected that in last year's Estimates it was proposed to discharge 12,374 making no fewer than 23,000 men in less than 15 months. That proposal was much criticized, and his right hon. Friend (Mr. Cardwell), in a speech delivered at Oxford, said that the diminution had been effected by parting with those men whom it was desirable to part with, and that the Army would be quite as efficient as it ever had been. No battalions or regiments of cavalry had been returned. There was no doubt that the plan was a very proper one; but, at the same time, he must demur to the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, who, by taking the steps he had done while there existed no Reserve of any kind, rendered every regiment in the British service utterly inefficient. Curiously enough, the blackguards were the last class of men who were got rid of. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the reductions included men who had completed their service, men of 18 years' service unfit to go abroad, men of bad character, men whom it was not desirable to re-engage, and invalids. Nothing could be more fair than to discharge the men who had completed their 21 or 24 years' service, and who were to have permanent pensions. There could be no doubt it was also proper to reduce, by striking off the men of the second class, who were entitled to modified pensions under the Royal Warrant of 1869, and who were medically unfit for foreign service; but there were several regiments which had just returned from foreign service, and which, therefore, in all probability, would not have been sent abroad for some time, and the men of these regiments ought to have been allowed to serve their 21 years. Everybody knew that an English soldier would jump at any offer, and it was not surprising, therefore, that a great many accepted the retirement. The third class consisted of men who were within one year of the completion of the first period of their service. The hardship to these men was, that while they had one year more to look about them, some of them had just returned home and had no opportunity of ascertaining their prospects, yet they were required to declare at once whether they would or would not re-enlist. The tenth year was not allowed, and the result was, that many of them took their discharge, and did so in a most sulky mood. The next class consisted of men of notoriously bad and worthless character. Nobody could at all blame Her Majesty's Government in getting rid of such men. He could not help referring to a remark which was made by a noble Lord (Lord Northbrook) as to the decreased crime in the Army, which was noticed in the Inspector General's Report. The noble Lord had forgotten that a great deal of the statistics of crime was owing to the rule regarding confirmed drunkards, who were now most properly fined, a punishment which ought to have been adopted years ago. It was not to be thought that crime had increased, for such cases instead of being tried by court-martial were now punishable by fine. Last year the right hon. Gentleman took great credit for having reduced the artillery by 101 officers, 203 non-commissioned officers, and 1,606 gunners; but the noble Lord the Under Secretary for War (Lord Northbrook) stated in the other House that the reduction was only 325 officers and men in all. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would explain to the House this apparent discrepancy. He had next to refer to a matter which he had taken notice of on a former occasion—the flying column at Wimbledon. He would remind the House that on the 7th of July last the Prime Minister came down to the House and stated that we had entered into treaties with France and Germany to join either of those Powers in a war, in case the neutrality of Belgium was violated by the other. Well, on the 26th of July the flying column came to Wimbledon, and the artillery troops were obliged to borrow, in order to march, 30 horses from the batteries at Aldershot. Now, he asked, was that a fit state for our artillery to be in at such a time when much anxiety was awakened in the country by the war breaking out between France and Prussia? His hon. and gallant Friend opposite had alluded to the success which had attended the recruiting. In August, 1870, the time when this country began to move and to think that something ought to be done, there were 5,523 men enlisted. In October, November, December, January, and February the recruits numbered 26,777; but if we had had to take the field, of what use would these recruits have been? The fact was that the 23,000 old and tried soldiers who had been sent to the right-about a short time previous had been replaced by 26,000 and odd raw recruits, many of whom were wretched boys. The experience gained by the nation at the outbreak of the Crimean War ought to have borne its fruits. What was the position of our Army at the outbreak of that Crimean War? The number of the Army was then raised to 185,000 men. Our regiments then consisted of 40 officers, 63 non-commissioned officers, and 850 men, making in all 953 men. On the 30th of April, 1854, they were raised to 1,000 men, making with officers 1,114 in all. Subsequently, on the excitement caused by the Indian Mutiny, they were still further increased. Our regiments now did not consist of more than 500 men. He believed that when the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles Dilke), the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), and other hon. Members proposed to reduce the strength of our Army, they could not have taken the trouble to consider the position in which our Army would be placed if we had to go to war. He contended that if there ever was a Government less justified than any other in making proposals of this nature it was the present Government, because the Royal Commission appointed to consider this subject some three years ago, of which a predecessor of his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War was president, in their Report, foretold distinctly that wars would be sudden in their commencement and short in their duration, and that disaster would attend the country which had to engage in one without sufficient preparation. On that Committee was Lord Dalhousie, Viscount Eversley, Lord W. Paulet, Colonel Wilson Patten, and Mr. O'Reilly. He was aware that the country would not submit to the Ballot, although, by such means, a large supply of trained men might be obtained; but if they would not do so, they ought to be willing to pay for the luxury. At all events, he thought there ought to be 200,000 Militia, apart from the regiments of the Line, thoroughly well drilled and trained. With regard to the permission which was to be granted to the three years' men to leave, he would ask whether it was intended that the officers should teach the men their drill in order that the latter might leave directly they knew it in order to join the Reserve. Among the effects of this permission was this, that nearly all the officers' servants had given notice to leave. He had stated last year that never had there been more wide-spread discontent among the Army than there was now. The oldest officers, even, did not know where they were to turn. *Esprit de corps* was the keystone of the regimental system. Surely, the officers of the British Army deserved well of their country; but he could not help thinking that they were treated in a manner which was hardly fair, and if the country did not mind, it might happen that they would have no officers at all. On the question of the abolition of purchase, the Government ought to have taken some means to ascertain the feelings of those most interested; but instead of doing so the officers of the Army, to whom this question was of the utmost importance, had been treated in the most cavalier manner. He should be glad to see the Reserve mentioned by his hon. and gallant Friend; but if they had a Reserve of that description, it would, he feared, be at the expense of the finest Army the world had ever seen.

Mr. CARDWELL: My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Oxfordshire (Colonel North) has to a great extent discussed what was discussed last year; he will not, I trust, therefore deem it disrespectful in me if I refer to that portion of his argument not germane to this Motion rather briefly. I thought I had already answered—indeed, I thought I had answered times without number—the charge that we had disbanded 23,000 of the best soldiers of the British Army. I stated last year exactly what the reduction was. No doubt there was a reduction upon the whole of the British Army equal to that which my hon. Friend has mentioned, but that reduction included regiments like the Canadian Rifles, the Cape Mounted Rifles, two West African Regiments—in fact, regiments formerly maintained by the taxpayers of this country, but which contributed nothing to our defence. My hon. and gallant Friend objected, as I understood, to the third class of men whom we had discharged from the Army—those to whom we had offered and who had accepted a modified pension. But I would ask, Sir, what hardship has been inflicted upon men who have, of their own free will, accepted the pension offered them? Then my hon. Friend says that we are 5,000 men short of what we ought to be in the numbers of the Regular Army. My hon. and gallant Friend quoted the numbers up to March 1, but I have here the Returns to the 1st of April, and the total number returned as being short is 1,690, which, as my hon. and gallant Friend knows very well, is no very large number, considering the nature of our establishment. My hon. and gallant Friend, in making that calculation, must, I think, have included the Returns from the Indian portion of the Army, which will bring the general total to 3,281. [Colonel North: I stated that the Returns from which I took my figures were to the 1st of March.] And I take the 1st of April. I am not finding fault with my hon. and gallant Friend's statement, but I understood him to desire information on this point. Now, my hon. and gallant Friend says that by these reductions we have effected, we have greatly weakened the strength of the Army. But we have not weakened the strength of the Army for the purpose of home defence, although we have materially diminished the burdens of the taxpayer. While we have nearly the same number of men on service at home, the Reserve has largely increased. I have been charged with taking undue credit for the Militia Reserve; but, inasmuch as the number of the Reserve amounts to 19,916, I think my anticipations, in connection with the calculation for 1870, with regard to our obtaining 20,000 men for this branch of the service, may be said to have been realized. On the matter of the reductions, I do not know that I have anything more to say, except that while we have made these reductions, and by so doing have diminished the burden upon the taxpayer, we have increased the number of *cadres* and the Reserve, and in so doing have increased, as I believe, and not diminished, the strength of the Army. With reference to the flying column from Aldershot, if hon. Members will compare the provision made in time of peace for the artillery of Prussia, or of any foreign country, with the provision made by ourselves, I think they will find that we have no reason to complain. It can hardly be maintained that we are bound to support the force in time of peace which would be required in case of war. I will now proceed to matter more germane to the Motion before the House. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for South Durham (Captain Beaumont) contended that no new scheme would be satisfactory, which did not form the Army Reserve of men who had passed through the Regular Army. Last year, when I was contending for the advantage resulting from short service, I did not find it very easy to obtain the attention of the House, and the measure which I introduced excited a good deal of military opposition. I do not remember that my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for South Durham rendered me on that occasion any conspicuous assistance, and I must say I would rather have had his support then than his criticism now, when he accuses us of not carrying the principle far enough. [Captain Beaumont: I did speak last year in favour of the right hon. Gentleman's proposal.] I am glad to find that the hon. and gallant Gentleman did assist me, for we are fellow-soldiers striving in the same direction, though I feel bound to say that we have carried out the principle as far as possible; and I hope he will support me in the extent to which I wish to carry out the suggestion which he had offered to the House. My hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Captain Beaumont) says we have done harm by the circular which we have sent out, offering discharges to men with three years' service. Now, that invitation has not been issued without a limit. I was always told by the military authorities that we should find it difficult to obtain this First Army Reserve. As soon, however, as the state of our recruiting justified it, I desired that a circular should be issued from the Horse Guards to ascertain what well-conducted men of three years' service, according to the Act of last year, would be willing to join the Reserve. I do not know the details of the answers received, but I am informed that the whole number of those who have expressed their desire to accept the offer made them is between 3,000 and 4,000. I may add, too, that I have heard that the number of men willing to leave the service is not so great in the regiments going to India as it is in those remaining in this country — a result which I think must be regarded as very satisfactory, as showing that the Government had held out a sufficient inducement. Now, I differ entirely from my hon. and gallant Friend opposite in relation to this matter. I think that these results are most satisfactory, for I think they show that there are sufficient inducements to get men of good character to join the Reserve. We ought, therefore, to be pleased and satisfied with this first result of a new experiment. It will, however, be necessary to see that the efficiency of the regiments is not impaired, and, of course, measures will be taken for that purpose. My hon. and gallant Friend (Captain Beaumont) proposes to send 55,000 men at once into the Reserve; but I can only tell him that, in the first place, I do not think that number would be willing to go; and, secondly, if I had proposed to send that number into the Reserve I should have exposed myself to a renewal, in an aggravated degree, of the charge which has already been made against me. I really look upon this Motion of my hon. and gallant Friend only as other words for saying—"Let us at once abolish the Militia, the Yeomanry, and the Volunteers; let us have none but men who have been trained in the Army, and have passed through it, to form our Reserves." [Captain Beaumont: Hear!] My hon. and gallant Friend cheers me; but I can only tell him that anything more at variance with what I believe to be the wishes of the House and the country I can scarcely imagine. He should give me credit for being a hearty supporter of the system of short service, which I last year brought before the House, for I earnestly desire to train in the Regular Army as many men as possible, and to make them efficient Reserves for the future defence of the country, as the circumstances will, from time to time, enable us to accomplish. It is, however, of no use to point us to Prussia and other Continental countries, where recourse can be had to conscription; because if you will, as I hope, continue the voluntary system of this country, you must have to contend with difficulties from which a conscription would relieve you. My hon. and gallant Friend says that 17 is too early an age at which to take recruits, and that they should be, at least, 20 years old. Nobody agrees with him more cordially than I; but how am I to obtain men of 20 years of age? Do we not know that if you are to obtain men by voluntary enlistment you must take them at a time when they will come? That time is when they have already devoted themselves to other pursuits, or when they are seeking something to occupy their time and their thoughts. If you were to limit yourselves to take only recruits of 20 years old, the result would be that you would get but a few, and of those few many would be men who had tried other pursuits and failed. Part of the plan which we recommend to your consideration is, that you should endeavour to combine the recruiting of the Regulars and the Reserve forces so that you may be able to import into the Army those whom from age and other considerations you wish to enlist for the Regular service, and then, by combining them, dealing with each according to its nature and its capacity for usefulness, you will be able to form a competent force which will always insure the safety and the honour of the country. I am quite sure that you cannot do that by adopting such an abstract Resolution as that which is proposed by my hon. and gallant Friend; but you must do it by a judicious and careful combination of all the means which the present voluntary system places in your power.

Major DICKSON said, he had listened attentively to the speech of his hon. and gallant Friend, but he had failed to discover in it any proposal which would lead them to hope they would obtain a better class of men to join the Regular ranks of the Army. Neither did he think there was anything in the scheme of the Government which would have that effect. He had always held that it would be a dangerous experiment to introduce the system of short service in the Army to any extent, unless it was accompanied by a scheme for enlisting a better class of men than those who at present filled the ranks of the Army, and he had not heard the hon. and gallant Member for South Durham (Captain Beaumont) offer any suggestion on that point. They must, therefore, be prepared to see continued in our Army the class of men who now composed its ranks, and he thought that their experience showed that the best soldiers could be made out of them. But from personal inspection of the recruits enlisted during the last few months it appeared to him that they were entirely composed of lads between 17 and 18 years of age —narrow-chested, half-grown, and altogether most unsatisfactory specimens. A great many of them had no home, many had enlisted under feigned names, and others had enlisted with the hope of escaping justice, having broken the law or incurred the anger of their parents. He did not think they could hope to obtain a good Army of Reserve out of such materials, and by endeavouring to do so it appeared to him they would be striking a fatal blow at the efficiency of our standing Army itself. He freely admitted that a short enlistment system was an admirable one, if accompanied by a system of compulsion as in Prussia; but it was idle to compare our Army with that of Prussia, which had conscription with a limited service. If too many men for short service were sent into the Reserve we should have an Army composed, not of soldiers, but entirely of recruits. If his hon. and gallant Friend went to a Division he (Major Dickson) should vote against him, and he would ask the House not to be lead into adopting a system which in other countries worked well under different conditions.

Captain BEAUMONT said, he would withdraw his Resolution.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Lord GARLIES rose to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it would be inexpedient to vote any sum of money towards the defrayment of the proposed increase of expense of the Military System of this Kingdom until a scheme having for its object the efficient reorganisation of our Regular and Auxiliary Forces has been introduced by Her Majesty's Government."

The noble Lord said that the prophecy which he had made a few years ago in respect to the military expenditure of the Government had been verified far sooner than he had anticipated. He remembered noticing at the time that, as regarded munitions of war, there were reductions in the year 1869 of £334,000. Her Majesty's Government continued the same course last year, and therefore it was not a matter of surprise that in the third year of their administration they were compelled to ask for £1,000,000 for munitions of war. It might create some surprise that he should take exception to increased military expenditure; but he had hitherto found that the economy of the Government was confined to reducing the number of soldiers, and lessening the quantity of munitions of war. But let bygones be bygones. He would first call attention to the real amount of the increase which the Government asked the House to vote. Next he would point out the different improvements in the organization of the Army which the Government proposed to give them for that increased expenditure; and, lastly, he would point out what, in his opinion, they had a right to expect for such increase. They were asked to vote in the Army Estimates an increase of £2,800,000. In addition to that, they would have to provide a sum to meet the contemplated abolition of purchase, and also the retirement scheme. Taking the figures of the Financial Secretary, the cost of the retirement scheme, founded upon the authority of Mr. O'Dowd, would amount to £1,000,000 a-year, or 1*d.* additional income tax. Therefore, he might fairly argue that, in addition to the £2,800,000 increase of the Vote, there would be, at least, £1,200,000 annually for the retirement scheme, making a total of £4,000,000 of additional expenditure. There must be also considered another item for new barracks throughout the country, which would also be necessary in order to amalgamate the Line with the Militia, and the expense of these would fall upon the sparsely populated counties, for the richer counties were already furnished with barracks. It seemed to him necessary, if the Government scheme were to be carried out, to have a further charge placed on the Consolidated Fund. Now, what did the Government propose to give in consideration of the expenditure of all this money? They were, first, to receive an addition of 20,000 men; secondly, an addition of 45,000 Militia; and, thirdly, there would be a great increase in the store department. Further, they were told that they were to have an establishment of camps throughout the country. It seemed to him that what they wanted was a sufficient force; but, above all, an efficient force. He believed it was a very decided opinion throughout the country that the policy of self-isolation had quite sunk to the ground. He thought that we should have a force not only sufficient to protect our shores from foreign invasion, and to defend our Colonies and dependencies, but also a force which would enable us at any moment to aid a foreign ally whilst protecting the honour and interests of this country. We should be ready at any time to send 100,000 men to aid an ally abroad, and to retain 300,000 properly trained troops in this country. With regard to our auxiliary forces, we had the first Army Reserve corps of 3,000 men up to last year; but it was proposed to increase this to 9,000 men in the current year. There were also 20,000 Militia Reserve available to be called on in time of war, and the second Reserve corps composed of Pensioners. Here, then, was a force of 300,000 men coming under the denomination of auxiliary troops which, if made more efficient, would be sufficient for the different points to which he had already adverted. It had been the fashion of late years to run down the Yeomanry cavalry; but he believed it would become a most valuable part of the service if more attended to by giving them a longer period for drill. Their object should be to obtain a harmonious whole. He did not think that any force of Militia or Volunteer field artillery would be of any real service in the field until they got men who had served some half-dozen years in the artillery service to join them. If he understood the proposed scheme of the Government with regard to the infantry, it was their intention to amalgamate the Line and the Militia, which would have the effect of making the Line the first battalion, and the Militia the second battalion; but to make the amalgamation complete, it should include the Volunteers. The basis of the amalgamation, as he stated the other night, should be a change in the present system of enlistment, and that they should not have a Reserve force between the Regular Army and the Militia. The right hon. Gentleman had shown that the effect of the three years' service was to obtain recruits between 17 and 18 years of age instead of 21 or 22, the effect of which would be that when these men were wanted for foreign service in the Regular Army—that is, at the very age when, as trained men their *physique* would be such as to be best adapted for such service, they would be handed down to the Reserve forces. What they ought to do was not to enlist men under 20 years of age, and it would be far better to make the Militia the nursery for the Line, and then pass them into the Reserve. He would enlist them for one or two years for the Militia, then to serve four years in the Line, and then to form the Reserve for three years. After that time they should be liable to be called out for foreign service, and after that they should remain in the position of the German Landwehr. He would also make the Militia the nursery for the Line for officers, whereby they would get trained officers. It would be impossible, he repeated, to make the Militia and Volunteer regiments really efficient unless they had extra training, and he suggested that the Militia should have an additional fortnight's continued drill with the Regular forces. It was very desirable that the Volunteers should be subjected to the Mutiny Act when called out, and that they should be compelled—at least 70 or 80 per cent of the force—to attend at least one week's continuous training in the camps of instruction it was proposed to form, or be brigaded with the Regular troops for some short period every year. Unless something of that kind was done, the House would not be justified in agreeing to the increased expenditure proposed by the Government. The noble Lord concluded by moving his Resolution.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it would be inexpedient to vote any sum of money towards the defrayment of the proposed increase of expense of the Military System of this Kingdom until a scheme having for its object the efficient reorganisation of our Regular and Auxiliary Forces has been introduced by Her Majesty's Government," —(*Lord Garlies,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £46,400, Divine Service.

(2.) £28,900, Martial Law.

MR. CARDWELL: The other day I was asked whether I would announce what was the course that we intended to pursue with regard to the Report of the Courts Martial Commission, and the nature of the measure which we intended to introduce on the subject. It is with the deepest grief that I have now to say that that measure had been undertaken by the right hon. Gentleman the late Judge Advocate General (Mr. Davison), whose death under such sudden circumstances we have occasion to lament. I am sure I am only expressing the feeling of the House when I say that in him the House has lost a most valuable Member; we who sit here have lost a Friend whom we most highly esteemed and valued, and the profession to which I belong has lost a most distinguished ornament. The right hon. Gentleman had undertaken to introduce immediately after the Recess the measure which has been for some time in preparation on the subject of the discipline of the Army. He had given the greatest attention to it, and he was engaged upon it I believe even at the latest moment of his life. Under these unfortunate circumstances, it will be my duty to make other arrangements with respect to that measure as soon as I can. I am sure the Committee will think that I am only discharging my duty in thus calling attention to the very great loss that we have sustained through the death of my right hon. and learned Friend.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £248,300, Medical Establishments and Services.

DR. BREWER expressed a hope that the Government would give the Committee some kind of information with regard to the steps which had been taken to increase the efficiency of the medical department of the Army. He was aware that the subject to which he desired more particularly to draw the attention of the Committee might, with most propriety, have been considered when Vote 1 was passing through Committee, as Section 5 of that Vote took credit for the principal division of the medical arrangement he felt it his duty to animadvert upon. The lateness of the hour, however, at which that Vote was taken rendered it extremely inopportune to delay the Committee by considering a question which he deemed of no secondary importance. He believed the Committee would not esteem any re-organization of the Army complete which did not include an organization of the non-combatant force—the organization of the power and means of saving life when the Army was in the field, including, of course, the regulation of the ambulance department, its field and regimental hospitals, its transports, horse and hand litters, and the whole apparatus for ministering to the wounded, and for mitigating the suffering which, at best, was sad enough, but when aggravated by unskilfulness, or by neglect, which training might have prevented, was simply often appalling. He felt the Committee would not grudge him the needful minute or two whilst he brought before them the nature and extent of the required provisions; what it was an ambulance department was called on to effect, and what was the measure of misery which a neglect of those provisions entailed, and how impossible it was, by a nation's liberality at the time of the emergency, to accomplish what thorough training in time of peace could alone adequately secure. Since the publication of the American Reports, in relation to the statistics and facts furnished by their recent civil war, they were warranted in saying that there was no great Power which had not experienced the cruelty and loss of life when the Army was in the field, which might be traced to a neglect of discipline and organization in their ambulance corps in time of peace. The Committee would hardly be prepared for the admission which Dr. Hammond, Surgeon General of the Northern American Army, appeared to acquiesce in, as not unreasonable nor to be gainsaid, that it is impossible for any Government to provide all needful aid and do all needful acts for the disabled after a severe engagement. He (Dr. Brewer) paused over such an admission, and he felt the Committee and the country would most unwillingly accept it; but, at any rate, this would not be allowed to cover neglects which foresight and drill could have supplied. A paucity of medical men could be remedied by supplemental aid from without even when the emergency arose suddenly. Supplies of all kind might be had in profusion at a very short notice; but the defects which were remediless, when the time of action came, were those attributable to a neglect of drill, discipline, and long and special training, provoking that want of co-ordination in the several departments of the medical corps, which was the sure precursor of misadventure and disaster. It was no insignificant part of efficiency in the responsible medical staff to acquire a skilful apprehension of the whereabout the field tents might be most conveniently pitched, so that, on the one hand, they did not interfere with or hamper the action or the strategic movements of the Army; and, on the other hand, to be within useful distance. The division of the infirmary men; the prompt management of the litters, horse and hand; the efficient, but not obtrusive, following the company or division to which they were attached; the removing the wounded in action so as not to crowd and jostle the combatants; and, above all, the celerity and completeness which leaves no room, and gives no provocation or opportunity to the combatants to fall out and crowd the retreating litter; the subsequent removal of the wounded to the field and to the regimental hospital tents in the rear, where the graver operations are performed; the orderly and systematic attendance of the infirmary and other non-combatant men on their several officers, at their several points of duty—all constitute services, the performance of which are essential to due relief of suffering and saving of life; but which never have been, and never will be satisfactorily discharged without special and habitual training. Undoubtedly, the duties detailed were only a part—perhaps, a minor part—of the labours which fell on the medical staff in active service. To take the best and widest known example. The total of French troops in the Crimea was, in round numbers, 309,000; the total number of deaths 69,000, of whom 7,500 were killed in action, leaving 61,500 for the deaths from wounds subsequently and the ravages of fever. It was found that in Königgrätz, Solferino, Inkermann, Alma, Antietam, and the Potomac, one in five of the wounded were left dead on the field ; and al though the relation of the wounded to the whole force engaged—and even to the sick under treatment—varied very greatly, yet the relation of those mortally struck or left dead on the field to those who were objects for relief and treatment from wounds did not greatly vary, but retained pretty uniformly the relation stated. He thought the Committee would agree with him that each division of medical service in time of active duty demanded orderly and intelligent obedience, and such as could not be depended on without previous training and special drill. Experience showed that a neglect of such special training was marked by deficiencies in active and vigilant traversing of the ambulance corps of the field after the action and during the succeeding night, when its services were most demanded. He had, in 1866, seen men brought into the general hospital who had lain 48 hours on the field, and whose wounds had been untended for a period of 10 days—wounds which were not mortal, except for such neglect. He had remarked, over and over again, that an amount of needless suffering and loss of life resulted from exposure and neglect on the field, which could be attributed only to the want of systematic activity and co-ordination in the various divisions of the ambulance department displaying itself after severe engagements. Dr. Hammond—to whom he had alluded—spoke of two brothers lying wounded side by side in the afternoon of the day of the battle of the Antietam Creek, both vainly striving through the long hours of that weary night to stop the blood which flowed from an open wound, and which, in spite of the efforts of both, flowed on till death arrested its current. In vain each tried in turn to descry the longed-for appearance of the ambulance party—none ever appeared in sight; and a wound capable of easy treatment proved fatal, and sufferings utterly needless resulted simply from the neglect which unskilfulness in their duties and want of training in the ambulance department occasioned. No incidents struck a medical man more painfully than the deaths from hæmorrhage from wounds. The Surgeon General of the Northern American Army related that a British officer in the Army of the Potomac, who had lost his leg from a cannon shot, had had the knowledge and presence of mind to bind his sash so tightly round the stump as to arrest the flow of blood, and to remain many hours on the field without fatal consequences till the ambulance party arrived. And this led him (Dr. Brewer) to hope that a practice adopted by the Germans might be considered by their own authorities. In the German soldier's knapsack were to be found a good bandage and fold of lint compressible into a very small compass; but which were not only a convenience for his treatment by the surgeon in the event of the man being wounded, but which even the man himself might be easily taught to apply in the event of long neglect on the field, so as to prevent the fatal consequence to which he had alluded. The last suggestion he would press on the Government, and on the consideration of his right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Henry Storks) the Controller General, was, that as it was not to be expected a full complement of medical officers and their men could be retained in time of profound peace, yet that a skeleton of a perfect ambulance corps should be organized, drilled, and disciplined, and specially trained for their duties; and that in any review these men should not, as now, be called on to "fall in" merely, but should be subjected to inspection in their special and several duties, and their drill and accuracy animadverted upon no less punctually and authoritatively than the combatants expect and receive on those occasions; and it was not to be feared but that that orderly discipline in time of peace would produce ample and beneficial results when the special services were demanded in times of emergency and active campaigning.

Sir HENRY STORKS: The Secretary of State for War has not neglected the important subject to which my hon. Friend has called the attention of the Committee. The importance of that subject cannot be exaggerated; for, independently of the desire which everyone has to relieve the sufferings of those that are wounded in battle, it is important for the discipline of the Army that the soldiers themselves in the day of battle should expect to be properly attended to in the event of their being wounded by the enemy. A Committee was appointed by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War to inquire into the question of ambulances. The Committee was composed of officers well acquainted with the subject. In their Report they say—

> "In regard to the number of ambulance waggons, it appears necessary to inquire what proportion of the men would be likely to require to be carried off the field of battle. Taking a number of actions, the percentage of wounded varies considerably, according to their severity. Thus at Königgrätz the Prussians had 4·90 per cent wounded of their whole force, the Austrians 9·28 of those engaged. At Magenta the French had 6·7 per cent wounded of those engaged, the Austrians 7·05. But, on the other hand, the casualties are often much larger. At Waterloo the British force had 17·76 per cent wounded, and during the recent civil war in America the wounded in the Federal Army were—At Shiloh 12·51 per cent, at Chikamanga 18·52, at Gettysburg 11·68, and at Wilderness 19·26. Those reported on the Confederate side are considerably higher; but as neither the number of combatants nor the casualties were ascertained correctly, there may be much doubt on this point. The mean of these gives 15·70 per cent of the strength, and the Committee think they cannot fix upon a smaller percentage than 16 as the probable number requiring to be provided for after an action. In some of the terrible encounters around Metz in August last the proportion of wounded greatly exceeded this. From a consideration of the nature of wounds received in action, it is estimated that about half of the wounded, or 8 per cent, can make their way to the nearest dressing place on foot, leaving 8 per cent to be removed from the field to that point on stretchers and waggons, and subsequently carried to the nearest field hospitals. It is further estimated that this may require each waggon to travel a distance of five miles to the rear, and that it can make two trips a-day, or 20 miles in all, even over indifferent roads. A waggon can carry six men each trip, or 12 men a-day."

It is the intention of my right hon. Friend to have the Army hospital corps placed entirely at the disposal of the medical officers for the purposes of a hospital during a time of peace, and in a time of war as a corps for the assistance of the wounded after action. The Army hospital corps, which is divided into two branches, will now be re-organized into one branch, which will be the medical branch. It is intended to train men in this country to attend to our sick and wounded soldiers. After allowing for foreign garrisons, it is estimated that about 850 men of this Army hospital corps, who will be trained to their duties, will be available in this country.

Mr. Alderman LUSK said, that besides the six Inspectors General of Hospitals there were 20 Deputy Inspectors, and he inquired whether, as had occurred in similar cases, the deputy really did all the work? He observed that there was an extra charge for compounding medicines. He did not know what cause there was this year for such a charge.

Viscount BURY inquired why there was an increased expenditure for the colonial medical department, seeing that most of the troops had been withdrawn?

Mr. M. CHAMBERS inquired what system was adopted for testing the genuineness of the drugs bought for the military hospitals, and ascertaining that they were equal to sample.

Colonel NORTH desired some explanation as to the sum of £74,930 for stoppages of soldiers' pay while in hospital, and asked whether any attention was to be paid to the valuable Report of the Committee which had sat on the subject? He also wished to know why it was that the salary of the Governor and Commandant at Netley, which had been £600 a-year, was now reduced to £366?

Sir HENRY STORKS, in reply, said, that the Inspectors General had to perform very considerable duties. There was one at head-quarters, one at Aldershot, one at Netley, one for all Ireland, and one at Malta, which was a very large station, and of the requirements of which he had himself personal experience. The details would be found at page 166. The Director General of the Army Medical Department was the person specially charged with seeing that the best medicines were provided, without regard to price but with due regard to economy, and the medicines were procured from the Apothecaries' Hall. The compounders of medicine were sergeants, who underwent an examination and received 1*s.* a-day additional pay for the duty. The increase in the Vote for Medical Officers in the Colonies arose principally from the fact that by the terms of the Warrant under which they served they were to receive an annual increase of pay. The Report of the Committee on Hospital Stoppages, to which the gallant Officer (Colonel North) had referred, was now under the consideration of the Secretary of State; but the question was one about which there were great differences of opinion. In the Estimates of 1870-1 there was £600 a-year for the officer at the head of the establishment at Netley. That was a very distinguished officer, Colonel, now

General, Wilbraham, who had retired, and as an officer of inferior rank, Colonel Gordon, was appointed to succeed, the salary was reduced accordingly.

Mr. CANDLISH remarked that, although Colonel Gordon's salary was lower than that received by his predecessor, and the duties lower, yet it appeared that an Assistant Commandant had been appointed at a salary of £303. He would be inclined to move the reduction of the Vote by the increase for Netley.

Mr. CARDWELL said, last year they tried to do with one officer; but the experiment did not work well, and they were obliged to appoint a second. It should be remembered that Netley was the head quarters of the Army hospital corps.

Colonel NORTH said, that showed they ought to have an officer of higher rank at the head instead of striving to save £200 or £300 a-year.

Mr. Alderman LUSK reiterated the opinion that when a superior officer and a deputy were appointed, it would probably be found that it was the deputy who did the work, though he would not say that was so in this case.

Viscount BURY, recalling attention to his question, which he said the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had misunderstood, observed that the term Colonies appeared to include India.

Sir HENRY STORKS replied, that there were stations in Australia, Canada, Nova Scotia, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, the Mediterranean, the West Coast of Africa, and other places, the details of which were given at page 167.

Viscount BURY said, he knew there were regiments in India which were put down as being in the Colonies.

Mr. DICKINSON said, that according to the Estimates the exact number of men in the Colonies were set down as 20,000; but in a separate Paper the number appeared as 25,000. The discrepancy ought to be explained in settling the Army Estimates, when the point came before the Committee.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £957,300 be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Militia Pay and Allowances, which will come in course of payment from the 1st day of April 1871 to the 31st day of March 1872, inclusive."

Sir Henry Storks

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON said, he observed that the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Rathbone) had on the Paper a proposal to reduce this Vote by the amount of the charge for the proposed increase of 40,000 men. He did not wish to act discourteously towards the hon. Member, but he could not help thinking that the Motion was founded on some misapprehension; and, if so, that misapprehension all the more confirmed the feeling that it was desirable to have some explanation with regard to the intention of Her Majesty's Government on this important matter of the Militia. He desired to advert for a moment to the statement of the Secretary of State when he first introduced the Estimates. On that occasion, and upon various occasions since, in the course of the debate on the Army Regulation Bill, the right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the Militia force as consisting of 139,000 men. He (Sir John Pakington) could find no such number of men provided for in the Estimates, where the figures stood at 128,971 men both for the last year and the present year. In both cases they found in another column the permanent Staff stated to be 5,066. The two statements added together made up 134,037 men. There was a difference, in round numbers, of 5,000 men between the statement in the Estimates, and the figures which the right hon. Gentleman had mentioned on every occasion when he had spoken of the Militia. Where did the right hon. Gentleman get these 5,000 men from? This question led to a consideration of what was the main cause of the great increase in the Estimates for the Militia of 1871-2 over those of 1870-1; this he apprehended might be found in the same columns on the same page, where it appeared that the whole cost of the entire quota of the Militia for the present year was £454,500, but in the Estimate of 1870-1, when the full quota was not called out, and when the Irish Militia was not called out, that amount was not so large by £105,000. In his humble opinion this was a satisfactory explanation, as far as it went, as to the difference in the Estimates of the past and the present year. Now he came to the subject of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Liverpool, who proposed to strike off the sum of £237,216, being the charge for the additional 40,000 men. He (Sir John Pakington) found no such charge in the Votes, and this was one of the points upon which he was desirous of receiving an explanation. It was within his knowledge that the Government had caused a circular to be sent to the commanders of Militia regiments throughout the country asking them to give their opinion as to whether, in their respective districts, they would be able to raise second battalions. So far as the two or three counties with which he was best acquainted were concerned, the answers to the circular were that there would be no difficulty.

Mr. CARDWELL: The answers are on the Table.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON asked, was he then right in supposing that it was by means of these second battalions that the 40,000 men were to be obtained? That was a point on which he was desirous to receive information; but whether this was so or not, there was no item in the Estimates to cover the expense of these 40,000 men. And he wished to know what was the intention of Her Majesty's Government on this subject, which he held to be one of paramount importance in connection with this question of Army re-organization. There was no part of the subject to which he attached so much importance as the maintenance in full strength of our constitutional national force, the Militia. He had more confidence in that than in any other force; and he trusted to receive an answer from Her Majesty's Government that they intended to raise the second battalions and add 40,000 men to the strength of the Militia. Indeed, he felt some disappointment that it was not proposed to increase the force to even a larger extent than that promised by the Secretary for War.

Mr. CARDWELL said, the utmost limit to which, by statute, the Government could go in raising the Militia was 120,000 privates, and adding the officers and non-commissioned officers, the number would be 129,000. This year it was intended to exceed the statutory limit, and to raise 125,000 privates; but this could not be done till the Bill for the purpose then on the Table of the House was passed. What the Government had done in the meantime was to submit the Estimate of the whole amount which the statute enabled them to raise. This would give 129,000 men, and the permanent Staff brought this number up to 134,000. The 5,000 which made the difference between this figure and that referred to by the right hon. Baronet were recruits intended to be trained during the autumn. As to the second battalions, the Government had laid on the Table the questions which they had asked as to the raising of these bodies, and the answers which had been sent to that circular. The object of the Government was to inform themselves and the House what were the present powers of raising the Militia to the utmost. It was not their intention during the present year to exercise those powers; but they were clearly of opinion that they had the power of raising the number of men asked for in the Estimate. If the Bill should pass as it was now before the House the future limit of the Militia would not be the precise statutory limit of numbers, but such number as from time to time Parliament might think proper to provide the money for.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had not explained the way he made up the 140,000.

Mr. CARDWELL believed he had spoken of 140,000 only as the number that could be raised if it were thought desirable. His statement was that the Returns would show that 45,000 was the number which the Government could safely say they could raise. His statement was not a comparison of the Estimates of this year and the last. What he stated was that this year the whole number of men that could be raised would be 139,000 men. The number enrolled last year was including Ireland 88,616; for the present year it was over 98,000. That was the number up to the 1st of April, and the enrolment was still going on.

Mr. RATHBONE, in moving the reduction of the Vote for Militia Pay and Allowances by £237,216, being the charge for the additional 40,000 men, said, his object was to oppose any increase in the number of men raised for the Militia, because he believed that in doing so they would be spending money which might be usefully employed in another way. The Estimates were no doubt prepared in time of war; but that war having ended, it seemed to him that what they had now to do was to proceed with deliberation, and re-organize the standing Army and Reserves in the most perfect form, without hurry, but at the same time without waste or delay. They ought to make up their mind, whether they meant to rely on a Militia, like the Mobiles, as in France, or on a Reserve regularly trained and passed through the standing Army, like the Landwehr in Prussia. Nobody who had listened to the speeches of the Secretary of State for War could doubt that the right hon. Gentleman placed his main reliance for obtaining effective Reserves upon men who, after undergoing a short term of service in the Regular Army, should then pass into the Reserves. If that were so, why should the right hon. Gentleman imperil the success of that important part of his scheme for the reorganization of our forces by bringing the recruiting officers of the Militia into competition with the recruiting officers of the Army, in attempting, especially at the present moment, to raise that additional 40,000 Militiamen? Another, and as it seemed to him, a very strong reason against making that addition to the Militia was, that they had no barrack accommodation for these men, who would therefore have to be billeted in public-houses, where they would very likely be made idle and drunken fellows, or rendered less fit for the industrial pursuits from which they had been temporarily taken, without being made good soldiers. He did not think they should spend money which they could ill spare, and take men whom they could not spare at all, in order merely to turn them into indifferent soldiers and into worse workmen than they were before. He therefore begged to move that the Vote for Militia Pay and Allowances be reduced by £237,216, being the amount asked for the proposed addition to that force.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £720,084, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for Militia Pay and Allowances, which will come in course of payment from the 1st day of April 1871 to the 31st day of March 1872, inclusive."—(*Mr. Rathbone.*)

Major WALKER said, he denied either that the recruiting for the Militia in any way interfered with the recruiting for the Line, or that the only result of getting these men into the Militia was to introduce among them habits of vice and intemperance. The opinion of those best acquainted with the Militia service was very different from that of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Rathbone). Gentlemen acquainted with the service had assured him—and in a recent debate the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) bore testimony to the fact—of the improvement produced in the moral and social habits of workmen by their training in the Militia. He said that they returned home from drill improved as regards cleanliness, punctuality, and smartness, and that they did not become tainted with vice and intemperance. With regard to the Vote before them, the items for the Inspecting Staff of the Reserve and for Schools of Instruction were both placed under the Vote for Militia Pay and Allowances. He thought they should be divided between the Militia Vote and the Vote for the Volunteers, because the duties of the Inspecting Staff of the Reserve concerned the Volunteers much more than the Militia; and the same remark applied to the Schools of Instruction. The schools that existed were admirable for the training of young officers; but a system of instruction was still needed for senior officers of the Reserve forces, who, however zealous they might be, were ignorant of some points of their duty—from no fault of their own, but owing to the manner in which the Militia had been isolated for years past. There was also a great, and he feared, a growing difficulty in obtaining properly trained Staff sergeants for the Militia — a matter deserving the attention of the Secretary of State.

Mr. WHITWELL said, the object of the Vote being to improve the efficiency of the Militia, he thought it would be unwise to refuse any sum requisite to accomplish that desirable end. He rejoiced to find that it was proposed to send Militiamen into camp instead of billeting them in small towns, and that every Militia regiment would be armed with breech-loading rifles, which he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would assure the Committee should take place. He trusted that any attempt on the part of the War Office to improve the efficiency of the Militia would receive the support of the House.

Lord ELCHO said, he believed that the House was clearly in favour, not only of maintaining the Militia, but of maintaining it in a state of thorough efficiency. However, it was very desirable that the Committee should understand what the strength of the Militia would be under the Bill. When the right hon. Gentleman anticipated to have a Militia force of 139,000 men, it was right that the Committee should understand that that number included the Army Militia Reserve of 30,000 men—men who would be withdrawn from the Militia by those who would re-enter the Army—so that when, in case of emergency, the Militia would be really wanted its strength would only stand at 109,000 men. He wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to train all the 139,000 men in the course of the present year, and for what number of days. [Mr. CARDWELL: Yes, I do.] He considered that it would be desirable to have the Militia Reserve trained with the Regular troops.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, he believed he was right in thinking that the question of the second battalions was left for future consideration. He thought hon. Members were at a disadvantage in discussing the numbers of the Militia, before they had an opportunity of discussing the principles on which that force was to be constituted. It was not only admirable as a constitutional force, but as an efficient auxiliary to the Line. There was another additional advantage connected with it, and that was that while it admitted of expansion, it also admitted of rapid contraction. He was aware that there was a *per contra* view of the question, and that it might be urged that as the force was only called out for a short time it would be quite unable to take the field at once, and answer the requirements of modern warfare. He therefore congratulated the Government on the proposal to call out the recruits for a longer period of service. If properly worked and efficiently trained, the Militia would be found second to no Reserve force of any country. His right hon. Friend stated on a former occasion that he wished to maintain the local connection of the Militia regiments with their respective counties; but if the Government proposed to confer in future all commands by the system of selection, and to officer the Militia regiments as much as possible by half-pay officers, it might be questioned whether there would exist the same facility as formerly of maintaining that local connection. Another question for consideration was whether, when the force was increased, barracks were to be built for the men. If so, who would pay the expense? It was clear that Government must abandon the hope of getting the money from the counties. He thought there might be a difficulty in the way of barracks for the Militia. That might not be so in Ireland, but in Scotland he knew there was very great difficulty with regard to barrack accommodation even for the Regulars. Might not the Militia be called out by instalments as in Switzerland, instead of the whole force being assembled at the same period of the year. He hoped this subject would be considered by the Government. It might involve expenditure, but it would lead to efficiency.

SIR HARRY VERNEY said, he thought it unreasonable to expect that counties should provide barracks for the Militia. He believed that by calling out the Regular troops, the Militia, and perhaps the Volunteers, at the same time, and brigading them together, not only would great good be done the men, but the commanding officer would also be able to distinguish those officers who showed themselves most fit for promotion and best acquainted with their duty. He considered that, during such periods, the troops ought most decidedly to be under canvas. Billeting he strongly objected to.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON, referring to an item in connection with the Militia Reserve, on page 32, asked for an explanation of the charge of £30,000 for 30,000 Volunteer Militia Reserve men. Last year this charge was £20,000 for 10,000 men, as against £30,000 for 30,000 men this: it seemed to him that the proposed increase in the Vote was insufficient. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would explain to the House what was the intention of the Government with regard to the total amount of the Militia. Was it the intention to raise it to 139,000 men during the present year? [Mr. CARDWELL: Yes.] Then, with regard to second battalions, it was proposed by the Bill before Parliament to take powers, but he now understood that the Government had no intention to act on them and to raise these second battalions. Was he right in the construction he put on the answer of the right hon. Gentleman? He hoped he was wrong. The Bill referred to also proposed to confer powers on counties to raise Militia barracks, but he did not think there was the slightest chance of counties exercising them. With regard to training centres he should be glad to have some further explanation from the right hon. Gentleman—though perhaps that question might be more conveniently discussed on a future occasion.

Mr. CARDWELL, in explanation, said, that the bounty for a Militia Reserve man was £1; he calculated this year on getting 30,000 men, and therefore he took a vote of £30,000; last year he had asked for £20,000, because he hoped to raise 20,000 men, and they succeeded in raising 19,916. With regard to second battalions, much would depend on how and where the men were raised. The Government could not tell yet whether it would be necessary to put any part of the force into second battalions. If the state of the battalion were manageable there would be no necessity to raise a second; but where the battalion was already unmanageable from its size, and if there should be a large addition, it would be necessary to form a second battalion. With respect to the strength of the Militia, he would say once more that it was the intention and hope of the Government to raise it to 139,000 men in the course of the present year. With regard to training centres, he should be happy to give all the information in his power, but it was not yet so full and definite as he could wish. The subject was a most difficult one. What they meant to do was to unite the recruiting and training of the Regulars with the recruiting and training of the Reserves under the General Officer of the district. That was the general principle on which they desired to proceed; but there was a difficulty in the matter, because the barracks throughout the country had not been arranged for the purpose. Some difficulties of detail had yet to be settled, and therefore, as yet, he was unable to bring forward any definite scheme; but the subject had been, and still was, under the most careful consideration. It was quite true that one of the peculiarities of the Militia Reserve, and a drawback he had always admitted, was that, to a certain extent, it sometimes involved you in the difficulty of counting the same men twice over; but that could be and was allowed for. The Government certainly desired to raise within the year 139,000 men altogether. In the Estimates they had provided for a larger number than they would be able to get by the time the regiments were called out; but, if so, they would train the additional recruits separately, and there were some conveniences in separate training which diminished difficulty with regard to billets, enabled the men to be kept a longer time, and trained with more pains, and admitted of more musketry practice. At all events, the financial calculations of the Government were based upon the expectation that they would be able to train 139,000 men, including officers. In answer to his hon. Friend the Member for Lanarkshire (Sir Edward Colebrooke) he certainly did not wish to destroy or diminish in officers the local feeling in favour of the forces to which they were attached, the absence of which would be a misfortune, and therefore he did not desire to see a predominence of military officers to the detriment of purely local officers; and he was happy to see that what had been said about uniting the Militia with the Regulars had a good effect, for a Return given him that day showed that in the three months from the 1st of January to the 1st April there had been the remarkable increase of 145 in the number of subalterns, and that increase was still going on rapidly. With regard to camps of instruction, the Government were ambitious enough to hope to be able to produce a camp for 30,000 men in the course of the autumn, and thus to try an experiment which had never been tried before, and which he could only hope would be successful, as they proposed that the camp should be a combination, not only of Regular troops of all arms in due proportion, but also Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers. As regarded barracks, no one was more conscious than he was of the great disadvantage of the system of billets. He had always said as much, and done his best to obviate the difficulty. The Government sent as many men to Aldershot and other places as they could find room for, and they were always ready to furnish camp equipage to those who could make arrangements to come out for training at a suitable time of year when camp equipage could be made available; but there were many who could not come out at that time of the year, and who were obliged to do so when camping was impossible. Perhaps it would be better to defer any discussion of the provisions of the Bill until they got into Committee upon it; but those provisions were certainly not intended to impose any new charge upon anybody. He fully agreed with what had been stated in Committee by an hon. and gallant Gentleman (Major Walker) that the instruction of the superior officers of the Reserve forces was a matter of the greatest importance, and he should be glad if by any means he could contribute to that object, and, although he had no definite plan to submit, he was conscious of the urgency of the matter, and he would continue to give it his attention. With regard to Staff sergeants, it was part of the proposal of the Government that non-commissioned officers should be taken from the Regular Army, and for a time put into the reserved forces, so that their efficiency might be thoroughly tried, for it was important that the reserved forces should have most efficient instruction. He hoped to be able to induce the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Rathbone) not to press his Amendment to a division, because in this matter he (Mr. Cardwell) did not think that in their proposals the Department over which he had the honour to preside had exceeded the expectations either of the House or the country. He did not think the objection he raised on the score of anticipated competition between the Army and the Militia was sustainable. If we began to recruit with great energy for both the Army and Militia at the same time, we should, to a certain extent, compete with ourselves; and that would not be a judicious course to adopt; but, under ordinary circumstances, there was such a difference between the two services that there were always men willing to enlist in one who would not enlist in the other. A large number of men might be willing to enlist for a Militia training, extending only over a short time, who would not be inclined to go on foreign service in the Line for a longer period. One man might prefer the Militia and another the Regulars, but that was a matter of individual predilection over which legislation could have little control. He hoped that what had been said on the subject of billets would satisfy the hon. Member that the Government were anxious to avoid crowding the Militia into objectionable and undesirable places; and he therefore hoped the hon. Member would not think it desirable to press his Motion.

MR. DICKINSON complained that a Question he had put as to the contemplated peace establishment had not been answered. The point raised was whether or not a case had been made out for increasing the number of the Militia? He wished to know whether the Vote was for the Militia as constituted by the existing law, or for the Militia as it was proposed to be constituted under a change of the law; if the latter, the Vote was for a greater number than was authorized by law, and the proper course would have been to have obtained money for the additional number by means of a Supplemental Estimate. One item in the Votes offended his eye—it was that of 1*d.* a-day beer money, which came to nearly £150,000 for the Army, and £17,000 for the Militia; it would be better to increase the ordinary pay by 1*d.* a-day. It was difficult to ascertain what was the cost of a Militiaman; but, putting aside stores, he made out that it was £8 or £10 a-year, and that seemed a large sum for a month's service. No doubt, this great cost was largely due to the necessity for maintaining a large permanent Staff.

LORD GARLIES said, he thought we ought to retain the present organization of the Militia, but instead of maintaining a portion of it under the title of Militia Reserve, available for foreign service with the Regular Army, we ought to have one homogeneous force. He was unable to see the propriety of having an extra Army Reserve corps between those two services, and regretted that a subject of so much importance had not been adverted to more prominently by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, and other hon. Gentlemen during the discussion.

MR. CARDWELL: The second Army Reserve is a special force altogether.

MR. BATHURST said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would exert his influence to prevent the uniforms of Militia regiments from being constantly changed. Since he had been in the Militia he recollected four different full-dress suits, three different undress suits, and four different shakos. That circumstance might be considered a matter of unimportance; but these frequent changes put the officers to considerable needless expense. Last year every officer in the regiment he was alluding to had to wear a coat without even a pocket to put a handkerchief in. Surely every coat should have a pocket capable of containing a handkerchief, a flask, and a cigar?

Mr. CANDLISH said, he would certainly vote for the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool, not because he believed an increase in the Militia to be inexpedient in itself, but because our military forces were much in excess of the exigencies of the present time. They had got the Regular Army increased, and now the House was invited to increase the Militia, too. In recent times we had never been more secure than we were at present from the probability of war; as the two great military Powers of the Continent were now thoroughly exhausted and indisposed to enter upon a fresh conflict. He hoped the Amendment would not be pressed to a Division.

Colonel BARTTELOT recommended the hon. Member for Liverpool not to press his Motion to a Division, because the opinion of the Committee and of the country generally was strongly in favour of the Militia. What the country desired was a Militia properly and thoroughly organized, which could he relied upon on all occasions; and he wished to impress on the Government that they had not gone far enough in the drilling of Militia recruits. It would have been easy to arrange so that they should be called out in winter for a thorough and efficient training. To make a man a good soldier it was impossible to begin with him too soon, and winter was the time when Militia recruits could be properly trained with the least inconvenience. With respect to the efficiency of the Militia, he was at a loss to see what advantage the officers serving in the Militia were to derive from going into the Line. If, after serving two years in the Militia, they joined the Line, they would labour under the disadvantage of those who joined the Line direct, and who had the start of them by two years. With regard to recruting, it generally happened that most of the recruits for the Militia were obtained in large towns. Many excellent ones might be found in the country, but they could only be obtained by some other method of recruiting. He believed it would be sufficient if a man went before the surgeon of the police for the district, and after being examined before the magistrates was transferred to the Militia at the proper time. In that way, very many valuable recruits would be obtained who were lost under the present system. With respect to the men serving in the Militia Reserve, he thought it unwise on the part of the Government to do away with the inspection of that Reserve, for there were many who, if properly examined, would be found unfit for Army service. There was one other matter with regard to a Militiaman going into the Line to which he wished to call attention; and that was on going into the Militia he received a bounty, but when he went into the Line he had to re-pay it.

Mr. ACLAND said, he hoped the Government would not be diverted from their main object of improving the efficiency of the Army by any hasty attempt to improve the number of soldiers. What the country required was an efficient Army, full of officers and non-commissioned officers, thoroughly well trained, and able to educate the civilian portion of the population for the service. With regard to the Motion of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Rathbone) he thought it unwise for anyone who desired to improve the military service to cause a division amongst those who were aiming at efficiency. He trusted to hear some pledge from the Government that they would not hurry on any augmentation of the numbers of the Army, and that nothing would induce them to swerve from their aim at efficiency.

Mr. Alderman LUSK said, he felt bound to vote with the Government and against the proposition of the hon. Member for Liverpool. The Militia and the Volunteers were pre-eminently national forces, which must be looked to for defence, and not for defiance. Their cost was comparatively very little; the country considered them as our most natural and constitutional force, and to them we must look for the protection of our homes and our coasts.

Mr. RATHBONE said, he disclaimed any intention of a desire to increase the standing Army. He believed that the plan of the Government would be found most effective if those who were to be brought into the Army were told exactly what was to be done with them, and if they were only taken while young for a short period. In that case there would be no difficulty in getting sufficient men, but if the right hon. Gentleman was to succeed in getting a superior class of men to those now obtained, must they not be drawn from the very class from which the Militia were drawn, and the competition, which was sought to be avoided, thus be produced? The right hon. Gentleman had said that he had done everything in his power to prevent the billeting of the Militia in public-houses; but that all the barracks were filled, billeting was obliged to be resorted to. But surely the Government would be assisted in the prevention of billeting by not granting 40,000 men to be billeted somewhere. Under all the circumstances he felt bound to press his Amendment to a Division.

Mr. STOPFORD-SACKVILLE wished to know what progress was being made in providing barracks for the Militia, and whether the Secretary for War intended to proceed with that clause of the Army Regulation Bill which threw the expense of those barracks upon the county rates? He also wished to know what was to be done with regard to the Militia recruits in future? Were they to be drilled at the head-quarters of the regiment, or were they to be attached to the Army and drilled with the Regular troops? And he wished also to be informed whether the Secretary of State would consent to extend the time, now limited to one month, during which allowances were paid to Militia officers in schools of instruction?

Mr. CARDWELL said, he had already stated what would be done with regard to barracks and to recruits. As to the training of Militia officers he should be happy to do anything in reason to encourage that which was a most important point. In answer to the question of the hon. and gallant Member for Dumfriesshire (Major Walker), he might say that care would be taken that on the promotion of officers a proper examination would be made, and every officer would have to be reported as fit for the place he held. As to the beer money, that was an old institution, dating from the reign of George IV. He had no wish to retain it, and it was worth considering what steps should be taken with regard to it. In reference to the training of Militia recruits, it was particularly desired to combine their training with the training of the Regular Army; and, with regard to uniforms, he should be glad to see all the uniforms of every branch cf the service more assimilated than they were at present. When the Clothing Vote was brought up, however, it would be found that something had been done on the point already.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 16; Noes 92: Majority 76.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) £81,700, Yeomanry Cavalry.

Lord ELCHO said, that last year, or the year before, the Secretary for War announced his intention of altering the constitution and character of the Yeomanry cavalry, so as to make them somewhat more like mounted rifles, which were simply infantry soldiers on horseback. The model to be followed in the alteration was the Hampshire Horse. He (Lord Elcho) had seen the Hampshire Horse inspected, and a more efficient body of men he never had seen. There were only 40 or 50 of them; but they worked across country like a field following the hounds. They went straight across country, skirmished in every direction, through woods and spinneys, mounted, and galloped for two or three miles, and then fired their rifles at an imaginary enemy; and the artillery officer who inspected them said publicly that no horse artillery could traverse a country defended by bodies of such men. It was much to be regretted that we had only a small handful of men of this description; and if the Yeomanry cavalry could be moulded into that form, and armed with the Snider breech-loading rifle, a vast improvement would be the result. Possibly the number of the Yeomany cavalry—now 16,000—might be reduced by the change; but 5,000 men of this character would be more effective than three times their number of ordinary Yeomany cavalry. He was anxious to know whether his right hon. Friend intended to persevere in his attempt to alter the constitution of the Yeomanry force.

Mr. ACLAND said, on public grounds alone, he was obliged to the noble Lord for calling attention to this subject; and earnestly hoped the Government would do something to carry out the scheme of mounted Rifles known by the name of Colonel Bower. That system had not succeeded in this country for this reason —it had been met by the social opposition which the Yeomanry force could bring to bear against it. So long as the cavalry system of England continued to be what it was at present the Yeomanry would ape it. Unless the cavalry system was made more elastic the Yeomanry force would not be improved. The dress of the Yeomen was, in the opinion of a competent cavalry officer, most unsuitable, and he must confess that he was ashamed of appearing in it, preferring the more sober Volunteer uniform. He trusted that the Government would not allow social considerations to prevent them from making this splendid mounted force something more of a reality than it was at present.

Mr. BARNETT said, he was glad a discussion on the Yeomanry had taken place; but he could not altogether agree with the remarks of his hon. Friend opposite, but approved of the suggestion of the noble Lord (Lord Elcho). The Yeomanry would be glad to have some explanations from the Government on one or two points. By the plan of last year the number of officers and men was reduced, and the Estimates were consequently reduced on that account; but the total remained the same. This was accounted for apparently by the fact that, while the saving from absentees last year was calculated at £15,000, this year it was put down at only £11,000. He inferred from this that the right hon. Gentleman expected a larger muster this year; but he was afraid that anticipation would not be fulfilled, because there was a general impression—although probably an erroneous one—that the Government wished to extinguish the Yeomanry. There was great doubt as to whether the plan of sending regiments of Yeomanry to Aldershot would succeed, and he wished to know how many regiments were expected to go there? The farmers and tradesmen who constituted the force were not accustomed to groom their own horses, and if, as he supposed, no assistance was to be given to them when in camp, there would be a difficulty in carrying out the plan of sending them to a distance from their homes. No carbines had been supplied to the regiment with which he was connected, but perhaps no application had been made for them, and, in fact, the Yeomanry wanted stirring up. It was important that they should have an opportunity of competition in shooting, and he believed that what had been described as the hunting-drill would be attractive to many of the men. Such a system might be inaugurated by sending a squadron of Regular cavalry to join a Yeomanry regiment, so that they might have the assistance of practical officers without the necessity of going into camp. The late war had shown that light cavalry might be of great service in a campaign, and in the event of an invasion the Yeomanry would have to act as the eyes and ears of the troops in this country; and therefore they should be trained to act in small bodies under efficient officers. It would be satisfactory if an arrangement might be made by which the Militia, Volunteers, and Yeomanry could meet together for exercise; and thus the country would be reconciled to the maintenance of the force. But if the Yeomanry did not show sufficient spirit to undertake the duties required of them by Government, he suspected they would have to be given up.

Mr. NEVILLE-GRENVILLE said, he regretted the tone in which the hon. Member for North Devonshire (Mr. Acland) had spoken of the Yeomanry. Neither the Yeomanry nor the Volunteers desired to ape the Regular forces, but were determined to do their best to maintain their efficiency. Although, in some quarters, fault was found with the Yeomanry, it had not yet been pointed out what their system of drill should be. If there was a general feeling that the Yeomanry should be dismissed, they would contentedly resign.

Major WALKER said, he hoped that the Secretary for War would not encourage exclusively overgrown corps of Yeomanry, but would afford encouragement for the formation of small working bodies for reconnoitring duties.

Mr. CARDWELL said, that he adhered to the view that the Yeomanry should be made more efficient for the duties of light cavalry, according to the circular which he had issued last year, and which still remained in force. As to weapons, the Westley-Richards rifle had been given to every regiment that had asked for it, and it was an exceedingly valuable arm. Their desire was that every regiment should ask for it.

LORD ELCHO wished to know whether the system of revised-drill was being enforced; or whether there was the intention to enforce it, according to the scheme of Colonel Bower?

MR. CARDWELL said, he did not think that the system was being enforced, and it was not easy to enforce it with a voluntary force.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £485,700, Volunteer Corps.

MR. STACPOOLE proposed that the Vote should be postponed, on the ground that a Return regarding the expense of ammunition, for which he moved, should be laid on the Table. He observed that the Volunteer force was under no sort of drill, and he thought that either they should be made soldiers in name or reality, or this Vote expunged altogether.

MR. G. B. GREGORY said, he hoped that the Government would give facilities for acquiring rifle ranges, and that Volunteers would be occasionally paraded with Regular corps for drill. They ought also to be instructed in the management of field guns, and in fortifying the positions they occupied. He thought the deduction of the travelling expenses of head-quarters' corps was a shabby economy.

VISCOUNT BURY said, that last year he was requested to bring under notice a Memorial with regard to the pay and allowances of adjutants of Volunteer corps, and he wished to know whether the Secretary for War had taken that paper into consideration according to his promise? There was a Vote of £10,000 for large camps for military instruction, and he wished to know whether that referred to the expense of brigading the Volunteer force with troops of the Line in the way in which the right hon. Gentleman announced in bringing in the Army Regulation Bill. As regarded the grant for Volunteer officers at Schools of Instruction, he trusted that attendance at such schools would be made compulsory, and that the instruction given, and the certificates awarded, would be *bonâ fide* in character. Many Volunteer officers had held rank in the Regular Army and might be excused from passing through those Schools of Instruction, but the respect of the men could be obtained by the officers only if the latter made themselves thoroughly competent. He thought that the greatest good had been done by allowing Volunteer officers to attend Schools of Instruction and obtain certificates. Upon the mode of conducting these Schools of Instruction would depend the efficiency of Volunteer officers, and if they were properly conducted the country would have some guarantee that Volunteer officers knew something and were worthy of confidence. His experience was that at present they were conducted in a most efficient manner, but he strongly advised that the attendance should be compulsory as a condition of officers retaining their commissions. He did not mean that officers of Volunteers who had attained high rank in the Regular Army should be compelled to attend. There was £2,600 for medical attendance upon the permanent Staff, and he wished to know upon what condition medical attendance could be obtained? His own sergeant-major, when ill of consumption, had had no such attendance. [MR. CARDWELL explained that it was a new Vote.] He was glad that it had been placed upon the Estimates. His right hon. Friend had promised in his speech on the Organization Bill that the Volunteers should be properly organized; and added that they were not at present worthy to stand among the defending forces of the country. He (Viscount Bury) fully agreed that, as at present constituted, the force was not what it ought to be, nor fit to take its place in the defensive force of the country. He called upon the right hon. Gentleman to fulfil his pledge, and say what he intended to do to make the Volunteer force really efficient. As a Volunteer of 10 or 11 years standing, he maintained that anything that the authorities called upon the Volunteers to do they would do. They would submit to any necessary discipline, and take any amount of trouble, provided only that the authorities would assure them that it was only at that price that their efficiency could be obtained. But to place the Volunteer and the Volunteer officer in the position in which they were now placed, and to give the officer no authority to call out his men for drill, and then to abuse the force for not being efficiently drilled, was to begin at the wrong end. The Volunteer force could not help being improperly organized, because it was the duty of the authorities to organize it. If Government adopted that public expedient of putting the Volunteers under the Mutiny Act, the force might as well be disbanded this moment. Suppose that on Easter Monday the Mutiny Act had been in force, it was equivalent to taking the willing men and placing upon them a burden heavier than they already voluntarily bore. What was wanted was, not to put the willing men, who came forward as those Voluteers did who went to Brighton on Easter Monday, under the Mutiny Act, but to bring out those who were unwilling, to put the screw upon them, and give the commanding officer power to call out every man a certain number of days every year. The Mutiny Act only referred to a want of discipline, and it was not in discipline that the Volunteers failed. During the last 10 years an average of 170,000 Volunteers had been under arms; and except on two occasions, at Windsor and elsewhere, he had never heard of any instances of insubordination on the part of any portion of the force. Therefore, the Mutiny Act was not warranted by experience, and would not help the right hon. Gentleman in the future. What was really wanted was to give the Volunteer officers, or the inspectors of the military districts, the power, on certain days during the year, of calling out all the men under their command. [Lord Elcho: How?] That was for the Government to find out. If Government said it could organize the force, then it was Government's duty to find the machinery for doing so. If the Volunteers refused to submit, then would be the time to say that the Volunteer Vote ought to be expunged from the Estimates, but he believed the Volunteers would not refuse anything that would make them an efficient part of the force of this country. If the force was put under the Mutiny Act for the day then Government would require to pay it for the day as it paid the Regular soldiers.

Colonel C. H. LINDSAY said, it appeared to him that the more that was spoken and written about the Volunteer service, the more its constitution and position were misunderstood. Now, a great deal had, from time to time, been said about the organization of the Volunteer service—meaning that a great deal more should be effected before it was thoroughly organized for service. He was one of those who considered that the Volunteer service could not be more organized and more efficient than it was, under the peculiar circumstances of its constitution and obligations. He contended that the Government could not organize the service beyond the line at which it had for some years reached. It had to be borne in mind that the Volunteer service was an independent citizen institution, raised by the wish of the people, and gladly accepted by the Government of the day; that it was raised for one object, and one object alone—namely, as an auxiliary force to the Army in case of invasion, and that it was accepted without any special conditions, or expectations that it would become, in any prominent manner, proficient in military merits. It had, however, surpassed the calculations of its severest critics, and there could not be a doubt in the minds — if unprejudiced minds—that, when it was required for service, it would be found to be ready to carry out the object for which it was called into existence. It ought also to be borne in mind, and clearly understood, that it could not be interfered with by any undue Government pressure, beyond what commanding officers could enforce or recommend, without serious prejudice to the existing establishments; and that, when the crisis of invasion was at hand, it became, by Act of Parliament, the property of the State, as an embodied arm of the service, and therefore amenable to the rigid rules of discipline. He considered that after 11 years had passed over the heads of the Volunteers, and after all the exertions and devotion of time and money to the cause on the part of commanding officers and the members of corps, it was ridiculous that there should be a sort of independent fire kept up against it, which was unjust and unworthy of a great nation. The Volunteer service had fully acted up to its professions and obligations as far as it possibly could, on its own account. It was armed, drilled, and disciplined; and he did not think that its most unsparing critics could take exception to the manner in which it had realized those results. He asked again—How could the Volunteer service be further organized? Practising and brigading with the Regular forces was very important; but it was no advance in the way of real organization, in the strict military sense of such a term; and, as it was worked up to the extreme limit of self-realized proficiency in the necessary requirements of an unpaid armed force, there could be no actual progress made until such time when the emergency alluded to was at hand, and then it would be ready and glad to receive that complete organization which actual service in the field, and military discipline demanded; until then it could not be rendered more efficient or more organized than it was now. There was no use, therefore, in worrying the question. The Government had not the power to, what was called, organize this citizen service beyond its present condition. With respect to the intention of placing the Volunteers under the Mutiny Act, when brigaded with the Regulars and the Militia, he considered that such a step on the part of the Government would do more to break up the service than anything else. He looked upon such action as a positive insult to the whole Volunteer service; and it really seemed as if the object of the Government, together with that and other pressures, was to get rid of it altogether. If it did entertain that wish, why did it not say so at once. He had the honour to command a regiment, half of whose members were master tradesmen of the West-end of London, and he ventured to say that if the Mutiny Act was to be enforced on the occasion alluded to, one-half of his regiment would resign, and the other half would speedily follow; for it was idle to suppose that such men would, on principle, serve if they were to be placed under the Mutiny Act, and be subject to the pains and penalties which attached to the misdemeanour of a private soldier, although they would never come under the powers of the Act. He was at a loss to know why such an idea should have entered the mind of the right hon. Gentleman, especially as he must have known that a commanding officer of Volunteers had more power over insubordination than the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War put together. He could not understand why such an insult should have been contemplated when there had been no occasion for it. The discipline of the service had rarely been at fault during the 11 years of its existence; but, when it had, the commanding officer had dealt with it according to his judgment and power, by dismissing the offender at once—a power which he considered most desirable should be possessed; and he was not aware that such power had ever been abused, and that, when it was exerted, the result was approved of by the whole regiment. He also remarked that by placing the Volunteers under the Mutiny Act on any occasion in time of peace, it deprived the commanding officer of his power and authority over his men, which it was most desirable he should possess and maintain. The Government could not apply the Mutiny Act without prejudicing the service, and it could not enforce attendance at drill, and penalties without reducing the existing establishments. The commanding officer was responsible for the condition of his regiment; and he repeated that he was not aware that his power over insubordination had ever been abused, and that, when he had exerted it, the result had been generally approved of by the whole regiment—namely, the dismissal of the member from the corps. [Sir DAVID SALOMONS: Then he would join another corps.] That was fully provided for if the rules of regiments were properly attended to, in which case he could not join another corps. He remarked that one of the most important arrangements that had been made was the opportunities now offered for the instruction of the officers and sergeants. The service ought to be, and was, indebted to the Government for this; for, hitherto, the officers had no means of gaining the necessary proficiency. The officers of the Volunteer service had been continually sneered at as useless; but it was not their fault that they should be comparatively ignorant. But he thought the right hon. Gentleman might feel much gratified at the result of the attendance at the Schools of Instruction, as it proved that the metal was good, and only required to be tempered and welded into shape. He was not going into the worn out question of the capitation grant, as he considered it dead and buried; but he regretted the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State got rid of the controversy on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman decided upon what he called an extra allowance to certificated officers and sergeants, which would be equivalent to 5*s.* a-head throughout the service. Now, he made his calculations upon a false issue, and, in saying so he meant that he had based his calculations upon the completed establishment of the officers, and upon five sergeants per company, whereas, on analysis, the establishments of officers were only a little more than half complete, and there were never more than four sergeants per company; so that the result would be, supposing every officer and sergeant to receive the certificate, the extra capitation grant would not exceed 3*s.* per head. He acknowledged, however, the opportunities for instruction; but there was little or no instruction afforded to the service by the attendance at the Reviews under the military authorities—for instance, take the Brighton Review last week—the Volunteers were left entirely in the lurch as far as instruction was concerned. There was nothing done or explained to exemplify real service in the field; 26 corps were on the ground, and there was no field telegraph, or any other machinery applicable to war, which could give the slightest insight or interest to the Volunteers assembled. He said the last Brighton Review was an example of what the Government did not do when they had the opportunity, and there never was a more complete failure, as far as any interest or excitement were concerned. The first and second divisions were kept for two long hours after they had sweated up the hills above Brighton—and the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. White) knew what the character of those hills were—before there was a single shot fired. He wanted to know why that was? There was not, he felt convinced, a Volunteer who went to the Review at Brighton that day but was disgusted with the whole arrangement; for there was no instruction, and great delay. Now, it must be borne in mind that the Volunteer service had thus far fulfilled its mission, and continued to do so as far as it was possible to do of itself; and he maintained that it was an error on the part of many leading journals to expect a different state of things until necessity required it. Now, if the Volunteer service was still approved of by the country and the House, well and good; but, if not, the sooner the key-note of its dismissal was sounded through the country the better; and whatever might be the result of the blast, let there be an end of the snarlings that had been so constantly going on. He was, no doubt, in common with many other commanding officers, prepared to abide by the feeling of the country, and he was ready and willing, in common with others, to continue to devote his energies to maintain the condition of the service; or, if it was the wish of the country that the service should cease to exist, he would be equally ready to resign the trust that had been reposed in him, and consign it to oblivion.

MR. A. JOHNSTON said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would re-consider his determination to reduce the grant to Volunteers who did not make themselves extra-efficient. It would be better if, instead of confining their attention altogether to shooting, the Volunteers would practice the use of the bayonet a little.

COLONEL BERESFORD said, he wished to remind the House that in 1864, when the Volunteer force was *in extremis* for want of funds, the Government of Lord Palmerston came forward to their aid, and proposed a grant of 20*s.* for effectives, and 10*s.* for non-effectives. During the last four years the Volunteers had been compelled to go to the War Office, *in formâ pauperis,* for further assistance; and the result was, an offer from the Secretary of State for War of 5*s.* per head, to be paid on certain conditions. But this offer was hedged round with so many difficulties it was impossible to earn it. In the first place, the onus of earning it was thrown upon six men of each company of 60—namely, upon the three company officers and the three sergeants who, on obtaining certificates for a certain knowledge of drill, earned for their regiment £2 10*s.* each; in other words, 5*s.* per man for the whole 60. What, however, was the case in his (Colonel Beresford's) regiment? He had only eight company officers, in lieu of 18 he was entitled to, for his establishment of six companies; consequently, £25 could not be earned in respect of the 10 vacant commissions. Again, officers were compelled to attend every drill of the regiment they might be attached to, and a large number of officers were debarred doing so by their professional or business engagements; and though such officers were anxious to obtain certificates by attending drill twice or thrice a-week during two months, the War Office refused to allow them to do so. The Secretary of State in March, 1869, sent out forms to the commanding officers of corps requiring the particulars of expenses, under certain heads, for the previous five years. Having taken till July, in 1870, to consider the Returns, he had come forward with the offer of 5*s*. per head, in spite of the Returns obtained in the most impartial manner by a committee of metropolitan commanding officers, between three and four years ago, showing that a minimum addition of £1 per man was required. As to his own regiment, which had only been able to exist by earning nearly 100 per cent of the grant of 1864, it had, under the auspices of the War Office, been reduced in numbers from 537 to 435 in 1868, by 80 more in 1869, and on the 1st December, 1870, he had only 360 men left of all ranks, simply because he had no funds for recruiting. Recruits would not find their uniforms. The Government had laid great stress upon the effort which they were now making; but he confessed that it reminded him of the ancient line "*Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.*"

Mr. PERCY WYNDHAM said, he was of opinion that the proposition to subject Volunteers to the operation of the Mutiny Act was an extraordinary and mischievous proposition. Only two instances were known of insubordination of Volunteers under arms, which the noble Lord opposite (Viscount Bury) had previously mentioned. With all respect to Volunteers, he thought that was attributable to the fact that Volunteers had been commanded by judicious men, who knew they were dealing with half-disciplined troops and did not attempt to enforce such discipline as would be expected from Regular troops. If they attempted to enforce the Mutiny Act upon Volunteers, they would break up the force; and if they placed them under the Act and did not enforce it, that non-enforcement would have a prejudicial effect upon the Army.

Mr. NEVILLE-GRENVILLE asked for explanations of some entirely new and some greatly increased items.

Colonel BARTTELOT said, that in the last Parliament the hon. and gallant Member for Ennis (Captain Stacpoole) brought in a measure relating to little dogs in Ireland; but now he flew at higher game, he wished to abolish Volunteers in England and Scotland because he had no Volunteers in Ireland. He (Colonel Barttelot) hoped to see the system extended to Ireland, and that his hon. Friend might become captain-commandant of the Ennis corps. He (Colonel Barttelot) differed from his hon. and gallant Friend below him (Colonel C. H. Lindsay), and thought that when Volunteers were called out with the Regular troops and Militia they ought to be subjected to the same discipline as the Regular troops and the Militia. He had consulted men in the battalion of Volunteers that he had the honour to command, with reference to the application of the Mutiny Act to Volunteers, and they were of opinion that good Volunteers had nothing to fear under the Mutiny Act. Therefore, on the part of his battalion, he was prepared to submit to the law which the Government wished to impose upon Volunteers. Whether called by the name of Volunteers, or of local Militia, he believed they would all do their duty. He was not prepared to incur any expense to go into a camp of instruction. He believed that nothing would be more conducive to the efficiency of the Volunteer corps than the brigading of them for some consecutive days with the Regular troops and the Militia. But if the Volunteers were to receive camp instruction, the country, and not the Volunteers, should pay the entire cost of the camps for that purpose.

Captain STACPOOLE said, what he maintained with respect to the Volunteers was, that whenever they wore the Queen's uniform they should be under the Mutiny Act. He denied that he brought in a Dog Bill a few years ago. It was his right hon. Friend the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel), then Chief Secretary for Ireland, who brought it in.

Colonel WILMOT said, his experience of the Volunteers, as commander of one of the largest Volunteer corps in England, led him to believe they would cordially accept the Mutiny Act, if the right hon. Gentleman thought it would conduce to the efficiency of the service. He did not see, however, how it could be enforced. If, when a regiment was about to march out of camp, a man was to be sentenced to three days' confinement, were the rest of the men to be detained until the sentence was undergone? He had treated the Volunteers under his command with a strictness of discipline which he would be slow to enforce against his own company in the Line, and he had never met with an angry look from them. He had the most implicit confidence in his men, and in their disposition to observe the most perfect discipline. During the whole tenour of his command, only one man had been dismissed, and that was for falling out on the line of march. In fact, the commanding officers of Volunteers might apply to their men a discipline which no officer in the Line would enforce.

Mr. A. EGERTON said, it was his firm belief, as far as the Lancashire Volunteers were concerned, that they would not have the least objection to be placed under the Mutiny Act. The general opinion among them was that it would very much improve the character of the force. In his opinion the discipline of the Yeomanry was better than that of the Volunteers, and he attributed that simply to the fact that the Yeomanry were under the Mutiny Act. It happened from time to time that a few cases of drunkenness occurred among the Yeomanry when called out, and the offenders were locked up in the police courts. It would be perfectly easy to deal with offenders among the Volunteers in like manner. He begged to suggest that there should be two annual muster-days for the Volunteers, when all should be required to attend; as it was very desirable, both for the men themselves and their commanding officers, that the latter should be able to see the whole regiment more frequently than at present.

Mr. BUXTON observed, that the true moral of the late war seemed to be not so much that discipline was wanted, as men of noble and high spirit, and he was persuaded that in no Army that ever existed would there be found a nobler and more patriotic spirit than that which animated the Volunteers of England. There was nothing more remarkable in the history of the Volunteers than the implicit obedience which they showed to those who were placed over them. The occurrence at Windsor Bridge, a couple of years ago, was a rare exception. It had been made a great deal of; but in that case many of the men had marched eight or ten hours in exceedingly hot weather without anything to drink, or any provision being made to supply the need, and no proper arrangements had been made by the authorities to assist them in returning home from the railway station. In case of need, he had no doubt that the Volunteers would be perfectly ready to drill day and night, and to accept any restraint that might be thought necessary. They would then be a most powerful force, and would exhibit the same kind of spirit which had animated the German Army. He only regretted that the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman was so little calculated to supply the needful equipment and organization.

Lord ELCHO suggested that the discussion more properly related to matters which should be considered in dealing with the Army Regulation Bill. He had asked for the Returns of the cases of insubordination which had occurred since the commencement of the Volunteer movement, and he trusted that those Returns would be furnished before the discussion of this question, as to the placing the Volunteer force under the Mutiny Act, was gone into.

The Earl of YARMOUTH, as the officer who took the order from the General at Windsor on the occasion which had that evening been referred to, thought it but fair to state that it was the commanding officer of the corps who disobeyed the order, and not the corps itself. The commanding officer distinctly refused to obey the order; but the refusal did not come from the corps, for it was not communicated to it.

Mr. DENMAN said, they had heard a good deal from Volunteer officers respecting the application of the Mutiny Act; perhaps they might like to hear something on the subject from the privates. As a Volunteer who had served for five or six years very diligently in the ranks of the Queen's Westminsters, he thought that great mischief would result if anything were done which tended to un-volunteer the Volunteers. Under a somewhat stricter discipline, they might, no doubt, be made more efficient; but care must also be taken, that by too great strictness in the requirements the men were not driven to resign and prevented from joining. The utility of the force was not to be judged by the numbers in it at any one time, because the *personnel* was continually changing, and the movement had been the means of teaching drill to a large portion of the population, who might be no longer connected with the movement, but whose services could in moments of exigency be relied upon as a Reserve. He knew, from his own experience, that six years after the formation of the company to which he himself belonged, he was almost the only original member that was still in the ranks, though the strength and efficiency of the company had been fully maintained.

MR. LIDDELL desired to learn whether there were any regulations at the War Office providing for the periodical inspection of the arms and munitions of Volunteers; and whether the number of arms, if there were such Returns, used by Volunteers corresponded with the number originally issued, and what was their condition?

MR. HAMBRO protested against the notion that the Government were to expect to find in the Volunteers a cheap and efficient Army, and at the same time to leave the Volunteers to bear all the expense of their equipment, and other requisites.

MR. CARDWELL, in reference to the proposal to place the Volunteers under the Mutiny Act, expressed his regret that it should have been spoken of as an "insult" to them. That was never intended. Nobody had a greater respect for them and for the great sacrifices they made for their country than the Government, who fully acknowledged them; but in the case of such large bodies 30,000 men being called out, it was necessary that some sufficient powers should be placed in the hands of the general officer commanding to preserve discipline. In regard to the calling out of the privates, it must be remembered that the question to be borne in mind was, would they come. If they imposed rules that were too stringent, the effect to be feared was, that instead of inducing the Volunteers to come out, they might provoke them into resigning. With regard to the rules that would apply in the military Schools of Instruction, they had been prepared, after the greatest consideration. When hon. Members complained that the Government did not organize the Volunteers, while they were really endeavouring to organize them as far as it was in their power to do so, it should be remembered that there was no little practical difficulty in applying all their rules at once with perfect stringency to that force, and the Government must be allowed to meet that practical difficulty in a patient and a tentative but persevering manner. It had been remarked that pressure had been put upon the Volunteers; but looking at the Estimates, he found that the pressure was really an increase of £73,000 in the Vote, exclusive of £8,000 for travelling expenses, transferred to another Vote. All the Reserve force was being put under one command, and one result he hoped would be that the permanent Staff would be more useful than it had hitherto been. As to the suggestion that when called out on brigade drill every man should receive 1*s.* a-day, the proposal was one which had already been provided for in the present Estimates by taking a sum of £10,000 for the purpose.

MR. DICKINSON inquired what was allowed with respect to Shoeburyness?

MR. CARDWELL said, that 10*s.* was given to each man who went there.

MR. ACLAND said, he believed that the ordinary expense of a Volunteer going into camp for a week would be £1; and that the right hon. Gentleman was wrong in supposing that 1*s.* a-day would cover the expenses to which the officers would be put. He thought the allowance was not sufficient.

MR. DICKINSON said, it was desirable that battalion drill should not always be in one place.

MR. BATHURST vindicated the examination conducted under Lord Hinchinbrook.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £129,200, Army Reserve Force.

MR. DICKINSON asked for an explanation respecting the cost of training 9,000 men, and the principle on which they were paid. The length of service should be stated. It appeared to him that the best way would be to pay the men for the time they were out.

LORD ELCHO said, he thought that in future it would not be right to allow men to leave the Army for the Army of Reserve after three years' service only, unless it was declared that no man should enter the Army under 20 years of age, and he was also of opinion that care should be taken for providing, when a man left the Army, that there should be another man to take his place. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that means had been adopted to ascertain how many men in the Regular Army would accept the terms when offered them for joining the Reserve.

MR. CARDWELL said, that in the Bill he had framed clauses giving a power to deal with the Reserve from time to time as exigencies might require. He thought that these were matters of detail which could better be discussed on the consideration of that Bill. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Stroud (Mr. Dickinson), he observed that it was necessary for the success of a system of Reserve that the men should not be too much disturbed in their civil occupations, or they would entertain the apprehension of losing them altogether. He thought it better to pay the Reserve men by a pay of 4*d.* per day, in order that they might be in contact with the paymaster, and that the Government might really know what men they had.

Colonel BARTTELOT referred to a letter which appeared in *The Times* a few days ago signed by a commanding officer, describing the Government plan for forming an Army of Reserve, and expressing a hope that Mr. Cardwell would take warning before it was too late, or the country would get an Army of Reserve at the cost of the Regular Army.

Mr. CARDWELL put it to the House whether writing an anonymous letter was the best mode for a commanding officer, if he were one, to adopt for the purpose of making his sentiments known; and was sorry the hon. and gallant Gentleman had given encouragement to the proceeding by quoting the letter. What had been done with respect to the Army of Reserve was to send round a circular to ascertain how many men of three years' standing would be likely to join the Reserve, and the answers had been very satisfactory. He had not yet received a statistical report, but he was informed by the Adjutant General's Department that the number who had signified their willingness to join was 3,000 or 4,000.

Lord ELCHO inquired whether it was intended to let men go before efficient recruits were provided to supply their places?

Mr. CARDWELL replied that this was a question of putting the cart before the horse. He should make the vacancy before filling it up.

Vote *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

BILLS OF EXCHANGE AND PROMISSORY NOTES BILL—[Bill 91.]

(Mr. Baxter, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. MORLEY expressed a hope that the principle of the Bill would be extended so as to get rid of the three days of grace upon all bills.

Mr. CRAWFORD said, he concurred in the suggestion of his hon. Friend the Member for Bristol (Mr. Morley). He should be very glad if days of grace were done away with altogether.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, the suggestion was one of very considerable importance to the trading community, and should not be adopted without consideration and due notice being given to the public.

Mr. MUNTZ said, he concurred in the opinion expressed by the hon. Member for Bristol (Mr. Morley). It was far preferable to have one law applying to all bills than two laws for the two sets of bills.

Mr. Alderman LUSK said, he thought the proper course would be to make every bill payable at the time stated on the face of it—at sight, or 30 or 60 days —without any days of grace.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE said, he concurred with the hon. Baronet the Member for Maidstone (Sir John Lubbock), in expressing the importance of giving due notice to the public.

Mr. BAXTER observed, that the question of the abolition of all days of grace was one entirely for the House and not for the Government to decide. The Committee would be fixed for Thursday, when that subject might be considered.

Mr. MORLEY gave notice that he would move an Amendment in Committee on the Bill to the effect he had stated.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday.*

House adjourned at a quarter after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 18*th April*, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee* —*Resolutions* [April 17] *reported.*

Public Bills — *Committee* — *Report* — Citation Amendment (Scotland) (*re-comm.*) * [1].

Considered as amended — Private Chapels [37-112].

GLEBE LAND (IRELAND) ACT. QUESTION.

Mr. STACPOOLE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If there is any intention on the part of the Government to introduce any measure to amend the Glebe Land (Ireland) Act of last Session?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, in reply, that a Bill for this object had been prepared by the Irish Board of Works; but it would have to receive the sanction of the Treasury before it could be introduced. Subject to that sanction being obtained, he believed that it was the intention of the Board of Works to press the Bill during the present Session.

KHIVA—CONCENTRAION OF RUSSIAN TROOPS.—QUESTION.

Mr. EASTWICK asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received information of any movement or concentration of Russian troops destined to act against Khiva; and whether there is reason to suppose that only a temporary occupation is intended, or a permanent conquest?

Viscount ENFIELD: Sir, the only information Her Majesty's Government have on the subject alluded to by the hon. Gentleman is contained in a despatch from Mr. Consul General Abbott, from Odessa, under date March 27. That gentleman sends an extract from the *Odessa Messenger* of that day, announcing as a rumour from Orenburg that a force of five detachments would enter the Steppes of Orenburg at the end of March or beginning of April, and would afterwards go on a reconnaissance to the Sea of Aral.

ARMY—THE VOLUNTEERS. QUESTION.

Mr. EASTWICK asked the Secretary of State for War, with reference to the large Military Camp which it has been intimated to officers commanding Volunteers Corps is proposed to be formed in Hampshire in September next, Whether the Volunteers attending that Camp will have their travelling or any other expenses paid?

Mr. CARDWELL replied, that the Artillery Volunteers who went into camp at Shoeburyness had allowances made to them; and it was intended to give an allowance to the Volunteers who went into the camp of instruction to be formed in Hampshire; but the precise amount had not yet been determined.

IRELAND—WESTMEATH, &c. UNLAWFUL COMBINATIONS.—QUESTION.

Mr. GATHORNE HARDY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he intends to propose any legislative measures with a view to remedy the evils stated by the Select Committee to exist in Westmeath and parts of the adjoining counties?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the Report and Evidence in the case of Westmeath was only circulated yesterday, and certainly it has not been in my power at the present moment, nor in that of my Colleagues, to pay that degree of attention which the Report requires, so as to enable us to pass a final judgment upon the state of facts which it discloses. At the same time, I quite agree in what I consider to be the animus of the Question of the right hon. Gentleman, that it is not desirable that time should be lost in a matter of this description, and we shall certainly lose none. Very shortly I shall announce the intention of the Government.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE.—QUESTION.

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he has any objection to the introduction into the Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes Bill of a Clause providing that bills and notes falling due upon Christmas Day, Good Friday, and Sundays shall be payable upon the day following, instead of upon the day before such days as at present, in conformity with the Bank Holidays Bill, recently passed through this House, which provides that all Bills falling due on the new Bank Holidays shall be payable on the day following such holidays?

Mr. BAXTER said, he considered it would be very objectionable to introduce such a clause as the hon. and learned Gentleman referred to into the Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes Bill now before the House.

ARMY—REGIMENTS WITH MUZZLE-LOADERS.—QUESTION.

Colonel NORTH asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If any answer has been received to the Telegram relative to the number of regiments of the Queen's Army in possession of muzzle-loaders on the 1st October last; and, if so, when the Report will be laid upon the Table of the House?

Mr. GRANT DUFF, in reply, said, that no answer had yet been received to the telegram relative to the number of regiments of the Queen's Army in possession of muzzle-loaders on the 1st of October last. As soon as the Report on the subject was in the hands of the Indian Department it would be laid on the Table.

THE NEW FOREST.—QUESTION.

Sir HARRY VERNEY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the report is true that within the last five years a great quantity of the finest beech and oak trees in the New Forest have been cut down, that much of the wood has been sold for firewood; and, whether the Government will take measures to prevent any further destruction of the timber in the Forest until the question has been discussed in Parliament?

Mr. BAXTER: Sir, I am informed that oak and beech trees have been cut down to some extent in the New Forest during the last five years; but wherever it has been found possible to do so without too great a sacrifice, the most ornamental timber has always been left standing. None of the wood has been sold for firewood except the smaller branches and such defective trees as were not adapted for any other purpose. At present it is only in contemplation to fell a very small quantity of timber—not more than is necessary for the proper management of the property in compliance with the Acts of Parliament.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA (PUBLIC WORKS).—RESOLUTION.

Mr. WHATMAN rose to call the attention of the House to the way in which money has been and is raised for Public Works in British North America, especially for railways in Canada, and to move, That it is desirable, in order to put an end to misunderstanding, to define clearly the responsibility attaching to such undertakings. The hon. Member said, he did not wish or intend to cast any doubt on the sincere intentions of the Canadians to carry out honestly and properly all their engagements with respect to these public works; but, looking to the great importance of these undertakings, the amount of capital involved, and, still more, considering what had happened as to one of these large undertakings, it did appear very desirable that we should ascertain what was the responsibility attaching to them. In 1849 the Canadian Legislature began to give great encouragements to the introduction of railroads, and enacted that capital might be provided by the Province to the extent of one-half of the cost, with Government Directors on the Boards of Management, in proportion to the amount of the provincial guarantee. Several lines of railway were thus made, and to consolidate some of the most important into one system, the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada was proposed in 1853, and was put forward as a great provincial work, much more than a local work. It was proposed and submitted to the Colonial Secretary in connection with what was then called the Intercolonial Railway. The object was to connect Canada with the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia down to Halifax; and it was now proposed to carry the line from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was to be commenced with a capital of about £9,000,000. About one-third was guaranteed by the Province, and most of the capital was raised in England. Notwithstanding the apparent certainty of carrying out the undertaking for the amount stated, in the course of the very next year, 1854, an Act was passed to allow an increase of capital, but the increase allowed was indefinite, and required the consent of each bondholder in writing; in 1855 another Act was passed adding to the contribution of the Province the sum of £900,000; and in the following year the Company appeared to be still more in want of assistance. Accordingly another Act was passed raising the contribution of the Province to £2,380,500. In 1856 another Act was passed for the further relief of the Company, and placing further funds at their disposal in this way. The Province gave up their mortgage upon the receipts of the Company to the extent of £2,000,000 of their bonds, and very speedily after that, in order to obtain extra capital, other bonds were issued by the Company in lieu of those bonds of the Province, so that the £2,000,000 which were released enabled them to raise £2,000,000 more. In the following year, 1857, another Act was passed, which dispensed with the Government directors in this line, leaving it entirely to the 12 elected directors. In 1858 another Act was passed, the effect of which was to give up the remaining fraction of the provincial guarantee, making the whole sum which the Province gave up for the benefit of this undertaking £3,111,500. A clause in the last-named Act required the assent of two-thirds of the directors to the increase of capital; but the clause did not as before require that that consent should be obtained in writing from those bondholders who would be hereafter prejudiced by such extension of capital, and they had no notice of any intention to seek such an important change in the law, although they were apprized in various ways of the earlier and other changes. All these things only showed how desirable it was that there should be in other countries some one who would discharge the functions which were performed in this country by Lord Redesdale, who would never have sanctioned the passing in England of such an Act as that last named, which placed the capital of the subscribers to the original undertaking at the discretion of the directors. After the passing of this Act various means were resorted to in order to raise further capital, but with very small success indeed in England. From the first the ordinary stock and shares afforded sufficient security for the interest becoming due on bonds and debentures; but soon after the passing of the Act of 1858 the directors offered to convert share capital into 7 per cent debentures, on condition of subscription for an equal amount of 7 per cent debentures in addition, thus increasing the mortgage or bond debt whilst diminishing the security for it. This appeared a very unusual proceeding. It appeared to be so very extraordinary that very shortly afterwards another circular, still further explaining this offer, and making it still more clear, was issued. Subsequent reports of the Company refer to this issue, to the cancelment of the original stock, and the substitution of preference stock for it in the shape of these debentures, and the operation is stated to have been perfectly successful. It did seem to be rather extraordinary that any directors should boast of such an operation as that being successful. He should think that it was one they ought not to be willing to boast of. In the spring of the following year, 1860, further money was required to carry on this undertaking, and another offer was made to raise £1,500,000 without "interfering with the existing preferential rights of the bondholders of all classes," and stating that the traffic receipts of the line were calculated to be sufficient to pay the working expenses and the interest on this new second preference capital as well as on the first preference. Now, these were important words. In the month of July it appeared to have been discovered that a very small amount of money had been advanced on these terms; that was to say, there was so little confidence in the undertaking at that time that capitalists were not inclined to risk more money; and therefore shortly after that—namely, on the 27th October, 1860, there was an extraordinary announcement in a report by the directors to the shareholders, that the London directors had recently received from Canada the accounts made up to 30th June, and availed themselves of this opportunity to make known to the shareholders and to the bondholders the exact state of the Company's finances, which proved the distressing fact of the impossibility of paying the interest on the second preference bonds, which became due on the 1st of October, notwithstanding the large amounts which had been made in the early part of that year. The report went on to state that, in order to save the Company from further loss, Messrs. Baring Brothers, and Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co. had obtained a judgment against the Company, and were consequently invested with the power of seizing the rolling stock. This measure, it was alleged, had been adopted for the benefit of all the present creditors, and for the protection of the Company's interests. At the time the accounts were rendered in October, 1860, a sum of about £2,000,000 was due to the financial agents alone of the Company in this country, which was a very considerable amount. And here he would remark that the financial agents were among the original directors who issued the prospectus, and they were also the financial agents of the Province. It was most unusual for the same persons to be connected with an undertaking of this kind in these different ways. He did not mention this circumstance, however, in order to disparage in any way these gentlemen, who were of high standing in the commercial world; but he simply stated the extraordinary fact, as it might, to a certain extent, account for so large a debt being due to the financial agents. The report showed that notwithstanding all the additional capital which had been raised the company was utterly insolvent, and consequently a Commission was appointed by the Government to inquire into the condition of its affairs. Various disclosures were made, and it was only fair to state that the directors themselves, in the same month, immediately suggested that some competent person should be sent out to inquire into the Company's affairs and the conduct of the undertaking. The gentleman selected to make the investigation in Canada was formerly a Member of that House, the present Sir Edward Watkin. Sir Edward succeeded, to a considerable extent, in ameliorating the condition of the Company. He was afterwards made Chairman of the Company in England, and continued in that office for some years. The Commission pointed out many defects in the accounts, and brought to light other faults; but, according to the Report, there must have been very grievous extravagance, for otherwise it would be almost impossible to account for the large increase of the capital beyond the limit originally proposed. It was true there had been some extensions in the line of railway, the original length being 1,112 miles, whereas it was now 1,377 miles; but the capital, which was originally limited to £9,500,000, was now advanced to £19,500,000. As there had been such an enormous increase by means of preference shares and debentures without any corresponding increase in the traffic, all the original capital might be regarded as completely lost. Shortly after this distressing year, 1860, another Act was brought into the Canadian House of Parliament and was passed, making an arrangement with the various descriptions of creditors for the term of 10 years. This Act was passed in 1862, and would expire next year. The prospects of those unfortunate subscribers, shareholders, and bondholders who trusted to the safety and security of this undertaking, would, according to all probability, be still further sacrificed; and he might mention as one result of what had been done in the way of issuing preferential securities, that the whole of the original bonds of the Company began in England, and were supposed to be well secured. In 1860, in consequence of the enormous increase of these obligations, it was discovered that there was no security at all. The consequence was that these bonds had ceased to be regarded as bonds, and instead of being bonds they were then called stock. During these 10 years nearly the whole of the demands had been paid in paper, a circumstance which would partly account for the rapid increase of the capital. Well, he now came to this point, which was the main object of his Motion—namely, to ask who was responsible for this undertaking. The scheme was put forward under the best auspices, and was offered to the public in the most favourable way, and yet, when either from neglect or some other cause the whole affair turned out a failure, no one appeared to be responsible for it. It was said that the sufferers by the undertaking had no legal remedy, because there was no one on whom legal liability could be fixed, and that the difficulty was increased because two Governments were concerned. This might be very true; but he would ask whether, in an undertaking of this kind, to which the public was asked to subscribe apparently on good security, it was right or politic that such a course should be pursued as that which had been taken in the present instance? He, for one, thought not, and he begged therefore to move his Resolution, and he wished, in conclusion, to ask the Government whether the first directors of the Grand Trunk Railway Company or the Canadian Government were responsible for the prospectus which had been issued in 1853.

COLONEL FRENCH seconded the Motion—

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it is desirable, in order to put an end to misunderstanding, to define clearly the responsibility attaching to such undertakings as Railways and Public Works in British North America."—(*Mr. Whatman.*)

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN had seen with some regret the Motion which his hon. Friend (Mr. Whatman) had put upon the Paper. If his hon. Friend had confined himself to a general statement he should have told him that abstract Resolutions, unless they pointed to some definite course, were not of much practical value, but he should have agreed with him in the opinion that it was desirable to prevent misunderstandings wherever it was possible to do so. But the hon. Gentleman had gone into a history of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, and asked who was responsible for certain undertakings which, not having been so successful as the projectors thought they would be, had involved those who embarked in them in pecuniary misfortune. The proper person to answer that question was the hon. Gentleman's legal adviser. If promises were held out by directors with a fraudulent intent, or if there was a wilful concealment of facts in the prospectus, the persons who had been guilty of such conduct would be liable at law for the consequences whether the undertaking was in Canada or in this country. But there was a great difference between a statement made with intent to deceive and a statement made *bonâ fide*, but which might deceive a certain portion of the public, and by which the promoters themselves might be deceived. Here was an undertaking which commenced well, in which everyone believed, and which probably would be of great importance in developing the resources of Canada, but which was perhaps undertaken too soon and too expensively. The commotion that took place in Europe and the Civil War which desolated America after its establishment exercised upon it a deleterious effect, but the Government were not in any way responsible, either for its existence or for its misfortunes. In a matter exclusively affecting local interests, the Colonial Secretary could not interfere, and Lord Elgin's despatch, which had been referred to as showing that blame attached to the Canadian Government, and which was printed in the prospectus, was not written with reference to this undertaking, but was a general review of the circumstances and condition of Canada, written by Lord Elgin to his official superior at home. Lord Elgin was a very sanguine man, and had formed a high opinion of the future of Canada, and in the despatch he incidentally alluded to certain great public works, including this railway; but in this very despatch he strictly defined the responsibility of the Canadian Government in regard to it, stating that they were to advance one-half of the capital, and that the whole resources of the Company were to be pledged to them for the redemption of the loan with interest; and the Canadian Government had kept perfect faith. They had acted not only up to the spirit of their undertaking, but had gone a great deal further; for when the Company got into difficulties, they first postponed their claim upon the railway, and ultimately remitted practically the whole of it. In principal and interest they had contributed no less than from £5,000,000 to £6,000,000 sterling, according to the published accounts of the Dominion; and therefore it was, he thought, hardly fair to cast any reproach on the good faith of the Canadian Government, who had, in his opinion, and he had read all the papers, carefully done all that they could do in reference to the undertaking. Canada was a young country, very jealous of her good faith being questioned, and he could not hear her good faith even inferentially called in question, without giving to any such statement a prompt and explicit contradiction. [Mr. WHATMAN said, he had guarded himself carefully against making any charge of bad faith against Canada.] The hon. Gentleman's manner of acquitting Canada reminded him of the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, who found a prisoner not guilty, but warned him not to do it again. He now came to the directors, to whom his hon. Friend also imputed blame in connection with the transaction, and who, he would ask were they? Why, men like the Messrs. Baring, Glyn, and Kirkman Hodgson, whose names stood so high in the commercial world, and who had done everything in their power for the undertaking in the most honest and honourable manner. Taking up the history of the railway where his hon. Friend had left off—that was to say, in 1862, he found that so far from the reduction of interest and other things complained of having been forced down the throat of the shareholders, the fact was that the Company then petitioned the Canadian Parliament for an Arrangement Bill, which was passed at their request. Their petition was made subject to the approval of the shareholders, and at a special meeting in August of that year it was accepted by a vote of 1,311 proprietors against 19, the former representing £3,788,600 and the latter only £48,485. His hon. Friend spoke of the directors holding certain debts, but the directors never concealed the condition of the Company in 1860-2, and moreover they held ample security which they could have realized and paid themselves. They, however, preferred the interest of the undertaking to their own, and actually gave up those securities in order that the Company might be in a position to obtain money on them to complete its works. This was not only honest conduct, it was disinterested and magnanimous, and that it was so considered would appear from a Resolution carried by acclamation at a special meeting of the shareholders on the 11th of June, 1863—

> "That the cordial acknowledgment of the bond and shareholders of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada be offered to Messrs. Baring Brothers, Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., and Mr. Kirkman D. Hodgson, and other English secured creditors for their liberality in giving up to the Company securities of the nominal value of £500,000, which they might have sold for their own benefit prior to the Arrangement Act, but which are now available to meet the further outlay on capital account, thereby relieving the net revenue from undue pressure, and materially assisting the restoration of the credit and stability of the whole undertaking."

Now, he had no wish to say anything unkind of his hon. Friend, but he could not help regarding him as being in the position of a man who happened to have made an unfortunate investment, and who, not unnaturally, looked about for a scapegoat. He regretted the investment had not turned out to be a good one; but the fact was that everybody connected with it had suffered as well as his hon. Friend to whom, perhaps, what had occurred would be a lesson to be more cautious in future, and might thus, in the end, redound to his pecuniary advantage. When a man made an investment and it turned out well he congratulated himself on his sagacity, but when his investment proved unfortunate he was likely to look around to see whom to blame. At one time everyone believed in the success of this undertaking, but all parties concerned had suffered, and he advised his hon. Friend to console himself by the belief that the dealings of the Company had been characterized by honour and honesty. His hon. Friend wished to know whether the present directors were responsible, or who was responsible, but he (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) could not undertake to define clearly anyone's responsibility in this matter. He did not think it was possible to show any *mala fides.* He did not think that this was a matter for the Colonial Office, for the House, or for the Government. He did not think the Motion would be attended by any practical result, and he could not give his hon. Friend any hope that where persons had subscribed to unsuccessful undertakings Parliament could apply a remedy.

Mr. KIRKMAN HODGSON observed, that if the affairs of the Grand Trunk Railway had been mismanaged, complaint might be made to the shareholders, and if there was anything more than mismanagement, the matter could be brought before a jury in a Court of Justice. The hon. Gentleman had been challenged to take either of those courses. Whether it was a justifiable use of the privilege of the House to bring private matters of this description under its consideration must be left to the judgment of the House. About five years ago the hon. Gentleman had brought forward this question, and was answered by his hon. Friend the Member for Huntingdon (Mr. T. Baring.) The hon. Gentleman was biting against a file, and would find the result the same as in the case of the first who tried that experiment.

Mr. WHATMAN, in reply, disclaimed all wish to impute anything like fraudulent intention to the directors who signed the prospectus, or to throw any doubt on the good faith of the Canadian

Government, who had, he thought, behaved very handsomely in giving up the £3,000,000 which formed a first charge on the undertaking. He complained principally of acts that had taken place since. Owing to the two bodies who directed the affairs of the Company, there was no possibility of getting redress at law, and it was useless to bring the question before the shareholders on account of the large proportion of the capital held by preference bondholders. After the discussion which had taken place, he would, with the permission of the House, withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

PENSIONS COMMUTATION.

RESOLUTION.

MR. MONK rose to call the attention of the House to the privilege of Commuting Pensions being confined exclusively to the War and Admiralty Departments, under the provisions of the "Pensions Commutation Act, 1869;" and to move, That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to extend the provisions of "The Pensions Commutation Act, 1869," to all the Departments of the Civil Service. The hon. Gentleman said, the subject was one which lay within a very small compass, and he hoped to be able to show that a more reasonable or moderate application had never been made than that which he was authorized to submit to the Government on behalf of the Civil servants of the Crown generally. The Act of 1869 was passed to enable the Government to purchase the half-pay of officers in the Army and Navy, and the pensions of clerks in the War and Admiralty Departments, and it passed through all its stages in both Houses without comment. So much confidence was reposed in the wisdom and kindly disposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the other right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stansfeld) who introduced it. Its object was to alleviate the hardships that might be entailed in consequence of the reductions then contemplated, and which had already taken place in those Establishments. That Act had given great satisfaction, not only to the clerks who had availed themselves of its provisions, but also to the Government and the public generally. According to the Return for which he had moved, it appeared that no fewer than 99 pensions had been commuted within the year in the Admiralty Department, amounting in the gross to £16,128, while 22 pensions in the War Department had been commuted for £4,653—showing that the operation of the Act had been most successful as far as it had gone. The Petitions which he had presented to the House prayed that the Act might be made to apply to the other Departments of the Civil Service, and he could not imagine what argument would be used to show that compliance with that prayer was undesirable. The Act was a great boon to those to whom it applied; but it was a boon which cost the country nothing. He would be able further to show that its extension would not only cost the country nothing, but that it would be a positive gain to the country and the Exchequer. It was well known that the Government did a considerable amount of business in selling annuities to the general public. The tables presented on the subject, sanctioned by Government authority, showed that the Government charged a much higher price for the purchase of annuities than it gave to their ex-officials when it purchased their pensions or retiring allowances. As for example, the sum offered by the Treasury for each annuity of £100, if the age of the pensioner was 25 years, was £1,485 3*s.* 10*d*; whereas the sum required by the Government for the sale of an annuity of £100 was £1,926 13*s.* 4*d.*, so that by the double transaction the Government gained no less than £441 9*s.* 6*d.* It might, however, be said, that few clerks retired at so early an age, and assuming that to be true—although under the new re-organization scheme in the Customs, which came into operation on the 1st instant, many were retired who were under 25 years old—he would take the figures at the age of 35 years, when the Government offered £1,403 8*s.* 10*d.* in commutation of a pension of £100 per annum, but required £1,781 13*s.* 4*d.* for the purchase of an annuity of a like amount, thus making a profit of £378 4*s.* 6*d.* by the two transactions. At the age of 45 years the gain would be £296 5*s.*, and at 55 years £205 9*s.* 8*d.* Under these circumstances, it would only seem to be necessary to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to extend the provisions of the Act to the Civil Service generally; but, in addition, he desired to show his right hon. Friend that the present was not an inopportune moment for bringing forward this subject. In consequence of the alteration made last year in the collection of the assessed taxes a considerable number of surveyors of taxes were compulsorily retired on pensions, and the memorials which they had addressed to the Government showed that they were anxious to be allowed to commute their pensions, in order that they might receive such a lump sum of money as would enable them either to engage in business at home or to emigrate. On the 1st of this month a large scheme of re-organization came into operation in the Customs Department, in consequence of which about 10 days ago 56 clerks were obliged to retire, and before the 1st July next the number would be swelled to 130. Those clerks were generally young men, several of them being under 22 or 23 years of age, and the pensions they would receive were so small as to be of no use to them in after life. In some cases the amount was only £16 per annum, in many cases from £20 to £30, and but few of the 56 clerks who had already retired would receive more than £40 a-year. It was a very moderate request that they made to be allowed to commute such pensions, and as the Act, so far as it applied, had met with the approval of the Civil Service generally, he asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enlarge its operation. When he made a similar request last Session the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stansfeld) said that as the Act was an experiment it was purposely restricted, and he added that the Government thought it advisable to wait and see how the Act worked in the two great Departments to which it was confined, before extending its provisions to the Civil Service generally. The Act had now been in operation since July, 1869, yet when he asked, a month ago, whether such an extension was to be effected, he was somewhat curtly answered by the Secretary to the Treasury that no such step was in contemplation. He wanted to know why? because the only difference in the cases was that the clerks in the Admiralty and War Departments were much better paid than those in the Customs. If the experiment had failed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would, perhaps, oblige the House with a statement as to the manner in which the Act had worked, and in what respect it had failed; if not, he trusted he would extend the system to the whole Civil Service by a supplementary Act. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

Mr. Alderman LUSK, in seconding the Motion, entreated of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to view with the most tender consideration the claims of a number of young men who had given the best years of their lives to the service of the Government with the expectation that they would be allowed to rise to the higher grades, and thus secure a competency for old age. He suggested to his right hon. Friend that it would be only fair, if reductions in one Department of the Government were considered necessary, to transfer the services of their clerks to another Department, rather than to compel them, at a comparatively early age, to retire, unless they wished to do so, upon a pension so small as to be utterly useless for any purposes of advancement, and they would then do the work of supernumeraries, as in the War Office, where a Vote of £30,000 was asked in this year's Estimates for redundant clerks. His hon. Friend, in the Motion he had made, asked for nothing unreasonable; his proposal was not opposed to economy; no fresh demand was made on the public purse. He (Mr. Alderman Lusk) thought that the Government ought to look at all the Departments under them as one, and not to make one law for the Admiralty and War Office, and another for the Civil Service of the Crown.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to extend the provisions of 'The Pensions Commutation Act, 1869,' to all the Departments of the Civil Service."—(*Mr. Monk.*)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, his hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury (Mr. Alderman Lusk) would excuse him pointing out the fact that the remedy which he prescribed for the difficulties in the Civil Service would not work—namely, that of transferring the surplus clerks from one Department to another, inasmuch as they were all overmanned. That, however, was a difficulty which he apprehended would gradually disappear, because he believed it was one that had had some connection with the system of patronage, which was now done away with. Therefore, for the future he did not apprehend there would be any wish manifested to have more clerks in any Department than were really wanted. On the retirement of clerks it was frequently found that writers, who worked much more cheaply than clerks, could fill their places; it was therefore not the fault of the Government that work was not found for all the clerks at command. Since the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) had placed this Motion on the Paper, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had carefully considered the matter involved in it; and he thought he should be able to show to him that the Government had not been far wrong in the course they had pursued. The system referred to had only been in working order about two months over the year, and it was one in which a large amount of the public money was at stake. It was originally established for the benefit of officers of the Army and Navy Departments, because they were the two Departments in which the reductions were most sweeping. The Government refused at the time to go further because they did not know how it would work, and they wished to have some experience as to its operation. Now, there were some very philanthropic persons who wished to do a great many good things at once; but the Government were often obliged to step in in order to control their beneficent desires. The salaries of the two Departments—the War Office and Admiralty—to which the Act applied, amounted to £124,000—a large sum in itself to deal with; but the salaries of the officers of the Civil Service generally would amount to double that sum. Therefore, it was a very serious question which was involved in the Motion of his hon. Friend, and the Government must be excused if they were not in a hurry to deal with it. The case, as he had before observed, had been carefully considered, and he was quite ready to meet his hon. Friend as far as he could. The House was aware that there were three ways, and only three, of obtaining pensions under the Superannuation Act by the Civil servants. One was the production of a medical certificate of continuous ill-health; the second was the fact of the claimant being upwards of 60 years of age; and the third was the abolition of the office in which the claimant was employed. Out of 350 applications for commutation, 100 of which had been granted, there were only two who applied on the ground of being upwards of 60 years of age, or under a medical certificate of ill-health. It was desirable that persons of ill-health, or in the decline of life, should not dispose of their pensions, because the original object in granting pensions was that persons who had held positions in the public service should not be reduced to poverty. He thought it would be wrong if they went too far in the first instance in restricting this privilege of commuting pensions by persons over 60 years of age, and persons retiring on medical certificates. Nine out of every ten had better not commute them, because it secured to them a certainty. The public should never forget that it was not for their interest to purchase annuities on such persons' lives. Now, what he proposed, and what he hoped would meet with the acceptance of the hon. Member for Gloucester, was that they should restrict the commutation of pensions to one class of pensioners only—namely, those who received pensions on account of the abolition of the office they held, and that they should extend that principle to the whole Civil Service. He thought, on the whole, that would be a fair and reasonable compromise. It was one that did not suggest itself to the experienced gentlemen who originally considered that subject; but it had been recommended by recent experience. He proposed to take away the privilege which had been given to the Army and Navy as far as regarded pensions on retirement after 60 years of age, and upon a medical certificate, were concerned, and to put them on the same footing as the others. No injustice, he believed, would be done by that; and they would thus get a uniform and, he hoped, a satisfactory system. It would be much better for young men, instead of lounging about here, perhaps, in idleness, on small yearly pensions, they should be able to realize a lump sum of money at once, and go and seek their fortunes elsewhere, and thus perhaps lay the nucleus of a prosperous and successful career.

Mr. MONK said, he thought the offer of his right hon. Friend who had just sat down was a most reasonable one; and he was most thankful, on behalf of the Civil Service generally, to accept the proposed compromise. He could only hope that the Bill promised by his right hon. Friend would be brought in and passed into law as soon as possible.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

POST OFFICE—SUNDAY LABOUR.

RESOLUTION.

Mr. C. REED rose, pursuant to Notice, to move—

> "That the employment by the State of upwards of twenty thousand persons in the department of the Post Office on the Sabbath Day, is not justified by any public necessity; and that, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the exemption from Sunday labour enjoyed by the Letter-carriers of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast, and one hundred and fourteen other Post Towns, should be extended to all Letter-carriers and Rural Messengers throughout the United Kingdom."

The hon. Member presented Petitions signed by 16,800 persons in favour of his Motion, and said: Mr. Speaker—Sir, in introducing this question I can assure the House that I am not about to open up a discussion upon Sabbath observance. No reference will be made by me to scriptural warrant, or to religious duties. I content myself with simply asserting a general recognition of a day of rest, and I challenge the opinion of the House as to its universal obligation. My object is not to enforce obedience to legislative enactment, but to secure liberty of action, and while I recognize value in such legislation so far as it has had its foundations laid in obedience to the will of God, I plead only a great and growing desire in the country that one day in seven should be set apart for rest. My claim is that, however men may employ the opportunity, they should be at liberty to cease from ordinary daily toil; for, apart from religious considerations, I affirm it to be necessary for the health and happiness of every human being. In saying this, it must at once be admitted that the rule has its exception. The policeman must not leave his beat, the sentry must keep his guard, the mariner must navigate the ship, and the coastguard must remain at his post of observation. Clearly, these are works of necessity, and, happily for these men, provision is made, by alternate service, to lighten the stress of the labour; but the duty of the carrier of letters is a constant one, and, as I believe, as a rule unnecessary. As a class, these men are admitted to be meritorious and respectable; they are selected men, chosen for their intelligence, sobriety, and honesty; and I put it to the House whether, being so trustworthy, they are not deserving of great consideration? It is very generally known that these public servants have their grievance, as who has not? I observe the Postmaster General smiles; but the right hon. Gentleman is newly arrived at his Office, and he will become enlightened by-and-by. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Postmaster General congratulate each other and the House on the flourishing condition of the Department, they ought to be aware—if, indeed, they do not know—of the soreness, irritation, and discontent prevailing in it. I can only state my belief, upon undoubted evidence, that the men of our Post Office are about the hardest worked and worst paid of any of the servants of the Crown, and I say this with great regret, because it is not a creditable state of things in a country like this. In reference to the remuneration of the men, I have, of course, little to do. It is a question of contract, and rests with the Department; but that superior men should be employed to walk from 18 to 25 miles a-day, for seven days in the week, for the miserable stipend of 12*s.* to 18*s.*, is not justifiable. I gather, from authorized statements in letters from postmasters and carriers of letters received last year, when I first gave Notice of this Motion, what, in the main, the complaints are. In substance, they are these—

> "Sunday work is the greatest grievance. The men have to deliver on the journey out, and to collect on return, with a lodging to provide during the interval.
>
> "Duties.—Very laborious, the roads usually being in bad order. The men have to make their way over fields, through bogs, down lanes of mud. Only have Christmas boxes, and these the authorities consider as part of their salary.
>
> "Wages.—Various, according to distance to be travelled over daily; also varying as to the locality, &c. The scale seems to be adjusted by the rate of wage among the agricultural labourers of the district.
>
> "6*s.*, 8*s.*, 10*s.*, and 14*s.* may be looked on as the full extent of the range; and the wage may

be any amount between these sums, especially of the lower sums.

"No increment—no promotion—no sick pay—no uniform, only the leather letter-bags to keep the letters dry—no annual holidays; and occasionally perhaps a very small superannuation (say 2*s.* 6*d.* weekly) at 60 years of age.

"On entering service underwent medical and arithmetical examination—gave guarantees, securities, and history of past life of self and family.

"Have calculated some deliver letters weekly to the value of £5 or £6 to General Post Office; for this get 12*s.* or 13*s.* Good profit.

"Daily Mileage.—16, 18, 20, to 25 miles; in some cases 170 miles weekly.

"Work much increasing daily, and has been for some time past.

"Complain bitterly everywhere.

"Have petitioned frequently without effect."

Sir, these things ought to be mentioned in this House, because petitioning the Department is of little use. The Brighton men have petitioned, and a visit from the surveyor was the result, with threats of dismissal upon repetition of the offence. Bristol petitioned, and the men were curtly told that they might leave as soon as they pleased; and Birmingham fared no better, the memorialists being informed that plenty of men were to be had at the price, and that the Postmaster General would not sanction any alterations. In fact, all over the land this high functionary of St. Martin's-le-Grand—known familiarly as the "P. M. G. of the G. P. O."—is held up as a terror to the *employés;* but I am sure this House will agree with me that so soon as the amiable qualities of the present holder of that office are known as we know them, he will only be "a terror to evil-doers, but a praise to those who do well." The greatest hardship of all, however, is that of Sunday labour. The men hold, and I think justly, that the Sunday belongs to them by right—that is, by Act of Parliament—and that the circumstances under which the boon granted has been lost to them, make the deprivation under which they suffer a peculiar hardship. In 1850, Lord Ashley in this House carried an Address to the Crown, praying that no delivery or collection of letters should take place on Sunday. I quote the words—

"That Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that the collection and delivery of letters should, in future, entirely cease on Sunday in all parts of the kingdom:—And, also, that Her Majesty would cause an inquiry to be made as to how far, without injury to the public service, the transmission of the Mails on the Lord's Day might be diminished, or entirely suspended."

This was carried; the inquiry was instituted; and Her Majesty's Gracious Answer was received directing that Sunday labour should cease. And what happened. The change was made so suddenly as to prove inconvenient. Noble Lords complained that they could not get their letters, farmers that they could not receive their newspapers, and the Press generally pronounced the decision in the public interest to be hasty and cruel; and without doubt it was too sweeping a measure. Under these circumstances it was that within three months the question was again raised in the House, and, under the pressure of public excitement, an Address was agreed—

"Referring it to a Commission to inquire and report, whether the amount of Sunday labour in the Post Office might not be reduced without completely putting an end to the collection and delivery of Letters, &c. on the Sunday."

Now, Sir, the House must recollect that at this date there was no 1*s.* telegram, and no second delivery in towns, communication in case of emergency was costly and uncertain, and for these reasons the House reversed its decision of the previous May, though it clearly held by its intention that public opinion should, as far as possible, be regarded. Before the Commission reported in August the House was up, and there was no opportunity to review its recommendation, which was in these words—

"That in retaining a Sunday delivery of letters in a rural district, the Postmaster General be guided by the prevalent feeling of the locality; and that where the prevalent feeling of the district is opposed to such delivery, the Postmaster General, after satisfying himself of the fact, take the requisite steps for suspending it."

The Marquess of Clanricarde, the Postmaster General, forthwith issued a regulation that—

"Whenever the discontinuance of a rural post on Sundays is requested by a memorial signed by the receivers of six-sevenths of the Sunday letters, such post shall be withdrawn; and further, that on a similar memorial, requesting that the rural messenger shall make a delivery only, he shall be released from the duty of making a collection of letters on that day."

Where his Lordship lighted upon this ingenious contrivance I do not know; but it appears to me to be one of those patent self-adjusting devices by which Government seeks too often to shift its own responsibility on to the shoulders of the public. However this may be, the six-sevenths test was adopted, and no one was found to challenge its fairness.

Prior to 1850, 409 post towns had decided the question in favour of the postman, and under the new rule efforts were made so successfully that in very many cases nearly the whole population signed the memorial, and yet the regulation operated so unfairly that a few persons could counteract the "prevalent feeling of a locality," if they only received letters enough to do so. The regulation was rendered more stringent by a new provision to this effect—

> "The petition must be signed by the persons who receive on seven Sundays six-sevenths of all the letters at the office for those Sundays. The letters for the persons who have signed the petition and the letters for those who have not signed it are counted on two Sundays."

Sir, in this House we are accustomed to deal with majorities, and the people understand the meaning of "large proportions," but they did not see the justice of this new-fangled scheme. Nor was this the only impediment. Parliament meant to say, "let the people decide for themselves," and the postman, very naturally interested in his own appeal, canvassed his district for signatures. Being a general favourite, he usually succeeded; so much so, in fact, that town after town yielded to the force of his appeal, until the result grew formidable, and an official check was thought desirable. I must explain to the House how this delicate operation was performed. A person who signed the request did so in these words—"I request that my letters and newspapers may not be delivered on Sunday until further notice." The next post brought him an official "warning in these terms"—

> "Before acting on your request it may be desirable that I should remind you that such a request must remain in force for not less than three months, and cannot then be cancelled without a week's notice, and while it remains in force no letters will be delivered either to yourself or to any messenger sent by you to the Post Office, and that no exception can be made as regards letters marked 'immediate,' or having on the address, special injunction for prompt delivery. If after this you think fit to sign the enclosed, &c., &c."

And what was "the enclosed?" Why it was this—"I make this request with the full knowledge of the conditions, &c." No doubt, some hon. Member may say, "a very proper precaution." It seems to me that is more than precaution, it amounts to a warning, it is calculated to deter, and, as I conceive, it is both injurious to the man and unfair to Parliament. Still, the Parliamentary Return shows that more than 109,000 receivers of letters readily signed even this stringent request. I regret to say this was not all the warning to letter receivers. It was followed by threatening the letter-carriers. The following circular was issued to postmasters in 1866:—

> "His Lordship directs that no attention shall be paid to any request for the discontinuance of a Sunday delivery which the Postmaster may have reason to believe has resulted from the solicitation of the letter-carriers or rural messengers."

Under these circumstances, what could the men do? Again their efforts were thwarted, and they felt that they had been grievously trifled with. A letter-carrier says—

> "In every parish more than nine-tenths of the inhabitants signed. In some, not one stood out of the whole village. I despatched the memorial after having it duly certified by the clergyman of the parish, and expecting a reply, when this morning the Postmaster General issued an order that no such petitions would be attended to."

Another writes to me—

> "I got all the names of the inhabitants of North and South —— except three—the parson, the squire, and his steward, and a manufacturer. These petitioned against it, and it almost cost me my situation, having served 25 years without a blot upon my character officially (except my interference as above is such). I get the miserable pittance of 5*s.* 10*d.* per week."

A clergyman, in Suffolk, writes thus—

> "Our postman has to walk 17 or 18 miles per day, without any break, through the year. I brought the matter before the clergy of the district, and as the result the men were released from their Sunday work as far as delivery of letters went; but the Postmaster then told them that, notwithstanding, they must go the same round and collect the letters. The men saw that if they were relieved from delivering letters the obvious claims of their case on the sympathy of the people would be gone, and they therefore carry out Sunday letters to this day. But if the regulations had provided for the collection of letters in the same way as for their distribution, these men would have been freed from this work three years ago."

Well, Sir, the grievance was so great that the men appealed to that friend of humanity, Lord Brougham; who, though not concurring in the action of Parliament in 1850, headed a deputation, and presented a memorial to Lord Stanley of Alderley, the prayer of which was—

> "To permit the men to obtain signatures to memorials which may be evidence to justify the abolition of Sunday labour."

The answer to this appeal was so decidedly in the negative as to induce his

Lordship to abandon his benevolent intentions; and I am bound to say the postman's hope would have died out had not the ministers of religion all through the country taken up his abandoned cause as one of right and justice. Unfortunately increased activity brought increased obstruction. A gentleman, referring to this vexatious action, says—

> "At length the petition was completed; it contained 3,000 signatures. It was forwarded to the Postmaster General, who promptly replied that he could not close the Post Office on Sundays unless the wish was unanimous;"

a decision altogether contravening the intentions of Parliament and the regulations then in force of the Post Office. A clergyman writes to me from Shropshire, and says—

> "Within the last 18 months I have sent two memorials to the Postmaster General to obtain Sunday rest for the postman. Both were rejected, on the ground that they did not pass the 'six-sevenths' barrier. From the circumstances of the case it is obvious that the mode of determining the question was utterly hollow and unjust. The district contains two parishes, with their two clergymen, a squire's residence, and several farmers. The rest are entirely labourers and small shopkeepers. All the above, except the occupants of the hall, signed the memorial; every farmer and all his family, every shopman with his family, and every labourer who was asked. Of this last class there are many whom it was useless to ask, as they do not send or get six letters per annum. The squire's house is not in my parish, and I know but little of the occupants; but the case stands thus—an eminent London barrister, a Q.C., in extensive practice passes much of his time there, and he actually receives letters enough to swamp all the rest, or else he exercises his personal influence at head-quarters to thwart us. How unfair it is that four or five persons should in a matter of this kind gain their point against the votes of some hundreds."

I am reluctant, Sir, to occupy the time of the House with extracts from letters, which, for obvious reasons, are presented without name or address; and yet I must ask indulgence while I present the men's own case in their own language. It is sometimes said, and most unfairly, I think, that the working classes have no representatives in this House; of this I am sure, that they never lack advocates, and of all causes the claims of labour receive here the greatest consideration. These men, as I have shown to the House, have been denied the opportunity of memorializing, and prohibited from petitioning, and under these circumstances they have communicated, unsolicited, with me, with an earnest request that I would lay their case, not before the Department, but before Parliament. A postman in Sussex says—"I have not been able to go to church for three years." A rural messenger in Essex says—"I have to walk 15 miles every Sunday, and I think it is a disgrace to my country." Another in Suffolk says—"I should be very glad to have my Sunday, as I have not had one for years." One in Warwickshire writes—

> "My father has been a letter-carrier for 25 years. It takes till late to get through the district, and then dirty and tired he goes to bed or drinks at the tavern."

A letter-carrier in Sussex, says—

> "I leave C—— at 6 in the morning. I have to go altogether not less than 20 miles daily. I get 2*s.* a day. I would not care about the pay if I could get off Sunday work. I work harder on Sunday than I do on any other day in the week, as I have only one and a-half hours rest from 6 in the morning till 1·40."

A messenger in Warwickshire says—

> "I have to rise at 5 o'clock, and am on duty till 12·30, walking a distance of 22 miles on Sunday, summer and winter."

Another says—

> "I have been a letter-carrier 17 years, and my father, who is still a letter-carrier, has been in the service for 39 years. Some years ago we petitioned and got our Sunday, but to our great sorrow it lasted only three weeks."

A man in Somersetshire says—"I walk over 130 miles a week, and last Sunday delivered only three letters in three miles." A postman, lately released from Sunday work, says—

> "I start from A—— with 12 bags. When I first took my appointment my wages were 15*s.* a week —after 5 years they lowered me 6*d.* for one bag taken off, and now, if I get off Sunday work, another 6*d.* will go, leaving 14*s.* for 108 miles, a six days' week."

A rural postman, who is called "the Walking Poet," says, in words which do equal credit to his head as to his heart—

> "But the blessed Sabbath is our own. It is the excellent gift of the beneficent Maker; let no man rob us of the boon; it is the heirloom of our children, it shall never be alienated from their possession."

Sir, I will not venture to quote further from a pile of letters by my side; but I will ask the House to hear the opinion of some uninterested and unbiassed persons on the subject. A Yorkshire magistrate says—

> "Our postman walks 18 miles. One near us, with the ins-and-outs of his beat, walks near 27

> miles. Bad roads, heavy snows, drenching rains are endured for the convenience of a few public-houses who want their paper."

The Rector of a parish in Cheshire says—

> "I have successfully used my influence in abolishing a Sunday delivery. Our walking postman regularly attends church, and my impression is that no man walking upwards of 20 miles a-day can sustain his frame without an intervening day of rest."

The Vicar says—

> "I have succeeded in having the Sunday delivery stopped here. Last Sunday was our postman's first rest for 14 years. The working people were all for the discontinuance of the delivery."

Such, Sir, is the condition of these men, and their number is very large, who, from all parts of the United Kingdom, are looking to this House for justice. It appears by a Return, dated July 30, 1866, that there were at that date—

Persons employed in the Post Office on Sundays	20,964
Post Offices open on Sundays for the sale and purchase of stamps, &c.	9,486

Now, Sir, what I have to say of this is, that if all this is not necessary, it is not justifiable, and if not justified by public necessity, it is immoral, it is inconsistent with our legislation, it creates Sunday labour, it wrongs public servants, and it presents a bad example on our part as employers of labour. Upon this matter of "necessity" I have taken considerable pains to inform myself. I have watched the collections for and in the London post on Saturdays, and I have followed those collections where they became deliveries. The result of my observation is that but a small portion of the Saturday's posting is intended for Sunday delivery. The posting of Saturday is often the clearing of the week, arrears are brought up, things are got out of hand; it is admitted to be so, and hence it may fairly be termed inconsiderate and needless, the delivery at the other end being intended for Monday and not for Sunday. The deliveries in our country towns on Sunday are mainly business cards and trade circulars, the samples of the pattern post, the larger packages of the parcel post, the dimensions of which are increased by recent concessions; and I have the authority of a postmaster for saying not one in 100 of all these are needed for Sunday delivery, and that newspapers now might all reach their destination on Saturday by late mails. In 1850, the inconvenience of having no means of communication in cases of urgency was much dwelt upon; but in reference to this the testimony at the present time is decidedly in the opposite direction. A banker says—

> "What is the urgency? In this busy town only three out of 523 receivers of letters declined to sign the memorial, one of these saying that Sunday was the only day for newspapers."

A clergyman says—

> "I have forwarded a petition from this parish, which I believe would have been signed, had opportunity been given, by all who can write their names among my 1,400 people, except one squire, one of whose objections, stated in writing to myself, being that if he could not receive his paper on Sunday morning he would not know where 'the meet' was on Monday."

A clergyman, writing from Devonshire, says—

> "In all these eight parishes there is no delivery of letters on Sundays, and I do not hear that any inconvenience is felt in consequence."

Another from Mold says—

> "This is a mining district, where a great deal of business is transacted; but those engaged in business will tell you that they prefer not having their letters on Sunday."

The incumbent of Holme says—

> "Some years back the delivery of letters ceased on the Sabbath Day, and in this and three adjoining townships I never have heard of any inconvenience resulting from the change."

If this were not enough, surely, Sir, the fact that from such towns as Birmingham, Derby, Coventry, and Manchester, memorials largely signed have been presented, while Liverpool shows 27,000 mercantile men desirous not to have a Sunday delivery.

And what is the opinion in the Department itself? What says Sir Rowland Hill? I quote his official minute, in which he says—

> "As regards collection and delivery, London is already in the state proposed, and though the delivery of Sunday in provincial towns is probably the heaviest in the week, still there could be no insuperable obstacle to placing any other town, where the inhabitants in general so desire it, in a similar position. The suspension of collection and delivery might be adopted without detriment in detail according to the wish of each particular place."

And the surveyors to the Post Office say—

> "With respect to the total suspension of all delivery on Sunday, it is obvious that the measure would be a great boon to the servants of the Post Office; and if the public mind is prepared to acquiesce in such a proposal, we do not perceive that it is liable to any objection on the part of the Post Office."

With such evidence as this before us, how can we doubt as to the practicability of the measure now urged upon the House? Again, Sir, I must refer to the manifest unfairness where letters are delivered to some persons, and not to others in adjoining postal districts. Where letters come, attention to business is sure to follow, and the man who avoids for his own sake and for the sake of his workpeople Sunday labour suffers unnecessarily on account of it. Nor is the unfairness less to the letter-carriers, 6,148 of whom have secured their day of rest, while 5,721 have not. And after all, if London with its four millions can do without a delivery, why should the country have it?—if Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Belfast are content, why should country towns and villages complain? I point the right hon. Gentleman to the United States as an example, and he will find one more recent and still better known to him in the dominion of Canada. Let him put the whole country on the same footing as London. If senators, bankers, merchants, traders, and foreigners of this huge centre of the world can do without a Sunday collection or delivery, cannot the whole country do the same? Then, Sir, as to the objections raised in 1850. It seems to me that, in the main, they have been met by the great changes these 20 years have produced. The postal deliveries all over the land have been accelerated, and the telegraph wire is everywhere. Science, the handmaid of commerce, has become the handmaid of humanity and religion, and the fickle element "coaxed by Franklin from the clouds" becomes our fleetest post and our most certain carrier, flashing our messages instantaneously from the Lizard to the Hebrides. Few Returns of greater interest have been presented to the House in this Parliament than that of last February, showing the development of our telegraph system. Referring to the extension of the wires, and to the development of the system generally, I find that the following very startling results have been achieved during the brief period since the transfer of the system to the Post Office:—51,311 miles of wire in existence under the companies, have been increased to 63,318 miles under the Post Office. 1,800 instruments have been increased to over 4,000. A little over 1,000 offices open for telegraphic business in February last year, had been increased to within a fraction of 2,000 on the 31st December last; and the opening of new offices was being urged forward at the rate of from 20 to 30 a-week. In addition to this large number of postal telegraph offices proper, business is transacted on behalf of the Department at no fewer than 1,800 railway stations throughout the kingdom. If this be so, the telegraph employed up to a late hour on Saturday and in all urgent cases on Sunday would answer for all actual necessity, and involve really little Sunday labour, and none which could not be justified by public necessity. A merchant makes a suggestion in these words—

> "Why should not the Postmaster General make it legal for any letter to be detained at the Post Office till Monday, unless it has 'to be delivered on Sunday' written on it, with a sixpenny stamp in proof of its urgency."

What arrangement the Postmaster General may propose, I cannot tell; but this I know, that the public being aware that the power is given to him in the 9th clause, 2 & 3 *Vict.*, c. 52, in these words—

> "That all post letters shall be posted, forwarded, conveyed, and delivered under and subject to all such orders and directions, regulations, limitations, and restrictions as the Postmaster General with the consent, of the Lords of the Treasury shall from time to time direct,"

they will expect him to propound a scheme fair to the men and framed in the liberal spirit of the intentions of Parliament. Sir, I have presented my case to the House. I prove the "prevalent public feeling," testified by more than 1,000,000 signatures in 1850, and 124,229 in 1871. I have shown that my plea is for those who cannot plead for themselves; and all I ask is, that the arrangements for Sunday postal delivery shall provide only for what necessity and mercy may require. The Resolution I propose amounts, in fact, to this—minimize Sunday labour. Adopt such regulations as are necessary to secure this object; but virtually restore to the men their day of rest. I have heard one objection urged, and it is this—that the letter-carriers will be injured by any deduction from their wretched pay. Well, Sir, I take leave to say the Chancellor of the Exchequer must moderate his requirements. He must be content with an obvious saving and increasing profits, and not mulct the men in 6*d.* for Sunday labour, which, after all, is illegitimate service. Twelve shillings is poor pay enough for six days work; let the seventh be given in obedience to the ancient command—"That thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou." And, after all, it is well to bring it home to ourselves. We take ample care of our own comfort in this respect. I cannot forget the reception given to the proposal of the hon. Member for Elgin Boroughs last Session, when he calmly invited the House to witness the unfolding of his Indian Budget on a Saturday afternoon. The fact is, we preserve our Saturday and often shorten our proceedings on a Friday night in order to secure the certain enjoyment of a day of rest at our own homes and with our families. What we do is done by the Government; no one would expect to find any Department open on Sunday, and the fact is no one is employed, not even upon public works, and even in seasons of great urgency this House is accustomed to take notice of any deviation from this wholesome rule. Our dockyards are closed, and all is as silent at Pembroke as in the quarries at Portland—even to the convict as to the pauper the day of rest is given. Happily the stern necessities of great State affairs has not accustomed us, as on the Continent, to hear of Cabinet Councils summoned on the Sunday. The labour of Parliament is severe enough, and by it we have earned the discredit of having found a sure and speedy method of killing public servants; yet I venture to express a confident hope and belief that in the midst of his most arduous duties the Prime Minister himself knows what it is to secure the peace of an undisturbed Sabbath. And in this respect, Sir, whatever foreigners may say of our "dull practices" in England, we owe very much to the example of the Court, and it is a source of great satisfaction to the people that Her Majesty the Queen lends her high sanction in this direction. Considering, Sir, that such is the evident feeling of the community, and with a plea so strong in justice from so large a class of our public servants, I trust the right hon. Gentleman, following the pattern of an illustrious predecessor, the late Sir Robert Peel, will rise in his place and say—

> "It is the will of the people of England that the Sabbath Day shall be respected, and therefore I support this Motion."

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That the employment by the State of upwards of twenty thousand persons in the department of the Post Office on the Sabbath Day, is not justified by any public necessity; and that, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the exemption from Sunday labour enjoyed by the Letter-carriers of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast, and one hundred and fourteen other Post Towns, should be extended to all Letter-carriers and Rural Messengers throughout the United Kingdom."—(*Mr. Charles Reed.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, my hon. Friend will be able to perceive the reason why it is I rise after his speech rather than my right hon. Friend at the head of the Post Office Department (Mr. Monsell), who is, more strictly speaking, the party to the question than perhaps the other Members of the Government. Now, I have listened to my hon. Friend with much care, and I admit, in the first place, that his Motion is of a description calculated of itself to win a great deal of favour and support from this House. The motives that the hon. Member has appealed to are motives which touch the heart and the feelings; and my hon. Friend has, with great sincerity and earnestness, and, I must admit, with great skill, made his appeal to that source of strength, and he has spoken, as he always does speak on a subject of this character, in a spirit of genuine philanthrophy, not to refer to higher motives, which undoubtedly would give great weight to the recommendations that proceed from him. I may, perhaps, for my own part, say that my predispositions are rather in the direction of the feelings of my hon. Friend. When Motions relating to Sunday observance are brought before this House, I will not say that I have always found it in my power to support them, but I have always had a desire, if able, to support them; and I say that, not because I am prepared to urge very strongly that the legislation of this House should be conformed to the strictly religious opinions which many of its Members may conscientiously entertain, but because I do feel undoubtedly, that as an object of civil policy, and irrespective altogether of religious opinion, it is a most legitimate purpose for Members of this House, and for the House itself, to seek to restrain, as much as possible, the exercise of labour on Sunday, and to secure to the people the enjoyment of a day of rest. My hon. Friend has drawn a somewhat sanguinely-coloured picture of the privileges which he presumes to be enjoyed by myself and the position which I have the honour to hold. I cannot deny that the element of romance enters a little into the disposition of the objects of that picture; but, at the same time, I will admit that, from the long experience of a laborious life, I have certainly been most deeply impressed with the belief—to say nothing of higher considerations—that the alternation of rest with labour at short intervals which is afforded by the merciful and blessed institution of the Sunday is a necessity for the retention of the human mind and the human frame in a condition to discharge their duties. Having said this, I must proceed in a strain of remark in which, though it may not be entirely and without qualification agreeable to the wishes of my hon. Friend—and in which I hope he will not detect anything at variance with what I have just said—I feel myself called on to make to him a strong appeal. But, before doing this, I wish to make one very distinct admission to my hon. Friend, which I think he may regard as a consideration that may influence him in the course of this debate. A good deal of the speech of my hon. Friend was occupied with an interesting detail of the proceedings of 1850, and of the measures subsequently adopted by the Post Office authorities. My hon. Friend pointed out the extraordinary stringency, as he considered it, of the conditions which had been laid down, as if for the purpose, as he appeared to suggest, of nullifying any desire entertained by the House of Commons for the restriction of Sunday labour. Now, on my part, and on the part of the Postmaster General, I feel bound to make the admission to my hon. Friend that, with reference to the enactments which he quoted restraining the operation of the principle of restriction of Sunday labour, he did, to some extent, make out his case. Those provisions were, undoubtedly, of such a nature as to operate very considerably in favour of those who were disposed to keep Post Offices open on Sunday; and, therefore, anything that the Government or the Postmaster General may intend would certainly not be received in precisely the same spirit as those proceedings to which my hon. Friend has referred. We have now to look at this Motion, not merely in the light of philanthropy, or in the light of our own wishes — and do not suppose that I use the word philanthropy with levity—but we have to look at it very strictly with regard to the actual consequences that its sudden adoption in the form of a general and a rigid Resolution would be likely to produce. Now, let us see what is the Motion? The Motion is a condemnation, without exception, of the employment of letter-carriers and rural messengers in the delivery of letters throughout the United Kingdom on Sundays. Suppose the Motion passed, what would be the duty of the Government? There are occasions, I am bound to say, on which a vote of this House absolves the Executive Government from their responsibility. There are duties pertaining to the Executive that cannot be taken off its shoulders by the vote of this House. I do not think that this is one of the cases. This is a Motion, the adoption of which would demand obedience from the Executive Government. It would, therefore, be the duty of the Executive Government under a Motion of this sort, allowing of no reference of time or circumstance, nor to any quality or variety whatever, to take measures, universal in their scope, very promptly, for the entire cessation of the distribution of letters on the Sunday in every district of the country. If that is so, let us consider what the effect of such a measure so adopted would be. My hon. Friend has refrained from asking us to go the length of stopping communication by public means altogether on Sunday. His speech is founded distinctly on an explicit recognition of that proposition; but he points out that there are two safety-valves in the measure he proposes. The first is the Sunday delivery at the Post Offices. Now, I am bound to say that in a great number of the cases the cessation of the labour of the letter-carriers on the Sunday in order to substitute for it the Sunday delivery at the Post Offices means not a restriction but a great augmentation of Sunday labour. I know of a case in which a friend of mine, feeling it necessary to have his letters on Sunday, sends his servant for them to the Post Office, and that servant generally finds eight or ten other servants sent on the same errand, each of them having made a journey to the Post Office, each of them carrying the letters, not of a number of individuals, but the letters of one particular person. I am not going to contend on that ground that there ought to be a universal Sunday delivery by the letter-carrier; but I am going to argue that the question is one for examination in detail, and that it ought to be considered from point to point with care, and what would be the operation of the system of stopping the delivery of letters by carriers, in order to see that you do not produce the evil of increased Sunday labour. There is another part of my hon. Friend's speech, about which there is great difference of opinion—I mean with regard to the telegraphs. He frankly set up the telegraph as the proper substitute for the delivery of letters on Sundays, with a view to a total stoppage of communication on Sunday. I understand from the Postmaster General, although I am not prepared to state the precise number of telegraph offices now open on Sunday, that there is no inconsiderable number of them open on Sunday, and that it is a matter of constant occurrence that he received fresh applications for fresh openings of telegraph offices on that day. Now, my hon. Friend recommends the substitute, to subject to what may fairly be called a fine of a shilling—he went far to recommend that we should look at this as a means of relieving that absolute stoppage of communication which his measure would seem to contemplate. But would that be a wise measure for us universally and precipitately to institute throughout the country as an instrument for the abolition of Sunday labour? What is the case of the telegraph? It is this—that for every message sent through the offices on Sunday there are two personal journeys—two personal journeys for a single message, and the persons employed in these messages are generally almost children or quite young boys, who were certainly not the class of persons with whom you should tamper with respect to the observance of the Sabbath, seeing they had not those habits of self-government one would expect in a grown person. Therefore, again I say I am very unwilling by any such measure to send it forth to the country, as the doctrine and view of the House of Commons, that we are determined to put down labour in the delivery of letters on Sunday, but that wherever a shilling can be afforded they have no objection that the labour shall be performed by means of the telegraph. And, considering the charge for a telegram, I fear this would be regarded also as a concession to the wealthier classes at the expense of the former. My hon. Friend referred almost with scorn to the economical consideration involved in dealing with this Motion. He asked—"Am I to be told that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to come down and cut off sixpence from the wages of these poor underpaid men because of their being relieved from labour on Sunday? My hon. Friend drew such a description of the stinted remuneration of this class of persons, that I began to ask myself whether the servants of the Post Office were obtained by Ballot or by a conscription. Because it would really appear that they were a class of persons who were prohibited from taking their labour to the best market, or who were put under some special restrictions not applicable to the rest of the community, and were compelled to labour in the Post Office whether they would or not. But does my hon. Friend consider what is really involved in this question? He says—"Let us disregard these philosophies and raise our minds to higher considerations. Let us resort to generosity." Now, I am very suspicious of Parliamentary generosity. Private generosity I can admire; but public generosity is of a very questionable character, and ought to be tested very severely indeed. But suppose you pass over all verbal criticism, my hon. Friend appeals to us to relieve these persons of their Sunday labour, and continue to pay them their wages for seven days' work; but he should bear in mind that there are two sets of persons employed in the Post Office, one working seven days, the other only six. He asks that we should relieve one of these classes of a day's work and yet put them on a level with the other class as regards wages. I do not think that this is the mode in which the Executive should be bound to act by a vote of the House of Commons in the shape of a Resolution such as that of my hon. Friend. If the House of Commons were disposed to take the matter into its own hands exclusively, I should think that we should be entitled to require of my hon. Friend that he would go before some tribunal and have his case examined in detail, in order to see what may be the operation of the language which he wishes the House to hold. Suppose the

Motion were to be carried to-night; looking to the stringency of its terms, it would be our duty to give notice throughout the country that at a certain date Sunday delivery would cease. What would be the consequence? I must say, quite independently of the considerations to which I have adverted, that in many cases the consequence would be a vehement reaction in the public mind; there would be multitudes of people who would not allow force to be placed upon them, and there would be a reflux of opinion against the measure of my hon. Friend, and all because of the error we should commit if we attempted to dispose of the question by a cast-iron rule. We are desirous to co-operate with my hon. Friend as far as we can. But the only way in which we can co-operate with him is by a patient examination in detail, and I would ask my hon. Friend whether it would be consonant with his views to co-operate with us in such examination. The plan I would propose is a Resolution in this form—

> "That it is expedient that an official inquiry should be instituted with a view of ascertaining how far it may be practicable to effect a further reduction of the labour now performed on Sundays by the letter-carriers and rural messengers in the service of the Postmaster General."

I may be told that such an inquiry could be instituted without a Resolution of this House; but the passing of a Resolution will give a substantial pledge to the House and to my hon. Friend, and will put him in a position of great advantage to come forward and challenge and criticize us—nay, to force a more stringent measure upon us hereafter if he thinks the inquiry has not been carried out fairly. I cannot help hoping he will be disposed to accept a proposition of this kind. The principle on which I stand is, that you cannot have a universal unbending rule; but that you must be content to consider partly the feelings of the people of different neighbourhoods and partly the circumstances under which the extinction of letter-carrier labour would operate. Even if my hon. Friend has in his own mind a belief that the result of this inquiry will not satisfy him, still let him go with us as far as he can, preserving his own liberty, if he thinks fit, to return to the question on a future day. With these observations I venture to put the Amendment I have read into the hands of the Speaker, hoping that it will be accepted.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. Gladstone's Amendment was then proposed as a substantive Motion.

Mr. C. REED could only consent to the proposal of the Government on condition that the Resolution should be declaratory of the opinion of the House that it was desirable that Sunday rest should be given. ["No, no!"] He did not think there could be any objection to that if it were really intended that the inquiry should have a practical result.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the hon. Member's wish might be carried out.

Mr. M'LAREN said, in the city which he had the honour to represent, the Post Office departments were open between 8 and 9 o'clock on Sunday morning for the delivery of letters to those who called for them, and all the men got away two hours before the congregations assembled in the churches. Now, if that rule were adopted generally all over the country so far as practicable, none of the hardships at present complained of would take place. In some other places it might be more convenient to have the hour between the services, and in others to give the hour in the afternoon after public worship. By means of such arrangements as those, the servants of the Post Office would be able to attend public worship; for one hour had been found in Edinburgh to be amply sufficient for all parties concerned with the delivery of letters. Many hon. Members would remember that a few years ago a statement was issued by the Post Office showing the proportional number of letters delivered in all the great towns of the kingdom, and he believed it was found that, with the exception of London, there was a greater number of letters delivered in Edinburgh, in proportion to its population, than in any other town in the United Kingdom. If one hour was sufficient for that town, which had the greatest number of letters in proportion to its population except London, one hour would surely be sufficient for all the smaller towns in the country. Again, reference was made to the telegraph office being required on Sunday morning. He did not know what the Post Office rule might be on the subject; but he knew that before the telegraphs went into the hands of the Post Office Department, there were only certain hours on Sundays during which telegrams could be sent from the city which he represented, or received, and none of those were during the hours of public worship; which showed that this labour need not prevent the Post Office *employés* from attending public worship. Then, perhaps, he might be allowed to add a word as to the wages question. The Post Office letter-carriers' case was a special case. For example, if it were the custom to manufacture muskets on a Sunday, and the wages were arranged with reference to seven days' labour, then the financial argument urged by the right hon. Gentleman the First Minister of the Crown would be good, because the wages would have been fixed with reference to the produce of seven days' labour. Or if they were to employ their Army clothiers in their factories to work seven days a-week, they would, of course, make more coats in the seven days than in the six days, and thus a financial loss would be sustained by giving them seven days' pay for six days' work. But the right hon. Gentleman must remember that in the case of one of those rural postmen, who now delivered 50 letters on a Sunday for which 1*d*. each was paid to the Government, the same 50 letters would be delivered by the same man on Monday in addition to his usual burden, and there would be no loss whatever—not of the veriest fraction—to the Post Office by making the change, even if no alteration in the wages were to take place. But his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. C. Reed) had said that if the Treasury choose to reduce the wages, the men would submit to it. All that his hon. Friend asked was that, as a matter of grace and favour, such a reduction should not be enforced, and there was not a word in the Resolution itself respecting any reduction. It was merely an argument in his speech, and the House was not pledged in any way by it, but only by the Resolution itself. He (Mr. M'Laren) hoped the right hon. Gentleman would embody in his Amendment some words to the effect that it was the opinion of that House that some diminution of Sunday labour should take place, and then institute an inquiry to see how far the diminution could be carried.

Resolved, That this House deems it desirable to reduce, by all prudent means, the Sunday labour now performed by public servants; and that it is expedient that an official inquiry should be instituted, with a view to ascertaining how far it may be practicable to effect a further reduction of the labour now performed on Sunday by the Letter-carriers and Rural Messengers in the service of the Postmaster General.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

NAVY—SIR SPENCER ROBINSON.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Lord HENRY LENNOX rose to move for a Select Committee to inquire into the circumstances which led to the dismissal of Vice Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson from the post of Third Lord of the Admiralty by the Prime Minister. The noble Lord expressed a hope that it was unnecessary for him to make any apology for bringing the subject under the notice of the House, though he regretted that he must do so in the absence of the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Childers), both on account of the cause of the absence of the right hon. Gentleman, and because he should have been glad if the right hon. Gentleman had been present to answer certain facts which he should bring forward. Still the House of Commons and the country would agree with him that while much sympathy was due to that right hon. Gentleman, and to the causes that led to his absence from that House, some sympathy was also due to that gallant officer, who considered that his character rested under a grievous slur, through the summary dismissal of which he complained. The unprecedented nature of the case was one reason among others why it should be brought before the House, and he believed that never at any time before had it been found necessary by any Minister to dissolve any Admiralty patent in order to dismiss an Admiral from the service of the Crown. That officer was dismissed in a summary manner from the public service, and yet he was no ordinary servant of the Crown, for he had received the most complimentary and flattering letters from his Chief at the Admiralty, which had lately been made public, as to the value of his services, and a brilliant testimony to his powers and public services had also been delivered in that House no longer ago than in June last by the Prime Minister. Sir Spencer Robinson felt—and he (Lord Henry Lennox) agreed with him—that he could not have entrusted his case to any Member of the House who sympathized with his political opinions as to himself, whose views on political subjects were widely divergent from Sir Spencer Robinson's, and with whose opinions on the administration of the Navy he (Lord Henry Lennox) had also frequently differed. He therefore approached the subject uninfluenced by any party or personal considerations. He was only anxious to lay a statement before the House which should relieve a gallant officer from what he considered to be a most unjust slur upon his character. Before becoming Controller of the Navy, Sir Spencer Robinson had effected great and excellent reforms with regard to the steam reserve at Devonport, and the right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington) would, had he been now present, have concurred in the statement as to the beneficial course adopted there by Sir Spencer Robinson. Ten years ago the Duke of Somerset appointed Sir Spencer Robinson to the office of Controller of the Navy, and he (Lord Henry Lennox) might here briefly describe the progress that has been made in their Navy since then. At that time they had four iron-clads—two built and two building—the iron of the thickest armour being four inches and a-half, while the armour did not extend along the whole length of the water-line from stem to stern. When Sir Spencer Robinson was dismissed he left for the public service 50 iron-clads built or building, and the armour, instead of being only four inches and a-half thick, was 12 inches thick, and extended along the water-line from stem to stern. When Sir Spencer Robinson became Controller the heaviest gun was less than six tons, and when he left the position the heaviest gun was 35 tons. Nor had our progress in unarmoured vessels been less remarkable. In 1861 the Government possessed only two vessels whose speed was 13 knots; but Sir Spencer Robinson left a large class of sloop corvettes whose speed was over 13 knots, and he introduced frigates whose speed was 16½ knots, and, while our old corvettes were calculated to have a speed of 11 knots, our new corvettes reached a speed of something more than 15 knots. The same relative increase had occurred in our armaments, for whereas the armament had, on the average, been doubled, the average speed had been increased from 10 to 13 knots. He did not for one moment wish—nor would Sir Spencer Robinson wish, if he had a seat in that House—to deny the full meed of praise that was due to that most able naval architect, Mr. Reed, who—unfortunately for the country as he (Lord Henry Lennox) thought—was, unhappily, no longer Chief Constructor to the Navy. To Mr. Reed's designs and abilities they owed most of these changes; but much was equally due to Sir Spencer Robinson, who appreciated those designs, and on every occasion—as he could personally testify during his own three years' tenure of office—pressed them with untiring energy upon succeeding Boards of Admiralty. Such were the services that Sir Spencer Robinson rendered to the country; but there was also another class of services which commanded from the late First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Prime Minister, a large amount of consideration. When the present Government came into office one of its great cries was the re-modelling of the Secretary's Department at Whitehall, and the introduction of rigid economy in our naval administration, and all through the changes that took place in consequence of that policy the late First Lord admitted freely his great obligations to the energy and services of Sir Spencer Robinson. It must not be supposed that, when he said that, he himself approved of the changes then made, because he believed that many of them were productive of anything but good; but whether good or bad, it was certain that the action of the Government in the matter was materially aided by Sir Spencer Robinson, who had enabled the Prime Minister to lose no opportunity—both in the House and out of it—of glorifying the late First Lord as having succeeded in solving the problem of Admiralty reform; and, therefore, Sir Spencer Robinson had a right to expect that in their dealings with him they would exhibit proper consideration and kindly feeling. But how was he treated? To make the case clear, he would divide it into four separate periods—The first being from March to June; the second from June to November; the third from November to December 14, 1870; and the last from December 14 to January 31, 1871. It was after 18 months of confidential relations that, in March last, an Order in Council appeared in regard to retirement in the naval service, and by that scheme four gallant and distinguished Admirals—including Sir Spencer Robinson—were mainly hit. If that Order was to be carried out on June 2, those four Admirals would have been retired. The scheme was proposed by the First Lord, the first Sea Lord, and the Junior Lord of the Admiralty; but it was never communicated to the gallant Admirals, whose interests it so materially affected, and they had no knowledge of it until they saw it in print. That was a scandal which could not have occurred under the old system, when the Admiralty Board met for the discussion of the Admiralty policy—a system which enabled each naval and civilian member to give an opinion of the policy propounded by the First Lord, or by any other Member of the Board. As soon as this Order in Council appeared Sir Spencer Robinson appealed to the Government, stating that he felt much aggrieved, and that he hoped he should be enabled to hoist his flag before the 2nd of June, in order that he might be retained on the active list. He was met by repeated statements of the wish of the Government to meet his views; and as he coupled his case with that of the other three distinguished officers named, the Government stated that they were anxious to make a special Order in Council to prevent them coming under the penal effect of the Order in Council of the 2nd of June. It was proposed that two turret-ships, the *Monarch* and the *Captain*, should be sent on their trial cruise, and Sir Spencer Robinson again applied to the Admiralty to allow him to hoist his flag on the *Monarch*, and to report on the sea-going qualities of the two vessels. He proposed to hoist his flag alternately on the *Captain* and *Monarch*, which would enable him to give valuable information to the Admiralty, and at the same time to preserve his position in his profession. That request was refused by the Admiralty; but he continued firmly to believe in the repeated assurances of an exception being made in its favour. He ultimately sailed as a passenger in the *Monarch*. On the 23rd of May he again repeated his wish to hoist his flag, for it would be impossible for him to hold the office of Third Lord of the Admiralty, according to the new regulations made by the First Lord. Then came the 2nd of June. On the 4th of June there was a letter from the First Lord, telling Sir Spencer Robinson that a special Order in Council had been obtained for him, and he was offered the command at Sheerness to hoist his flag there. Sir Spencer Robinson looked upon this very naturally with some hesitation. He had all along associated his case with that of the three other Admirals, and he felt disinclined to obtain an exemption and an advantage which were as due to them as to himself. In making the offer, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract, then First Lord of the Admiralty, coupled it with some very strong expressions, to induce him to forego his professional life in the Navy. Mr. Childers, in a letter to Sir Spencer Robinson, dated the 14th of June last, assured him of his entire confidence, and urged him to continue to give his advice and assistance in the discharge of those duties in which he had displayed such conspicuous ability. In addition to that, Sir Spencer Robinson received a letter of entreaty from the Prime Minister to remain; and, very unwisely, as he thought, listening to the charmer, he did remain at the Admiralty as Controller of the Navy. Giving up his professional prospects, he devoted himself to the civilian duties of the Admiralty. On the 27th of June the Prime Minister came forward and added his public testimony to the written testimony of his colleague, and said he was happy to announce to the House that he had persuaded Sir Spencer Robinson to remain at the Admiralty, where he would continue to give those services which he described as so valuable and almost indispensable to the Navy. Sir Spencer Robinson was only mortal; and, therefore, listening to these compliments, believing in the sincerity of feeling which dictated them, he remained as Controller of the Navy. He now came to period No. 2—from June to November—and he must really beg the attention of the House while he endeavoured to place before them when a change of feeling first appeared. From June to November all went on as smoothly as possible. Sir Spencer Robinson, perfectly satisfied by all that had been said in public and private, forgot, or, at all events, forgave, the injustice done to him by the publication of the Order in Council by his colleagues, and gave himself to the discharge of his arduous duties. But Sir Spencer fell ill, and feeling his strength unequal to his duties, and wishing to act with the most perfect fairness to the First Lord, he went to him and stated he was going to spend his holiday in recruiting his health; and, lest he should be unable to return to his duties, the First Lord being apprised so long beforehand, would not be taken by surprise, but should look out for the best person he thought to succeed him. Sir Spencer went for his holiday in September, and remained away for two months. During that time he received letters from the First Lord on official business, and continued to be on the best terms with him. Then occurred that most fatal disaster that ever occurred to the British Navy—namely, the loss of Her Majesty's ship *Captain.* As the Government would not tell Sir Spencer Robinson why he was dismissed, the public were obliged to inquire into the causes which led to the dismissal of this officer, whose services had been so highly appreciated. He regretted that the Prime Minister was not in his place, because he was obliged to refer to his letter of dismissal, telling Sir Spencer quietly, and apparently as if it were of no consequence whatever, that he need not argue the matter, for his dismissal was "a foregone conclusion." What he wanted to know—and what every member of the Civil Service felt was vital to be known—was when that foregone conclusion was come to, and what led to it. He had stated that during the absence of Sir Spencer Robinson nothing but friendly letters passed between him and the First Lord. At the end of two months he returned. During the month of October, and well into November, some communications passed between him and the right hon. Member for Pontefract respecting the deplorable calamity that had occurred to the *Captain.* Sir Spencer's advice was asked, and a direct appeal was made to him for his sympathy and assistance in gauging the cause of the disaster. Under the peculiar circumstances of the First Lord's bereavement, the sympathy and assistance sought were given most ungrudgingly by Sir Spencer Robinson. Up to the 23rd of November he believed that assistance and advice were warmly recognized by the First Lord. There had not been the slightest difference between them up to the middle of November as to the causes which led to the *Captain's* disaster, or the persons mainly responsible for the destruction of that most noble ship. The First Lord and the Controller did not at that time see much of each other, for the former was absent from ill-health and affliction; but the letters that passed between them were of a friendly character. His next period extended from the first days of November to the 14th of December. On the 2nd of November the late First Lord of the Admiralty and Sir Spencer Robinson had an interview, at which the First Lord hinted to the Controller that he thought it might be advisable to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the character and efficiency of our iron-clad Navy. The discussion was most friendly, and Sir Spencer Robinson said—

> "So anxious am I to bring out the truth in this matter that I will either remain Controller of the Navy and give evidence before the Royal Commission, or, if you prefer it, and think it more advantageous, I will resign my post as Controller of the Navy and serve you as a member of the Royal Commission."

Nothing could be more friendly than that interview, and on the 5th of November there was another, at which it would appear that the idea of a Royal Commission had been given up, and instead a Committee of 16 gentlemen was to be appointed to undertake the revision of these iron-clad ships of the Navy. To that Sir Spencer Robinson most certainly was opposed, and most justifiably, after the eulogiums which had been passed by the then First Lord and by the Prime Minister upon the ships with which Sir Spencer Robinson had provided the Navy, for those ships which were to be relegated to the tender mercies of the Committee of 16 were the very ships in recognition of the great merits of which a most unusual grant of £5,000 had been voted to Sir Spencer Robinson. It therefore came to this, that the First Lord was going to appoint a Committee of Inquiry with reference to the very ships the builder of which he had already rewarded by a special grant. If there were in the circumstances of the *Captain* anything that would justify even the smallest amount of alarm with regard to the remainder of the iron-clad ships in the Navy, there might have been a justification for resorting to a Committee; but the case was totally and entirely distinct. The *Captain* had a low freeboard; the *Monarch*, which was to be inquired about, stood out the gale in which the *Captain* foundered, and had made a voyage across the Atlantic in rough weather with the remains of Mr. Peabody on board. The *Monarch* was a high freeboard turret-ship, and the other low freeboard turret-ships which were to be inquired about, the *Devastation* and the *Thunderer*, were not to have masts and yards, whereas the *Captain* was masted and rigged. The other class of vessels which this Committee were to inquire about were not vessels of the turret design at all; they were broadside vessels, and had high instead of low freeboards. Therefore, the class of vessels which it was proposed this Committee should inquire about was quite as distinct from the one which had met with this fatal disaster as it was possible for one class of ship to differ from another. Therefore, Sir Spencer Robinson did not think he should be justified in assenting to the proposal that these vessels which had been so much praised and lauded, should be, for no reason that he could see, subjected to the verdict of a Committee of 16 gentlemen. During November differences of opinion occurred on the subject. There were differences as to the composition of the Committee and as to the instructions to be given to it; but these differences were not of a nature to endanger Sir Spencer Robinson's friendly relations with the First Lord. After a time the First Lord spoke to Sir Spencer Robinson with reference to his views as to his future position if he differed from the Committee which the First Lord was determined to appoint, and this was one of the things which lay at the base of the matter. On the 23rd of November Sir Spencer Robinson was asked a direct question, and he then said, what he repeated on many occasions afterwards, as was notorious in all the clubs frequented by his friends—"I should consider it a dereliction of my duty to abandon the Constructive Department until the case has been fairly and truthfully placed before the public, and therefore I still remain and will not leave until the Committee has reported." At the same time he assured the Government that if they wished him to resign, his resignation was in their hands, and he also added that if the Committee reported against him, he should, as a matter of course, at once make his bow without consultation with the Admiralty at all. Through the early part of December there was no ill-will between the First Lord and his colleague. Early in that month Sir Spencer Robinson had received numerous letters all breathing a kindly and a friendly tone. On the 7th of December, when the First Lord was about to nominate the Committee, Sir Spencer Robinson wrote his final protest about what was contemplated, and stated his views fully. On the 9th of December he received from the First Lord a reply couched in more than ordinary friendly language, saying that he bore Sir Spencer Robinson no ill-will because he opposed the appointment of the Committee, and adding an expression of his pleasure that the differences with his colleagues did not destroy his harmony with them. Sir Spencer Robinson would not have received that letter if he had known that at that time the First Lord had affixed his signature to that now celebrated Minute on the loss of the *Captain* which charged this very colleague, with whom he wished to live in harmony, with the most frightful responsibility any public officer was ever charged with—namely, that through neglect and want of outspokenness he was plainly responsible for the loss of a splendid ship, which had cost the country £600,000, with the more valuable lives of the 500 British sailors on board. Now, if the right hon. Gentleman had wished for harmony it would surely have been more desirable had he informed Sir Spencer Robinson that the document was in existence, and was hanging over his head. He now came to the 14th of December—the critical and historical day—out of which all these circumstances had arisen. On that day the right hon. Member for Pontefract again adverted to the question of Sir Spencer Robinson's resignation, and he repeated, what he had already said in a letter, that he should remain and defend his ships until the Committee had reported; if that Report was adverse to his ships, he would resign; and if it were not, he would place himself in the hands of the Government. He added—and one must concur with him—that while there might be circumstances which would absolutely necessitate the immediate resignation of a subordinate, there might also be cases, and this was one, in which the subordinate was bound to remain in order to defend his own work; and Sir Spencer Robinson was called upon to justify the eulogiums which had been passed upon him in this House by the two leading Members of the Government, and to defend his ships from criticisms of a hostile character. This interview was on the 14th of December, and we had since learnt that it was on the 14th of December that the dismissal of Sir Spencer Robinson was finally decreed in the mind of the right hon. Member for Pontefract, for it was published on the 15th, and on the 16th he was presented with a copy of the Minute simultaneously with the appearance in the great journal of the day of an elaborate criticism upon it, showing that a document reflecting upon the Controller of the Navy had been in the hands of the writer several days before it was sent to the person who was principally inculpated by it. No one in the House would believe if he were to pretend to affirm that Sir Spencer Robinson's feelings were not deeply wounded by such conduct on the part of a colleague; indeed, it seemed almost incredible that they could have sat at the same Board as colleagues, members, and friends, and could have been engaged in discussing grave matters affecting the public service, and could have been in daily communication at the very time that this Minute existed, and as incredible that the right hon. Gentleman should have given the widest publicity to, and should have allowed it to be sold at 7*s.* a copy as a Parliamentary Paper during the Recess, a document charging a colleague with the gravest responsibility, when he had not previously told him of its existence nor led him to suspect that anything of the kind was impending. On the 31st of January the Prime Minister came prominently on the scene, and was thenceforward the leading personage in the drama. Sir Spencer Robinson in one of his letters rather touchingly alluded to his feeling of astonishment at learning that for six weeks his dismissal had been a foregone conclusion, and that during that period he had been allowed to go on discharging his duties at the Admiralty, while he was wholly unaware that his dismissal was pending. It was not until the then First Lord of the Admiralty, who unhappily broke down in health, had left the shores of England that the thunder of the Prime Minister was directed against Sir Spencer Robinson, who was told in a short letter on the 30th of January that his term of office had expired, and that in accordance with an agreement arrived at between himself and the First Lord of the Admiralty, which agreement was recorded in a certain memorandum, he would cease to hold his position at the Admiralty. Sir Spencer Robinson was naturally very much surprised at this announcement, and the more so because the agreement supposed to have been entered into between himself and the right hon. Member for Pontefract was not mentioned nor acted upon until after the right hon. Gentleman had left Devonport in the *Enchantress* yacht, when, of course, the two parties to the agreement could not be brought together in order that it might be ascertained whose recollection of what had occurred was correct. On the 30th the Prime Minister wrote as follows to Sir Spencer Robinson:—

> "My dear Sir S. Robinson,—Mr. Childers has placed in my hands a memorandum of his conversation with you on the 14th of December, by which I find it was then finally arranged between you that you should, at the expiration of your term, which I believe is on the 7th of February, quit the office in which you have earned so much distinction as a public servant."

To that letter Sir Spencer Robinson replied on the 31st of January, repeating his astonishment at the Prime Minister's letter, expressing his belief that the right hon. Member for Pontefract had misunderstood him, and after stating that he should consider it a dereliction of duty to leave the Admiralty before the Committee had reported, he requested the Prime Minister to allow him to remain until then. No grace, however, was given him, for on the very day that this distinguished public servant sought for permission to remain a short time, the Prime Minister wrote to say it was quite impossible for him to depart in any degree from the ground taken by the right hon. Member for Pontefract in the memorandum to which he had referred, and on which his recent letter had been founded. The Prime Minister went on to say he could not allow Sir Spencer to remain till after the Committee had reported, and finally gave him a rough jog by asking how soon he would be ready to give up his appointment. The next day Sir Spencer sent the Prime Minister a letter in reply, which contained the subjoined passage—

> "I can, of course, in no way question the decision you appear to have come to; but I must again assure you, with all respect, that no such arrangement as that mentioned in Mr. Childer's memorandum to you was ever agreed to between us. On the contrary, the agreement at which he expressed his satisfaction was that I should wait for the Committee's report, and act then as circumstances might render advisable. So far, therefore, as my own wishes and intentions are concerned, I should look upon my dismissal from office at present as a singularly unjust slur upon my past services, which you yourself have been good enough to acknowledge, in June last, publicly and privately."

Sir Spencer wound up his letter with a paragraph in which he made a request which everyone must admit to be a fair and just one—

> "I feel (he said) that I am not asking too much in requesting to be informed of the grounds on which I am to be removed from the office I hold."

Now, he (Lord Henry Lennox) thought that where there was great divergence of statement between persons who were equally worthy of credit, it would have been common fairness and justice on the part of the Prime Minister had he, in answer to this challenge, either furnished Sir Spencer with the causes why he had been dismissed, or else agreed to let the few weeks elapse for the return of the First Lord, so that they might both have had time to compare their notes as to what had taken place on December 14. Considering that one of the statements was made by the First Lord, and the other by the Third Lord of the Admiralty, it was not asking too much that any definite action should be postponed, or the dismissal less summarily acted upon. If, however, Sir Spencer indulged in any hope of that kind he was signally disappointed, for not only did the Prime Minister decline to state to the Admiral why he was dismissed, but he gave him a more forcible jog in order to get him out of the office he wished to keep him in last June. The Prime Minister said he had no desire to doubt Sir Spencer Robinson's version of what passed at the interview of the 14th of December, but remarked that Sir Spencer relied on his memory solely; whereas the memory of the First Lord of the Admiralty was assisted by notes written soon after the interview. He believed the memorandum of the interview had not been forthcoming. It had been carefully kept from public view. [Mr. GOSCHEN dissented.] At all events he had not seen it.

MR. GOSCHEN: But others have seen it. Sir Spencer Robinson has seen it.

LORD HENRY LENNOX: When did he see it?

MR. GOSCHEN: After the return of Mr. Childers.

LORD HENRY LENNOX: In answer, the Prime Minister replied that he did not feel himself at liberty to accede to the request that he should state the circumstances which led to the decision arrived at, as it would only revive a painful discussion. Then the right hon. Gentleman wound up with the courteous intimation, "I return to the inquiry with which my two former letters concluded, as the time approaches for the appointment of your successor," &c. That was the courtesy Sir Spencer received for merely asking the reasons which had led to his dismissal, and the withdrawal of the confidence formerly reposed in him. When there was a great divergence, as in the present case, between the statements made by persons of undoubted credit, the probabilities on either side ought to be taken into consideration, and he confessed that in his judgment the probabilities were all on the side of Sir Spencer Robinson. It was no new decision that was come to. Sir Spencer had never changed nor varied his argument as to what course he should take in regard to the appointment of the Committee, and it was not likely, therefore, that on the 14th of December he should veer entirely round and falsify every statement he had made since the Committee was first spoken of. Again, had Sir Spencer agreed to resign his place on the 7th of February, the publication of the Minute on the 15th of December would have completely cancelled any agreement which might have been entered into. Sir Spencer Robinson must have felt that the charge could only have been answered by him as a colleague of the First Lord of the Admiralty. He had no wish to criticize too harshly the unfortunate lapse which the Prime Minister committed when, before laying the Papers on the Table, he asked Sir Spencer Robinson to date them subsequent to his removal from office. He had no intention to charge the right hon. Gentleman with anything more than taking a course which was greatly to be regretted. Whether for good or evil, there was a profound belief in this country, when Papers and Correspondence were asked for and published, that these documents bore the dates on which they were written. He thought there was much to be regretted in this matter. Had Sir Spencer Robinson agreed to the requirement of the Prime Minister, he would have placed himself at a great disadvantage in answering the challenge of the First Lord of the Admiralty. Instead of the Third Lord answering the First Lord, it would have been the answer of a discharged servant, who would not have been looked upon as an impartial witness in such a matter. Another reason why he regretted the letter of the Prime Minister was that it added greater force to his idea and that of Sir Spencer Robinson, that the real cause of his dismissal from office was his connection with the loss of the *Captain*, and his determination to answer the charges which had been brought against him. Sir Spencer said—

> "It is painful to me to be obliged to refer to the melancholy loss of the *Captain* as the real cause of Mr. Childers's desire to remove me from my present position."

That being the case, the impression in Sir Spencer Robinson's mind must have been greatly strengthened, not only by the fact of the interview the day before the publication of the Minute, and the haste with which they wished to get rid of him, but also by the fact that it was represented to him as an inconvenient precedent that such a statement should be made by a subordinate to the head of his Department. He agreed with the Prime Minister that such a Minute from a subordinate to the head of the office involved an inconvenient precedent; but that precedent did not begin with Sir Spencer Robinson. He thought it was as inconvenient a precedent, if not more so, for the head of the Department to issue and publish that Minute reflecting upon his colleague and friend without informing him that such was his intention. He had to apologize to the House for claiming its attention at such length. He had no party, and still less any personal interest to serve. When he first saw that Sir Spencer Robinson had been dismissed from the Controllership he felt surprised, because, although he had always differed from the gallant officer in politics, yet he had served the country so faithfully during the time that those around him were in office that he had been recommended by his right hon. Friend the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington) for the distinction of K.C.B. During that time Sir Spencer's politics had never wavered, and he had never allowed them to interfere with the performance of his duty. He had remarkable opportunities of knowing this from his position at the Admiralty, for the Dockyard appointments and promotions were in the hands of the Secretary of the Admiralty on the nomination of the Controller. At that time there was an internecine war between the Liberal and Conservative Dockyard men, and nothing would have been easier than for Sir Spencer Robinson to push forward the cause of those with whom he sympathized. But during his three years of Office he had never found Sir Spencer Robinson doing anything of this kind. When he asked a question of the Prime Minister whether it was true that Sir Spencer Robinson had left the public service, he replied that it was quite true —that Sir Spencer Robinson had not resigned his office as Controller of the Navy, but that his term of office as Controller had expired, and that in his office of Third Lord of the Admiralty he had been superseded. Feeling that this was a rather remarkable answer, he took more than usual pains to ascertain the facts of the case, and what were the views of the profession of which Sir Spencer Robinson was so distinguished a member. His reason for bringing the question before the House was that he was anxious, beyond everything, that the discussion should elicit from Members on both sides their opinion that Sir Spencer Robinson had been unjustly used. He hoped, moreover, that he should not appeal in vain to the First Lord of the Admiralty, since he was unable to appeal to the Prime Minister, whose absence he deeply regretted. What he mainly objected to was the way and manner in which this distinguished public servant had been treated; and, considering the way and manner in which this Correspondence had been signed and carried on by the Prime Minister, he regretted that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had not done him the honour to remain in his place and listen to the charges which it had been his duty to prefer. All he asked for was inquiry. He might be told that inquiry into these circumstances was quite unprecedented; and he was glad that it was so. He hoped that the whole of the circumstances connected with the dismissal of Sir Spencer Robinson were unprecedented, and that we should never have a Prime Minister or a First Lord of the Admiralty in future, who would adopt the policy of the First Lord of the Treasury in dealing with a valuable servant of the Crown. His mind was firmly persuaded of this—after carefully remarking the reticence of the Prime Minister's letters—after finding that he refused to state the grounds of the dismissal, or to show the memorandum on which it was based—his conviction was that the reasons were not such as would stand without condemnation at the bar of public opinion, or could be avowed by any Prime Minister with credit either to himself or to the Government to which he belonged. With these remarks he begged to move for the Select Committee of which he had given Notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the circumstances which led to the dismissal of Vice Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson from the post of Third Lord of the Admiralty by the Prime Minister."—(*Lord Henry Lennox.*)

Mr. GOSCHEN: I am sure that the House will believe me when I say that this is a painful matter—as painful for the Government as for the noble Lord opposite (Lord Henry Lennox) who has just spoken; but on one point I hope I shall have the concurrence of the noble Lord, as I am sure I shall have the sympathies of the House, when I say that it cannot be treated, and will not be treated, as a question of veracity between two gentlemen, both of high honour and character—but that the reputation of both those gentlemen, between whom these differences have existed, and their honour are equally dear to a great part of the public of this country. We feel sure that the matter will be so placed before the House that it will be seen that, while we repudiate any slur that may be cast upon the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), at the same time we do not cast any slur upon the gallant Admiral whose separation from official life has led to this discussion

to-night. I entirely concur in the remarks made by the noble Lord with regard to the great services rendered by Sir Spencer Robinson to the country. The noble Lord has enumerated those services, and shown their great value, and with all that portion of the noble Lord's speech I cordially agree. The noble Lord alluded sometimes in an almost sarcastic tone to the laudations pronounced on Sir Spencer Robinson in June, and I can only say that the praises then awarded to that gallant Admiral were perfectly sincere, and that by every word that was said then we are prepared to abide. His services had been of immense utility and benefit to the the country, and his separation from the Admiralty does not result from any want of confidence in his ability. I also repudiate in the most emphatic terms the supposition that his dismissal had anything to do with the loss of the *Captain.* The whole gist of the noble Lord's speech, as seen in his concluding remarks, was to put a question not of hypothesis, but of fact—what were the cause of the gallant Admiral's separation from the service? That cause the noble Lord assumed hypothetically, because he could find no other reason for it, was the loss of the *Captain.* Now, I think it is most desirable that there should be no misapprehension upon that point at all. It was not the loss of the *Captain* which led to the separation of Sir Spencer Robinson from his position of Third Lord of the Admiralty. And let me point out that the noble Lord gives rise to an erroneous view when he speaks of the gallant Admiral being dismissed from the service. Sir Spencer Robinson's appointment as Controller of the Navy did not terminate until the 6th of February, and it was not from his office, which may be called a Civil Service appointment, as Controller of the Admiralty, that he was dismissed. His time had expired, and he was not reappointed. Sir Spencer Robinson first received the appointment for five years, and his tenure of office was then further extended for another five years, which period came to an end on the 4th or 6th of February. The action then taken was as regarded his position as Third Lord of the Admiralty, and not as Controller of the Navy; and there is a great distinction between the two. The noble Lord spoke as if the question was one between the Government and what is sometimes called the permanent Civil Service. The Lords of the Admiralty may be called political appointments, it being in the discretion of the Government whether they will retain their services, and therefore a certain portion of them continually change office. There is, therefore, no parallel as between the Government dismissing a Civil servant; but it is as if a Secretary of State were to separate himself from the Under Secretary of his Department, who also holds a political appointment. The Lords of the Admiralty are part as it were, of the political branch of the service; the service of a Third Lord does not entitle him to a pension, and the case cannot be made analogous to that of the Civil Service itself. I think the House will see that that constitutes a very grave difference in this matter. The question resolves itself, not into the dismissal of what I say is usually called a permanent Civil servant, though I believe that every member of the Civil Service really holds "during pleasure," but into the separation of the Government from one who was attached to them politically. I fully grant that the noble Lord is entitled to inquire what were the grounds of the separation of the Third Lord of the Admiralty from his colleagues; but he is not entitled to put it on the same footing as if it had been the case of a member of the Civil Service. Now, what were the grounds which made it impossible that Sir Spencer Robinson should continue in his position as Third Lord of the Admiralty? I said it was not the loss of the *Captain*. The noble Lord divided the time over which his remarks extended into four periods. He alluded to the manner in which Sir Spencer Robinson had been dealt with as regards the retirement scheme, his complaint being that, practically, no exception had been made in favour of four gallant Admirals who had been connected with the Admiralty, by means of which exceptions they would have been placed on a better footing than the service generally. Now, it would, no doubt, have been very agreeable to my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract to have made an exception in favour of his colleagues. He did not, however, think that to do so would have been consistent with his public duty. He was of opinion that the same measure should be dealt out to the service generally, and that exceptions should not be made in favour of those who happened to have been connected with the Admiralty. The House will, I am sure, give my right hon. Friend credit for the course which he took in this respect. The House naturally feels sympathy with Sir Spencer Robinson; but it is, I think, only fair to my right hon. Friend, who, with great assiduity and ability, laboured at the scheme of retirement, that hon. Members should consider how he could have faced the service if he had made the exceptions which the noble Lord says he ought to have made. It would have been far easier for my right hon. Friend to have smoothed over the difficulties in his own office, and to avoid the party attacks which have been made upon him by hon. and gallant Gentlemen opposite by taking the course which the noble Lord has pointed out; but he did not deem it to be consistent with his duty to do so, and in this, the first point of difference between him and Sir Spencer Robinson, I think the House will be of opinion that my right hon. Friend was animated by fairness and public spirit. I deeply regret that my right hon. Friend is not here to defend himself upon this point. It is not his fault that he is not able to be here to be the champion of the policy which he carried out with great advantage to the public service; and I regret that the noble Lord opposite, who began in so conciliatory a spirit, should have used such expressions as that the right hon. Gentleman had "turned his back on the country" in regard to certain of these matters. The noble Lord may say that he did not mean anything by the phrase; but it is an unfortunate phrase to use, and no one could be placed in a more painful position than my right hon. Friend. I can conceive no position more entitling him to the sympathy of those who know him than to find himself attacked in this way, and then to feel himself too ill to appear his own advocate in this House. As for me, my task is, indeed, difficult, and while I have the greatest desire to place before the House what I conscientiously believe to be the strong and overwhelming case of my right hon. Friend, I do not wish to fall into the error which the noble Lord, no doubt unwittingly, has committed, by saying anything that could give pain to Sir Spencer Robinson in this matter. As I said before, the first point of difference between my right hon. Friend and him arose out of the question of retirement. Before that, the noble Lord says, things went on smoothly in the office. I do not know what is the noble Lord's authority for making that statement. The great abilities of Sir Spencer Robinson have been always acknowledged; but it is not always that the possession of great ability enables men to get on smoothly together, and there were some difficulties in conducting the business at the Admiralty which every effort was made on both sides to remove. I do not wish to dwell on this point of the case; but I feel bound to demur to the assertion that everything went on smoothly. Considerable difficulties continually arose in the Department, and though they were minor difficulties they rendered cordial co-operation less easy. There were, no doubt, continual reconciliations, because both parties were inspired by the natural and generous desire to endeavour to remove the differences that arose. But the tone of the noble Lord would lead the House to suppose that there was some sort of hypocrisy practised, and that my right hon. Friend, while exceedingly conciliatory at one time, was preparing at the same time to level a blow against Sir Spencer Robinson. Now, that is an insinuation which I repel in the name of my right hon. Friend in the strongest language I can find. There was nothing of the kind. My right hon. Friend, who had serious differences with Sir Spencer Robinson in June upon the subject of the retirement scheme, was anxious to do away with those differences if possible. The differences between them were not differences of policy; but I can well imagine that two men, both able and both public-spirited, may sometimes find that they cannot reconcile their differences of opinion. In this state of things the loss of the *Captain* occurred; and on this part of the case the noble Lord wished to induce the House to believe that Sir Spencer Robinson was in entire ignorance of the preparation of the Minute in reference to that event. I do not know whether the noble Lord stands by that representation; but it was not so, and the noble Lord had the best opportunity of knowing that it was not so, because the question between Sir Spencer Robinson and my right hon. Friend is stated in the Papers which have been laid before Parliament. Sir Spencer Robinson asked whether he would be shown the Minute, and my right hon. Friend told him that he should see the narrative part of it, and I understand that Sir Spencer Robinson did see the narrative part of it when it was in preparation. The noble Lord, notwithstanding this, tells us that a blow was being struck behind Sir Spencer Robinson's back of which he knew nothing. This Minute was published, as the noble Lord correctly stated, on December 15; but there were important and serious matters which happened before that date, and which were omitted when the noble Lord touched upon the appointment of the Committee on Designs. I wondered, when the noble Lord was stating his case, whether the House would not from his statement come to the conclusion that the origin of the difficulty which ultimately led to the resignation of Sir Spencer Robinson — as my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) contends—lay in the appointment of this Committee, which was to investigate the designs and the ships of the Admiralty. My right hon. Friend considered it to be his public duty to appoint that Committee, to whose appointment Sir Spencer Robinson was strongly opposed. He was not opposed to it in every form; but when it was ultimately appointed he put his objection to it in very powerful language. He did not wish his fleet of iron-clads to be overhauled by that Committee, and the noble Lord's statement shows that that really was the origin of the strong feeling which arose in Sir Spencer Robinson's mind. There was one very material portion of the case which was not stated by the noble Lord. It was that Sir Spencer Robinson had already said at that time that he would resign. Verbal conversations are variously interpreted by different men; but there is no question of this—that from the time when that Committee was appointed the impression upon the mind of my right hon. Friend was that Sir Spencer Robinson had said, not that he would leave after the Committee had reported, but that he would leave at the end of his time, and the position that my right hon. Friend would be prepared to assume was this, that the separation of Sir Spencer Robinson from the service was initiated by himself.

There were several proposals as to the appointment of that Committee. The noble Lord spoke of the readiness with which Sir Spencer Robinson was prepared to become a member of the Commission or the Committee; but as I have been informed his proposition was to undertake the conduct of that Committee, which was one of inquiry into the merits of the ships that had been built, and the designs that had been prepared by the Admiralty. My right hon. Friend thought the public would not be satisfied with an inquiry presided over by a gentleman about whose designs an inquiry was about to be made, and that Sir Spencer Robinson's proposal was one which, in the interest of the public, he could not accept. Sir Spencer Robinson then proposed a modification, which was that the Committee should be composed of naval architects and scientific men only, while the First Lord was of opinion that it should also include some naval men. On every point of this controversy, therefore, there were differences of opinion between the First Lord and the Third Lord of the Admiralty. The noble Lord says that the Third Lord of the Admiralty was prepared to resign when the Committee had reported; therefore the difference between the two reduces itself to the difference between resignation on the Committee's reporting or resignation or separation from the service on the 6th of February. Having arrived at that point, I may say that the Government lament that the country should be deprived of the services of Sir Spencer Robinson, for to his great ability as a ship designer they have rendered full justice on every occasion. There was, however, this serious difference of opinion between Sir Spencer Robinson and my right hon. Friend as to the appointment of the Committee, the result of which was that Sir Spencer Robinson offered, as he himself says, to resign when the Committee had reported. My right hon. Friend, however, maintains that the agreement which was come to at the interview on the 14th of December was that Sir Spencer Robinson should retire at the end of his time, and upon this matter it is exceedingly difficult to prove who is in the right. That which my right hon. Friend now contends was his impression at the time is shown by what he wrote immediately after the interview—namely, that Sir Spencer Robinson had said that he would be prepared to leave at the expiration of his period of office as Controller on the 6th of February. The noble Lord has asked why the Premier should on the 31st of January be in a hurry to dismiss Sir Spencer Robinson; but the impression on the mind of my right hon. Friend was that it was arranged at the interview that Sir Spencer Robinson should on the 6th of February separate himself from the public service, and there was, therefore, no precipitancy. There might have been a misunderstanding; but I will show the House that there were other reasons why the resignation of Sir Spencer Robinson could not be delayed. The noble Lord has not mentioned the circumstances which led to that interview on the 14th of December. The memorandum which my right hon. Friend made for his private use directly after that interview, in order that he might have a record of what had occurred, states that Sir Spencer Robinson had complained that it was impossible he should at the same time be able to attend to the vast amount of work that had been placed upon him by the appointment of this Committee and also to the current work of the office. The First Lord was placed in this difficulty—the Estimates had to be prepared, but Sir Spencer Robinson had said that he could not attend to the current work owing to the labour that had been cast upon him by the appointment of a Committee against his wish. It naturally follows that if the work of the Department was to go on the existing state of things could not be allowed to continue until the Committee had reported. The members of that Committee had not yet nearly concluded their task; and what would have been the condition of the office from February to April? That was a question of public importance. It would have been far more agreeable to the feelings of both the Premier and the First Lord that, if possible, Sir Spencer Robinson should have continued in office for some months longer; but the public interest could not permit such an anomalous state of things. The noble Lord has admitted that, to whatever cause it may be due, there existed such relations that Sir Spencer Robinson could not continue in office side by side with his colleagues. [Mr. BOUVERIE: Colleague.] I am not sure about that.

I am sorry that my right hon. Friend has interrupted me. I used the word "colleagues" advisedly, not wishing to dwell on this point; but I am greatly mistaken if the relations between Sir Spencer Robinson and others of his colleagues were not as "difficult" (to use a French term) as were the relations between him and the First Lord. I do not say it was his fault, but the relations of Sir Spencer Robinson with some of his colleagues were such as to interrupt and retard the course of public business, and the Government had to ask themselves whether it was compatible with the interests of the public service that a gallant Admiral, however distinguished might be his ability or high his character, should remain in office under such circumstances. I have desired to explain to the House the precise circumstances which rendered necessary, not the dismissal of Sir Spencer Robinson as an Admiral, nor as Controller of the Navy before his time had expired, but the separation of him from his colleagues at the Admiralty. The House will see that no slur was cast upon the character of Sir Spencer Robinson, and I must again repudiate the idea that he was dismissed in consequence of the loss of the *Captain*. It was in consequence of the relations which had been established by the appointment of the Committee, which Sir Spencer Robinson regarded as a personal insult to himself; while the differences of opinion which existed in reference to these public questions rendered co-operation impossible between Sir Spencer Robinson and those who had not only been his friends, but who, notwithstanding all controversies, continued to entertain a friendly feeling towards him. I repudiate, on behalf of my right hon. Friend, any suggestion that he wished to spite Sir Spencer Robinson. Such an idea never entered into his head, and I trust that my narrative will show that there has not been any concealed motive, but that the present state of things has been brought about by causes which are deplorable, but are not discreditable to either of the parties, and owing to affairs having reached a point at which it was impossible for them to be conducted with advantage to the public service. The noble Lord has said there would have been no objection to produce the memorandum of my right hon. Friend if it had not contained "reasons for the dismissal" which were not creditable to Sir Spencer Robinson. It contained nothing of the kind; the memorandum being merely notes which my right hon. Friend had taken in a rough way to refresh his memory, and the Premier did not feel himself justified in producing it without consultation with the writer. The noble Lord does not seem to be aware that after the return of my right hon. Friend those notes were shown to Sir Spencer Robinson, and that I sent him a copy, together with a letter which was not marked "private," although the document was originally considered confidential, there being in it expressions which a man would only use when writing with the object of refreshing his memory at some future time, and which he thought might possibly wound the feelings of the gallant Admiral. But my right hon. Friend thought it right, and we thought it right, that when the document was asked for Sir Spencer Robinson should see it, and he has seen it. The views taken by my right hon. Friend and by Sir Spencer Robinson as to what passed in the interview to which that memorandum relates are not identical; they do not agree upon several important points; and all I can say is that I believe they both most conscientiously believe that which they say. I see a right hon. Gentleman opposite laughs; but I believe that neither Sir Spencer Robinson nor my right hon. Friend would maintain that which they knew was not accurate. I am as anxious for the reputation of the one as for the reputation of the other; but I must point out that my right hon. Friend took the precaution of placing his impressions of this interview upon record, in order that he might not have to rely solely on his memory. This interview lasted an hour and a-half, and therefore all will admit that there must be points upon which two men equally anxious to give a correct impression would differ from each other. So far as we know we agree with the impression of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers) that Sir Spencer Robinson gave in his resignation on that day, and that impression is borne out by subsequent events. The noble Lord said that, judging by probabilities, he did not think that Sir Spencer Robinson would have acted as it is alleged he acted upon the occasion.

But I do not go by probabilities at all; I go by declarations which were made at the time by my right hon. Friend, and which were repeated to others in the Department on the instant and after the conversation. In a matter of this kind it is exceedingly difficult to rely upon verbal communications, and therefore the Government do not wish to rest their case at all upon what passed at that interview. They do not wish to say that because they had the impression that Sir Spencer Robinson would resign they were determined to pin him to his resignation and not allow him to withdraw it. But they maintain this, that it was impossible for them to continue Sir Spencer Robinson in office after all that had taken place, with the relations between them and their colleague in the position in which they were at that moment. That is simply a statement of the case. To my right hon. Friend the case is exceedingly painful, as every Member in this House will believe, and everyone who takes an interest in Naval matters must also feel a sincere regret at the turn which the matter has taken as regards Sir Spencer Robinson. With every desire to have cordial co-operation it was impossible for the two men to continue together in office, and it became a question which of them must leave the service. Sir Spencer Robinson has left the service of the Government; but he has not left the Civil Service; he has not ceased to be Admiral. He was superseded in his political appointment on account of differences of opinion between him and his colleagues which rendered it impossible for them to continue to work together in that harmonious way which is absolutely necessary for the well-being of the service. I would fain hope that, though the friends of the gallant Admiral may differ from the view of the Government, they will see that we are anxious that it should be understood that it is this difference, and not any default in public duty on the part of Sir Spencer Robinson, that has led to the result that we ourselves sincerely regret. Such is the answer which I give to the narrative made by the noble Lord as to the causes which have led to the retirement of Sir Spencer Robinson. I trust the House will not think it to be its duty to agree to, but, on the contrary, will reject the Motion of the noble Lord for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the causes which led to the supercession of Sir Spencer Robinson in his office. It is impossible for the Government to undertake to be responsible for these large Departments unless they can have the choice of the men who are to act in them. The Government wish to be as explicit as possible on this point. They very respectfully submit to the House that, notwithstanding the concluding remarks of the noble Lord, it would be a precedent detrimental to the public service to appoint Committees of Inquiry into the reasons why the Government are obliged to separate themselves from some of their colleagues. I can assure the House, most earnestly and conscientiously, that there is nothing whatever to hide in this matter. I have told the simple story, and the House, I think, will see the reasons why it was impossible to continue Sir Spencer Robinson in office. There is really nothing that has to come out of the proposed inquiry. If it should even be proved that my right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers) was mistaken in believing that Sir Spencer Robinson had consented to resign at the expiration of his time as Controller of the Navy, there would still remain the question whether it was for the interest of the service that he should remain until the Committee had reported. I trust the House will not think it necessary to establish a precedent which would be most inconvenient, not to one Government, but to all Governments, and to the House itself. If the House were to tie up the hands of the Government in any Department, they would afterwards throw the miscarriage of that Department on the House. The House must hold the Government themselves responsible. It must hold the heads of a Department responsible for the acts of those who are working with them. The Third Lord of the Admiralty was subordinate to the First Lord, and the First Lord felt he could not be responsible for the proper conduct of the Admiralty if the Third Lord did not retire. The Government hope the House will take this view of the matter. I repeat most emphatically there is nothing to hide. Every Paper relating to this case may be produced. What we wish is that we should be held responsible for the conduct of our colleagues, and that the House should not relieve us of that responsibility which really belongs to us, by appointing a Select Committee to see that we have discharged our duties.

Mr. BOUVERIE : I regret that there were so few Members in the House when the noble Lord made his clear and able statement, because many hon. Members cannot, in consequence, contrast his statement with that of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Goschen). I think, however, that my right hon. Friend has not answered the greater part of that statement. My right hon. Friend pleaded on the part of an absent Colleague; but, whatever our opinion of his administration, we must regret his absence on this occasion. The right hon. Gentleman made one or two statements which, before I go into the case, I will take the liberty to controvert. He stated that Sir Spencer Robinson was not to be regarded as one of the permanent Civil servants of the Crown. In my opinion that is contrary to every view which ought to be taken of Sir Spencer Robinson's position. He had served under three different Boards of Admiralty; he had served under two different parties in the State, and he had afterwards, as Controller of the Navy under the new arrangement, become a Lord of the Admiralty. I think the mere fact that he was called upon to leave his office at the termination of five years' service as Controller shows he was not a political officer, but was really a Civil servant. I am not aware that a political officer has been called upon to serve for a definite period. These personal questions are often very odious; they are always unpleasant in this House; but sometimes they are unavoidable; and this question really is one which it seems impossible to avoid considering. I own the reluctance with which I enter upon a case of this kind. I should never have thought of having anything to do with it if I had not felt that a very distinguished officer, with whom I had not the slightest acquaintance, and whom I did not know by sight six or seven months ago, has been treated unjustly and ungenerously. I wish to say on the part of Sir Spencer Robinson that, while he has this feeling as regards the treatment of himself, he does not desire the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry. He rather wishes that upon the facts of the case, as stated by the noble Lord, and as they may be supplemented, perhaps, by myself, the Gentlemen composing this House—the first body of Gentlemen in Europe—may form their judgment of his treatment, and that through them his fellow-countrymen in the United Kingdom may form a judgment upon his case. Of course, the view he takes may be wrong. He thinks the tribunal to which he should appeal is not a Committee of this House, where his position and reputation may be the subject of a chance majority of 15 Members, got together from both sides of the House at haphazard; but that the tribunal to which he should appeal is this House and the public opinion outside of the House. I will repeat briefly the state of the case. Here is an officer of the highest possible distinction—an officer of very eminent and remarkable ability, as I am informed by those who have means of knowing, which I have not more than the public at large. He has served with great distinction under three Boards of Admiralty, and he has *primâ facie*, at any rate, every claim on the consideration of the Government, and of the country in whose service he has been engaged. More than that, this is the officer who presided at the creation of that great iron-clad fleet which is our pride in the present day. He had a still more special claim for consideration. Sir Spencer Robinson felt so strongly the injustice that was done, not only to himself, but to every officer in the same position, by the Order in Council for retirement issued by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) last year, that he resigned his office at the time, and in doing so wrote to the right hon. Gentleman, his official chief, to express his sense of that injustice. The right hon. Gentleman entreated him not to persist in that resignation, and actually offered to make a special exception in his favour by Order in Council, and to give him a command—a thing which my right hon. Friend (Mr. Goschen) said his Colleague (Mr. Childers) could not possibly do consistently with his duty. If he did not accept that alternative, which he besought him not to do, he urged him to remain at the Admiralty, and continue his services as a Naval Lord.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, that the offer of the command at Sheerness was not an exception in Sir Spencer Robinson's favour.

Mr. BOUVERIE: As I understand the matter, he would have had to retire, and could not have a command, by force of the Order in Council of the 2nd of June. I have the dates here. On the 4th of June, after the date of the Order in Council requiring him to retire, Mr. Childers wrote to Sir Spencer Robinson, offering him the command at Sheerness, under a special Order in Council to be issued in his favour, as one alternative. Mr. Childers, in offering him the command at Sheerness, or his continuance in his present office, wrote to Sir Spencer Robinson as follows:—

> "I need hardly say that to me it would be most agreeable if you accepted the latter proposition, because the entire confidence placed in you by Her Majesty's Government, and by no Member of it more than by myself, justifies me in anticipating great public advantage from your continued advice and assistance in the office of Lord of the Admiralty and Controller of the Navy, the duties of which you discharge with such conspicuous ability and success."

Mr. Childers hoped that Sir Spencer would continue to hold his office at the Admiralty after the expiration of his 10 years' service. Sir Spencer Robinson felt so strongly on the subject that he declined the offer of a special exception in his favour, and like an honourable and upright officer would not rest the matter on his own case, but on what was fair and just to the other officers in the same position as himself, and, refusing the Sheerness command under a special Order in Council, he persisted in his resignation. Mr. Childers again wrote on the 14th of June—

> "I have repeatedly assured you, both before and since this controversy arose, that you had my entire confidence, and that I hoped you would continue to hold your present office. should I remain First Lord of the Admiralty after the termination of your 10 years' service."

And on the top of that letter of the 14th there was the letter from the First Minister of the Crown on the 23rd of June, in which there was this paragraph. I should, however, first explain that every endeavour seems to have been made—and very naturally, because of the due value that was attached to his services—to induce Sir Spencer Robinson to remain at the Admiralty. Well, here is an extract from the letter of the Prime Minister to Sir Spencer Robinson on the 23rd of June—

> "I desire also to assure you that, in my opinion and that of Her Majesty's Government, your service at the Admiralty have been most valuable to the nation, and that their cessation would be very injurious to the public interest. I trust, therefore, that your disapproval of that portion of the Order against which you have so strongly protested will not induce you to resign the duties of the important office which you now occupy."

Thus the strongest possible persuasion was employed by my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government to induce Sir Spencer to waive his resignation at that time. Well, I think it is most unfortunate that Sir Spencer Robinson did waive his resignation. If the gallant Admiral had asked for my counsel and followed it on that occasion, I should have said—"Persist in your resignation; if you have been once ill-treated I think you may, perhaps, be ill-treated again. It is always best to take the first occasion for getting out of a difficulty of this kind." However, Sir Spencer Robinson, the best judge of his own honour and character, decided—probably from a laudable desire to continue his valuable services to the public—to remain at his post in the Admiralty. Then let me point out to the House that Sir Spencer Robinson has another ground for complaint. Not only were those letters written to him first by his official chief and then by the Prime Minister, but he had an Admiralty official letter written to him at the same time, containing all sorts of inducements and persuasions to him to remain at his post; and, if it is not detaining the House too much, perhaps I may be permitted to read this letter. It is from the Board of Admiralty to Sir Spencer Robinson, and it says—

> "Sir,—I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th inst., having reference to your retirement from the active list of flag officers under the recent Order in Council. In reply I am to acquaint you that my Lords, after giving the most careful consideration to all the arguments urged by you, regret that they are not prepared to submit for the consideration of Her Majesty in Council that the Order should be modified in the sense suggested by you;"—

that was that the four Admirals should be relieved from the Retirement Order—

> "but when you may ultimately retire from the office you now hold, my Lords will urge on the Treasury to give full consideration in settling the amount of your pension, not only to the highly valuable services rendered by you to the Government and the country, but also to the whole circumstances of your appointment, and to the consequences of your compulsory retirement under the Order in Council of the 22nd of February, 1871.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
>
> "THOS. WOOLEY."

Now, Sir, if that was not a distinct engagement on the part of the Admiralty that they would do their best to secure an adequate pension to Sir Spencer Robinson in addition to what he might be entitled to under the ordinary Superannuation Act in consideration of the sacrifices he had made by remaining in office, I do not know what a distinct engagement is. Well, this officer, whose valuable services are undisputed, whose great abilities are admitted, and whose integrity is unimpeached, is seven months after these communications summarily and, as he thinks, ignominiously dismissed, and, extraordinary to relate, put upon the smallest pension under the Superannuation Act, without the slightest reference to that consideration of his peculiar claims which the Admiralty had distinctly promised to urge upon the Treasury. I hope, Sir, I am as jealous a guardian of the public purse as my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government; but I must say I think this was shabby treatment of Sir Spencer Robinson. Early in the evening I heard my right hon. Friend protest against generosity, but there are such things as justice and goodfaith as well as generosity; and I maintain that a distinct engagement which was entered into in this case by a great public Department with a distinguished public officer has never been fulfilled. The real point as to Sir Spencer Robinson's dismissal reduces itself, as my right hon. Friend below me has said, to the question of whether he agreed to go when the Committee on iron-clad ships came to the conclusion of its inquiries, or when his 10 years' term of office expired in February last. That was the whole point of the matter in the eyes of Sir Spencer Robinson, who felt that as he was practically the father of our great iron-clad fleet, as he had presided over its conception and its birth, sat by its cradle, and watched over its progress — as he was more familiar than anybody else in office with all the details connected with its being built, fitted, and sent to sea, unless he remained in office it was impossible to do justice to the Department to which he belonged before a Committee appointed practically to inculpate that office. Let everybody look at the terms of the appointment of that Committee on iron-clad ships which are before the House; let him examine the phraseology and say whether it was not intended to question the soundness of the judgment which the Admiralty itself had exercised in respect to the ships that had been built. Why, that was the whole object, as I read it, of the appointment of that Committee. I doubt the wisdom of that step. It was taken in consequence of the alarm created by the loss of the *Captain;* it was an inquiry into the safety, the proper fitting, and the general construction of our iron-clad fleet. And when that Committee was suggested to him by Mr. Childers, Sir Spencer Robinson felt that its mere appointment was by its terms an inculpation of his Department, and that he was thereby bound as by a chain to his post, because, unless he remained there, there would be nobody who could properly lay before the Committee the designs, plans, and other details relating to the construction of that fleet. As no sailor myself, but a man of plain common sense, I must say I think that was a most reasonable view for Sir Spencer Robinson to have taken. My right hon. Friend would lead us to suppose that after this affair of the retirement had been disposed of there was a constant scene of bickering and controversy going on between Sir Spencer Robinson and the Board. Now, of course, I was not behind the scenes myself, but I have had several conversations on this matter with Admiral Robinson, and I must say I never came across a more straightforward, plain-speaking, or apparently more truthful gentleman, and, as far as I am informed, there was nothing whatever of that kind until Sir Spencer returned from his leave of absence obtained in September. He had been two months away, having been so unwell as to be unable to work, and he had talked to his official chief of retiring from office, because he thought he might be unequal to the adequate discharge of his public duties when he came back from his leave, and his official chief requested him not to think of it. On his return on the 1st of November, Sir Spencer Robinson found his chief deliberating on the question of appointing a Commission or a Committee, the sad catastrophe which had thrilled every heart having befallen the *Captain* on the very day when Sir Spencer left the Admiralty on leave of absence. And here I desire to correct the mistake — an unintentional one, I am sure—made by the right hon. Gentleman who thought Sir Spencer Robinson saw the Minute about the *Captain* which was prepared by Mr. Childers. Sir Spencer Robinson assures me that that is not so—that he never saw it until after it was published and sold, for a few shillings, in all the booksellers' shops. On Sir Spencer Robinson's return he had some conversations with Mr. Childers about this Commission or Committee. As these conversations have a very material bearing on the point in controversy between these two gentlemen as explaining the views taken by each of them, I quote the substance of them as written down from memory by Sir Spencer Robinson. I should state that during the Recess many important letters had passed between them, letters which I have seen, and that nothing could be more cordial than the tone of those communications, showing that up to the 1st of November the relations of these gentlemen were of the most friendly description. The following is an outline of the conversations to which I refer:—

> "On the 2nd of November Mr. Childers asked my advice as to the Minute he contemplated writing, as to his answers to Reed's letters and publications, and as to the appointment of a Royal Commission, or some Committee not described, to inquire into the wants of special ships for our iron-clad Navy. I suggested a Royal Commission of which I should be a member. He said my being in office would be an objection, and I replied that I thought if the inquiry were a thorough and honest one I could do more out of office and as a Royal Commissioner than in my present position. The conversation was renewed next day. He objected to the Royal Commission, which he said would undoubtedly be hostile to the Admiralty, and also to my proposing to leave office to become a member of it, for he said, 'that would look as if you left on account of the *Captain's* disaster.' I explained that what I contemplated was a Royal Commission appointed after Parliament had met, when my retirement from office, after being Controller of the Navy 10 years, would be a natural and unexceptionable reason for my going. He said, 'I did not understand that you proposed to defer leaving till then. But a Royal Commission is not considered advisable by the Government, and we will have some further conversation about the appointment of a Committee.'"

I may here remark how truthful all this appears to be. The *à priori* probability is all in favour of Sir Spencer Robinson's statement, and how reasonable are his replies to the suggestions made to him. He goes on to say—

> "When these further conversations had occurred, and all the efforts I had made, verbally and in writing, to dissuade him from taking this step had proved fruitless, sometime towards the middle or end of November I made a final attempt to get a different turn given to the action of the Committee, which led to his observing, 'Well, you know where such strong differences of opinion exist the best, and, indeed, the only course to follow is that people should part.' I quite agreed, but I pointed out that it was impossible for me to leave office with this Committee appointed to make the inquiries which he had directed them to undertake; that I was unfortunately chained to a post; that I could not leave my reputation and the character of the Department undefended; that as soon as the Committee had reported my course was clear—if unfavourable I should go as a matter of course; if favourably, I should propose to Mr. Gladstone to remain in office, or to leave it as he might think best, and quite in a friendly spirit he agreed that this was the right course to pursue. I can therefore say that there was no threat of resignation ever used by me since the arrangement come to in June. On the 29th of August I showed him a letter from my doctor, and on the 4th or 5th of September, when Mr. Childers was on the point of leaving England himself for his health, I told him how ill I was, how doubtful I felt whether I should be able to continue my work in a satisfactory manner to myself, and that if I was not better I should feel obliged to leave office. On the 2nd and 3rd of November it was a discussion in quite a friendly and intimate manner as to the best mode of quieting the public anxiety, which led to the mention of my going out of office. Towards the end of November the suggestion of leaving came from himself, and on the 14th of December he made a resolute effort to induce me to agree to leave office on the 6th or 7th of February, which I answered in the way already described."

These statements of Sir Spencer Robinson are of great importance. [Mr. GLADSTONE asked to see the document.] Certainly, the right hon. Gentleman shall have an opportunity of seeing this Paper, and for the satisfaction of the right hon. Gentleman I can assure him that I do not say these things in any hostility towards Mr. Childers. I am merely dealing with the affair as a difference existing between two gentlemen, and Sir Spencer Robinson having asked me to lay his view of the matter before the House I trust I shall be permitted to do so. I should say that in the Minute of a further conversation which is referred to by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) in his subsequent correspondence with Sir Spencer Robinson, which has been laid before Parliament, I find references to previous disagreements with Mr. Childers, and I asked Sir Spencer Robinson what they referred to, and he replied that he was not aware of any such disagreements except those which related to the appointment of a Commission or Committee. I asked him if he could state what these were, and he replied, "I will endeavour to the best of my recollection to set down what took place," and this is the memorandum I have already read to the House. But then comes the Minute relating to the *Captain*. I am aware that the noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox) proposes to raise a debate upon the question of the loss of the *Captain*, and therefore I shall not enter upon that very serious topic at the present moment further than to say that that Minute appears to every man of fair mind to be an attempt to shift the responsibility which justly attaches to the great officer of State who was at the head of the Department upon the shoulders of subordinates. That is a subject, however, which we shall have to discuss hereafter, and therefore I will not further touch upon it now. Let us bear in mind the importance of dates. Sir Spencer Robinson never saw that Minute, but the House is aware that it was published on the 15th of December. Now, on the 14th of December Mr. Childers sent for Sir Spencer Robinson, and on that occasion the conversation arose which is referred to in the Correspondence. Of that conversation Sir Spencer Robinson made the following memorandum. It is rather long; but as is essential to Sir Spencer Robinson's case that the House should hear it, I trust that I shall be indulged so far as to be permitted to read it. I should state that Sir Spencer Robinson has very recently, through the kindness of the present First Lord of the Admiralty, been favoured with a sight of the memorandum of this conversation, made by Mr. Childers, which he had not seen before. I have both of these memoranda in my hand, and having carefully compared them I find they agree substantially as far as it is possible for two accounts, written on two sheets of paper of a conversation which lasted one hour and a-half, to coincide, with the exception of one point, which is really the material point of the whole case—namely, as to what Sir Spencer Robinson agreed to do. The House will bear in mind that this is not merely a case against the late First Lord of the Admiralty, but rather one against the First Lord of the Treasury for having dealt somewhat summarily and hastily with Sir Spencer Robinson in taking as accurate the statement of one gentlemen with reference to the substance of a conversation which had arisen between himself and another. When the First Lord of the Treasury found that there was this difference between the recollection of the two gentlemen, he should have waited until Mr. Childers had returned before taking any decided course in the matter. The course taken by the right hon. Gentleman, however, has led to all this turmoil and trouble. Sir Spencer Robinson and Mr. Childers had a conversation on the 14th of December, the day before the publication of this Minute, which casts all the blame of the loss of the *Captain* upon the former—a most unpleasant feature of the case. The following is Sir Spencer Robinson's account of that conversation:—

"My recollection of what passed in the conversation with Mr. Childers is as follows, and as I repeated it the same day to a person of most accurate memory, who confirms every part of it, I have the fullest reliance on being strictly correct as to the essential parts of it. The conversation began by a reference to more than one Minute which I had placed on papers, recommending that a certain course should be pursued on the advice of the Director of Naval Ordnance, and stating that I had not had time (being occupied in preparing for the Committee) to satisfy myself personally on the subject. Mr. Childers stated that he could not accept that position; further, that he must have a responsible adviser; that he intended to relieve me from all ordinary duties, that I might attend to the Committee, and give temporary charge of the office to some one else, as the work was too much for me. I explained that I did not complain of the ordinary work being too much for me, but that if he objected to take my recommendations in the manner I had made them on the Minute adverted to, I would postpone the preparation of the work for the Committee and not allow it to interfere with the office work. He then said, 'You have often spoken about your retirement from office. I wish to know precisely what your intentions are?' I replied, 'As I have already told you, under the circumstances of the appointment of this committee, I have no choice whatever. I must remain until the Committee reports; if it reports unfavourably, of course I go at once; if it reports favourably, as I cannot doubt it will, I shall think it right to place my office at the disposal of the Government, to go or remain as they think best.' He said, 'Yes, but you have said a great deal more than that. You have said that you did not wish to stay an hour, and so are anxious to go at once. Now, I want to know your intentions?' I replied, 'May I ask Mr. Childers, whether you make this assertion from anything I have said to you in this room, or where does it come from?' (I had never said anything like this to him.) He then, with much warmth, said that my manner was disrespectful, and that both my language and manner were most improper in our respective positions. I replied that I was quite unconscious of anything of the kind, and 'I at once apologize if I have said anything which could properly give you offence.' He added, 'Pray, don't say another word on the subject.' He again reverted to my having repeatedly said to him in conversation that I wished to leave office at once, to which I said, 'I decline to be bound by your recollections of what you supposed I said, I have already told you what I intended to do. As our conversations have often led to misunderstandings I shall be much obliged if you will put this question (as to my intentions of leaving) in writing, and then I will give you an answer in writing, and there will be no mistake.' He continued to press, and I continued to decline giving a verbal answer, and he was evidently extremely angry at my doing so, saying that he should write or not, and that he should see about it. Some more conversation took place as to the unusual position he was placed in by my refusal to admit that what might have passed in private conversation was to be considered as official, and I again explained that I could not admit the accuracy of his recollections. On his continuing to remonstrate about the request I had made for the question to be in writing, I said, 'I am so sure now that I shall not be misunderstood that if you will take this verbal answer I will give it you, that my intentions as to the time of my retiring depend entirely on the report of the Committee, as soon as they have reported. I have told you what I shall do; at the same time if you would rather have this in writing I will put it on paper.' He then said, 'I am quite satisfied.' A long conversation then followed on the reasons I had for not wishing to remain in office under present arrangements, after the Committee's report. I stated fully all I had to complain of, dwelling much on the absence of fair and open dealing from which I had suffered. His reply, at great length, was most conciliatory. He expressed the deepest regret that any differences or any misunderstandings should exist between us; the extreme pain and regret that he felt at perceiving that our intercourse was not so friendly and intimate as it had once been; that these circumstances had filled him with the deepest mortification, &c. I said but little to all this. I asked him some question connected with the Naval Estimates, which he was not prepared to answer, as no decision had been come to about them, as he wanted some information he had not got which I offered to supply. Some few remarks were made about office work, and as I was going away, in answer to a question I expressed my intention of giving him all the assistance I could while I remained. He said, 'I am very glad we have had this conversation; it is entirely satisfactory to me, as, indeed, I was quite sure it would be.' I expressed my regret, if, during the warmth of discussion, I had used unintentionally any words which were disagreeable to him. Here the matter ended, as I thought."

The difference between one memorandum and the other is that whereas Sir Spencer Robinson says he agreed to go, on an adverse Report from the Committee, Mr. Childers says he agreed to go at the end of his term. It was on the basis of the latter that my right hon. Friend acted in the absence of Mr. Childers, and, as I am bound to say, I think acted somewhat hastily. My right hon. Friend made one of those mistakes into which we are all apt to fall. He took the statement he happened to have before him absolutely and alone, and acted upon it without reference to the statement of Sir Spencer Robinson. Of course the head of the Government was entitled, upon good grounds, to tell Sir Spencer Robinson to go, but unfortunately my right hon. Friend put the dismissal upon the ground of a memorandum the accuracy of which Sir Spencer was able to deny. What has been the real cause of this difference between these two gentlemen of great ability? It is nothing more complicated than incompatibility. They could not get on together. Something had arisen between them which made it impossible for the public service to be carried on satisfactorily with these two men in the same office. It is not for me to say which was to blame. Mr. Childers was the chief of the office, and as long as he was so he was entitled to insist upon having subordinates who would obey; but Sir Spencer Robinson has served with perfect satisfaction under two other Boards and under two other chiefs, and I believe I could call on his colleagues at the time to certify to the fact. The hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) is among the number, and I think I may also refer to Members of the present Government, the President of the Poor Law Board (Mr. Stansfeld) and the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Baxter), for instance, to say he was not a colleague of extreme incompatibility if properly managed. He was a man of genius and *irritabile genus*, as such men are apt to be, but he was as ready and able to get on well with his colleagues as his colleagues were to get on with him. Now, it has happened that he was got rid of at a time when it was extremely improbable that Mr. Childers would return to the Admiralty, and, inasmuch as he has not returned, my right hon. Friend, instead of getting rid of one incompatible member of the Board, has managed to get rid of two, and has left the Board stranded, with scarcely an experienced man upon it. This is the point I want the House to weigh well. The public service has been the loser by this act. What is the plight of the Admiralty now? Under the Order in Council of two years ago, the Board of Admiralty is *magni nominis umbra;* it is a name; the First Lord is a sort of Lord High Admiral; he consults the other members of the Board when he likes and as he likes. There is no Board as there used to be. The fact that we have a civilian at the head of a great Department, such as the Admiralty, is always an extraordinary anomaly in itself. Take the present one. My right hon. Friend (Mr. Goschen) undoubtedly possesses great ability and distinction, and has displayed those abilities at the Poor Law Board, where he learnt a good deal about rating, but I do not suppose he has learnt how to rate a ship's crew or to box the compass. Probably he knows as much about Admiralty affairs as any other lay Member of this House, and probably he is not able to do much more than distinguish between the stem and the stern of a ship. Now, what is the remedy for such an anomaly? Obviously, that the First Lord should be supported by a Board of skilled men who should give him sound professional advice, while he would rely upon himself alone to decide upon vital points of administration. But what is now the case? The late First Lord is gone; the third Naval Lord is gone; the Controller of the Navy, who has for 10 years carried on the construction of our iron-clad fleet, has gone; the Constructor who advised upon all these ships has gone; the Secretary, who laid about him with such vigour as regards contracts and supplies, has gone; and there is my right hon. Friend the sole head of that great Department with these millions of money to dispose of, and this enormous naval administration to carry on, with only one skilled, experienced adviser by his side in the shape of the First Naval Lord. Now, that is a public misfortune, and not a state of things which the First Lord of the Treasury should have contemplated with anything like satisfaction. This is the place where the shoe really pinches. It may be a question whether wrong has been done or not to Sir Spencer Robinson—he and his friends think so — but there is no question that grievous wrong has been done to the public service by getting rid of these two experienced administrators, Mr. Childers and Sir Spencer Robinson, at the same time. The health of Mr. Childers has forced him to resign. Sir Spencer Robinson's health and vigour held out a promise of long continuance of service, and considering he was really one of the permanent members of the Civil Service, though he held office only from term to term, his dismissal may be attended with very disagreeable consequences to the Naval Service. Let me add one word in conclusion. Not only is the Civil First Lordship of the Admiralty an anomaly, but the whole of our system of Civil administration is an anomaly. Men are taken at haphazard in this House, some because they can talk glibly, some because they are troublesome, and are put at the head of great Departments. Some distinguish themselves as administrators, but it is not the case with all. The mainstay of the administration of the country is the permanent Civil Service, and unless that permanent Civil Service is in a sound, wholesome, contented condition, the administration of the affairs of the country will not go on comfortably for a week. I must say I regret that I have observed, during the last two or three years at least, a strong disposition on the part of heads of Departments to bear somewhat harshly on the Service. It may be done in the way of economy, but it sometimes seems to descend to parsimony, which is not that wise frugality which saves to live. I would, therefore, urge upon the House to pause before endorsing anything like harsh, cruel, or unjust treatment of those who so admirably discharge the duties they have undertaken as the permanent Civil servants of the Crown.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I agree with what fell from my right hon. Friend who has just sat down at the commencement of his speech with regard to the disadvantageous nature of a discussion of this kind; but I also agree that that is certainly not a conclusive reason against such a discussion. It must not be supposed, therefore, that I make a charge on this account against the noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox) for having introduced the subject. But these discussions upon the dismissal of a public officer by the Executive, whether politic or not, are always attended with circumstances most painful, and to a Government they are attended with peculiar disadvantages. The duty of their assail-ants is undoubtedly to speak with great respect of one party in the case, while they are perfectly free to deal with the other; the Government, however, must endeavour to show the same consideration and respect for the person placed in antagonism to them as they desire should be shown to themselves. We all know it is very difficult to make a full and complete statement of your own case without appearing to imply more or less that it is disadvantageous to the person with respect to whom you are put on your defence. What am I to do under these circumstances? I will do this. I will take for my rule to say knowingly not a single syllable that can hurt the feelings of anyone connected with Sir Spencer Robinson, and if I offend against that rule—which I trust I shall not do—I beg the House to believe it is entirely unintentional and against my will. My right hon. Friend who has just sat down has said this is a Motion inculpating me more than the late First Lord of the Admiralty. Be it so. At the same time, I need hardly say, as I was not the First Lord of the Admiralty, and was not engaged in the business of the Department, the source of knowledge, the original, authentic, and only competent source of knowledge, to which we can turn for meeting the statements that rise in the debate, as will necessarily happen, without our being aware of them beforehand, is my right hon. Friend the late First Lord. My right hon. Friend who has just sat down and my noble Friend opposite had every opportunity and the most perfect means of communicating with Sir Spencer Robinson. We, on the other hand, are compelled to argue the case with regard to which we are put on our defence with the only original and full knowledge of the whole case in the possession of an absent man to whom we cannot refer. This is one disadvantage which we labour under; but there is a greater disadvantage still, and it is this, that this is one of those cases in which no Government has an option as to the course which it shall pursue. There are many issues of a more general character with reference to which it is in the power of a Government without dishonour to submit itself to the judgment of the House of Commons. Now, do not let it be supposed, on the present occasion, that I question for one moment the power and the right of the House of Commons to institute a Committee to inquire into the circumstances under which a public officer, be he a Civil servant of the permanent Staff or a political servant, has been removed from office. I admit that right perfectly and unreservedly. But, at the same time, the House will acknowledge that there are certain rules and precedents which have directed and controlled the conduct of every Administration, and one of the most undisputed of them is, that they must maintain their exclusive responsibility for the continuance in office of all Civil servants holding during pleasure, and those who hold during pleasure in order that the Government may be responsible to the House of Commons for their conduct, but more especially for the conduct of those Civil servants whose office partakes of a political character. The House will, therefore, understand that I admit they have a perfect right to condemn me and the whole Government, and everybody connected with me for my conduct in this matter; but they will not think it disrespectful if I say that I am not the man, my right hon. Friend near me is not the man, nor are my colleagues the men to allow any new practice, which they think vitally affecting the responsibility of Ministers, to be introduced without taking the most emphatic and conclusive steps at their command for the purpose of preventing it. I spoke of the disadvantage we were under on account of not having the power of reference to my right hon. Friend the source of knowledge on this subject. I do not say the guilty man, because my right hon. Friend has transferred the guilt to me, and so far I am obliged to him. But I will illustrate the disadvantage from my right hon. Friend's own speech. My right hon. Friend began his speech with a temper I cannot too highly praise. But what did he do at the end? Why, he launched into a general impeachment of personal incapacity against the whole Board of Admiralty. My right hon. Friend at the close of his speech declared that he had no confidence in the Board of Admiralty. I claim for my right hon. Friend near me (Mr. Goschen) that he shall be judged by his own acts. My right hon. Friend the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Bouverie) had, no doubt, listened to the statement of my right hon. Friend the

First Lord of the Admiralty in introducing the Navy Estimates the other night. Did he find any fault in it? Did he find in it any trace of defective information? Then, why come forward to condemn my right hon. Friend and his Board of Admiralty before they have committed any act to justify censure or criticism?

MR. BOUVERIE: I spoke of want of experience.

MR. GLADSTONE: My right hon. Friend said the Board of Admiralty was "stranded."

MR. BOUVERIE: I beg my right hon. Friend's pardon, I never used the expression. At all events, I do not insist on it.

MR. GLADSTONE: Well, it is entirely immaterial if my right hon. Friend disavows the words. I only wish to set aside all discussion about the general merits of the Board of Admiralty. My right hon. Friend was not quite correct in his statement of the facts. My right hon. Friend said we had got rid of the Naval Constructor by some act of our own. We did not by any act of our own get rid of him. Mr. Reed, the late Naval Constructor, removed himself, as he was perfectly entitled to do, thinking that his call and duties lay elsewhere. My right hon. Friend said that no Naval Lord was left at the Board but one. Is Lord John Hay no Naval Lord? But he is about to go. We had nothing whatever to do with that, and we were not cognizant of the going of Lord John Hay at the time Sir Spencer Robinson was called on to retire. My right hon. Friend introduced a matter not mentioned in the speech of the noble Lord, as to which I had no previous information whatever. My right hon. Friend, therefore, placed me at a disadvantage; but I contest the whole of his proposition. He said that the Admiralty had made an engagement with Sir Spencer Robinson to obtain for him a special pension, and that not only was there no special pension given to him, but the whole of the contract was forgotten or disavowed, and that nothing was awarded him except the minimum of what was allowed under the Superannuation Act. Now, the truth is, that the Admiralty recommended the Treasury to give him everything they could in respect of pension, and it is also true, in diametrical opposition to the statement of my right hon. Friend, that the Treasury did give Sir Spencer Robinson everything they could. The judgment of the Treasury, which is the responsible authority in matters of this kind, was that Sir Spencer Robinson under the Superannuation Act was not entitled to a single farthing. That was the judgment of the responsible Department; but what did they do? They said, "Though five years' term of office does not entitle Sir Spencer Robinson to a single farthing, yet in consideration of the implied contract, which was fully recognized at the time, and which is undeniable, we will give him the largest sum in our power." They, therefore, awarded him the sum given for 10 years' professional service under the Superannuation Act, a thing which, unless by a special discretion, it was utterly impossible for them to do. So much for the question of pension. My right hon. Friend says that Sir Spencer Robinson was a permanent Civil servant. It is not perhaps necessary to dwell at any great length on this point, because I am not prepared to admit that there is an essential distinction between the case of permanent and political Civil servants. The only difference that I know is that while very great consideration is due to political Civil servants, still greater care and circumspection are due in the case of the permanent Civil servants of the Crown. But as regards maintaining the great Parliamentary principle that the Executive Government is to be responsible to the House of Commons for the conduct of their Civil servants, that principle applies alike to the one and the other. But Sir Spencer Robinson was a political Civil servant, and the fact that in certain cases a Lord of the Admiralty is passed on by the Treasury to a new Board of Admiralty only proves that in certain cases continuity of office is granted, even as continuity of office is often granted in what are known to everybody to be political offices, as, for instance, when Lord Clarendon was asked over and over again to continue in the office he held as Foreign Secretary. Well, my right hon. Friend says that Sir Spencer Robinson and his friends think that he has been unjustly and ungenerously treated. Now, that is a very grave question for discussion. It is a question, however, in which I believe general opinion must assume the ultimate arbitrament, for I do not admit that it can be brought to a Parliamentary issue by a Government which continues to remain in office. It is no doubt a very heavy responsibility which is incurred in the dismissal of an officer of the State of any kind. No one who has ever been concerned in such a proceeding will hesitate to admit that it is a thing which rarely occurs, and that it never should occur but for the gravest reason—that reason being that if it did not occur greater injury to the public service would be the result. That is the principle by which we desire to be tried. I am obliged to pass over again a considerable portion of my right hon. Friend's observations, in which he said that we were not to discuss the Minute of Mr. Childers as to the deplorable loss of the *Captain*, while, at the same time, he proceeded to discuss it in terms of the severest censure which any man could pronounce on an absent person, when he stated that Mr. Childers evaded responsibility and sought to throw the blame on his inferior officers. That is a grave issue, and one which, in my opinion, ought not to be introduced incidentally on an occasion when it was not intended to be discussed. My right hon. Friend has made a charge against myself, but in a manner I have nothing to find fault with; but I will endeavour to contest his argument. He says that in the multiplicity of my cares and troubles I cannot fail from time to time to make mistakes, and I have no doubt that that is true. I am not, however, able to see the mistake which has been made by me in the present instance, and I contend that my right hon. Friend has not proved the occurrence of any such mistake. He contends that my error was that I acted on an *ex parte* statement, which I ought to have reserved to be fought between Sir Spencer Robinson and Mr. Childers, and that to delay was the proper course for me to pursue. Now, I am not prepared to admit, as between colleague and colleague in the Cabinet, the statement of Mr. Childers ought to have been regarded by me as *ex parte*. That statement was not the only one in my possession on the subject. Mr. Childers, independently of it, made known to me the general grounds on which it was necessary in his judgment—and he convinced me of the necessity—that Sir Spencer Robinson should cease to hold his office at the Admiralty. Much other evidence was in my possession which entirely convinced me of the accuracy of Mr. Childers's statement as to what had taken place at the interview on the 14th of December. As here I am setting up the statement of Mr. Childers against that of Sir Spencer Robinson, I would observe that we all of us are liable to those differences which arise out of differences in point of memory. I would, however, add that it appears from the documents before us that the memory of Sir Spencer Robinson is not unimpeachable. I do not wonder at it. I think that any man filling a laborious public office is liable to have his memory overcharged, and I should be sorry to be severely judged on a point of memory myself. I merely refer to the matter now for the purpose of sustaining my case. I find that one of the versions which Sir Spencer Robinson gives of what he said is that he came to the determination that he wished to remain in office until the Committee on Designs had reported, and that if that Committee reported unfavourably to him he should go at once, and if not, that he should place himself at the disposal of the Government. That is one statement; but according to another statement Sir Spencer Robinson entirely varies one of the essential articles contained in that which I have just mentioned. In that other statement he says he wishes to remain until the Committee reported; and that if the Report was favourable to him he would wish to continue in office; but that if a censure was passed, then he would consider it his duty to resign his post. Now, these two accounts of the same transaction are not, I contend, consistent with one another; but they are inconsistent exactly in the way in which when we are dealing with a question of memory such differences may arise. The real question, however, is whether, practically, we were right or wrong in the course which we adopted rather than the abstract proposition with respect to the authority of the memorandum of Mr. Childers? My right hon. Friend's contention is that, instead of acting on Mr. Childers's statement that Sir Spencer Robinson had agreed with him with regard to his resignation, I ought to have waited till Mr. Childers returned, and then allowed the matter to be discussed. My right hon. Friend, however, fails to see that although undoubtedly Mr. Childers stated to me, and I fully believed, as I still believe, that Sir Spencer Robinson on that day had been a willing party to the arrangement for his resignation, yet that it is an entire mistake to suppose that we vindicate his removal from office on anything that has reference to the expression of his willingness to go. My right hon. Friend says I ought to have postponed the whole matter for the purpose of inquiring whether Mr. Childers or Sir Spencer Robinson was right upon the question of the latter's resignation. [Mr. WHITBREAD: You decided the grounds.] I did not decide the grounds at all. My hon. Friend the Member for Bedford raises another point, and to which I am sorry I am obliged to advert. Does my hon. Friend really think that I, not being First Lord of the Admiralty, and having only a secondary knowledge, through Mr. Childers, of the actual state of things in the Department, would have acted either wisely or justly in taking upon myself the whole official care, as if I had been the First Lord? It would have been impossible for me to have done that. Sir Spencer Robinson, in answer to my statement that Mr. Childers had arranged with him for his resignation, expressed his own desire, which was that he should remain in office until the Committee had reported; but to say that I then fell back on the statement that he had agreed to resign and should go, is entirely erroneous. My letter, in answer to Sir Spencer Robinson's first letter, did not state that he should go, because I was determined to hold him to his bargain. There is, indeed, a previous historic precedent for a case of this kind in the saying of the Duke of Wellington to Mr. Huskisson, in 1829—"There is no mistake, there can be no mistake, and there shall be no mistake." But, in the present instance, I find that the Committee to which Sir Spencer Robinson referred was not likely to report for several months; and my right hon. Friend is entirely in error when he supposes that the state of the relations which had for some time existed between Sir Spencer Robinson and the Department had nothing to do with the decision at which I felt it to be my duty to arrive in the matter. What becomes, then, of the charge of my right hon. Friend, that I acted with precipitancy? Knowing that we were not proceeding substantially and exclusively upon the supposed consent of Sir Spencer Robinson, knowing also that relations existed in the Department which we thought should not continue, how was it possible for me, on the ground of what was little better than a verbal quarrel, to postpone a question which I knew was entirely irrelevant to the main question? Two grounds were stated in the memorandum of Mr. Childers. One was that Sir Spencer Robinson had agreed to go. One was, that the relations existing in the Department made his remaining incompatible with the interests of the service. How could I postpone the question of his retirement on account of this difference of recollection between Mr. Childers and Sir Spencer Robinson, when, as I told Sir Spencer Robinson, his relations in the Department made it impossible for him to remain? And what becomes of the charge of precipitancy, or the multitude of occupations which devolve on me—an excuse kindly made for me by my right hon. Friend to account for my deficiencies in this painful business? Besides, was there nothing said before this by Sir Spencer Robinson himself upon the question whether it was desirable he should remain in office? I will not refer to the suggestion that this question should remain over to greet my right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers) in his first days of returning strength. But what said Sir Spencer Robinson himself? According to the memorandum of Mr. Childers, he told Sir Spencer Robinson—

> "That after the Minutes which he had recently written, it was quite clear he was unable to carry on the usual duties of his office, and, at the same time, give the attention which he described as necessary to the work of the Committee."

Happily, we are not at conflict here upon the two recollections, because Sir Spencer Robinson himself said he had not time to do this and transact his ordinary duties. Thus, we have a distinct declaration by the First Lord that Sir Spencer Robinson said it was impossible for him to carry on the arduous duties of his Department, and, at the same time, discharge the duties imposed on him by the sittings of the Committee; that statement is not contradicted on the part of Sir Spencer Robinson. And yet my right hon. Friend said it was precipitate in me, because I did not, under these circumstances, insist on Sir Spencer

Robinson's remaining to discharge the duties which he himself said he could not discharge. How can my right hon. Friend found an accusation upon grounds such as these? He says this was a case of incompatibility. I cannot agree in that statement. If I thought it was a case of incompatibility of temper, it might be necessary to make that avowal; but it would be a very painful one to make, because it would certainly seem to imply very great fault on the one side or the other. But, as has been said by my right hon. Friend near me (Mr. Goschen), although it was not the loss of the *Captain* itself, it was the measures which grew out of that loss which led to the rise of most grave practical disagreements between Sir Spencer Robinson and not only the First Lord but other colleagues upon the Board which, in the judgment of Mr. Childers, and in my judgment upon his appeal to me, were incompatible with the advantageous transaction of public business. Let it be again understood, therefore, that there is no reproach upon Sir Spencer Robinson. These differences of opinion constantly arise in the course of history, even among those who are colleagues in the Government, and often require the retirement of one or the other, but imply no fault, unless it be one of those purely intellectual faults, on the one side or the other, which are inevitable, but do not expose anyone to the slightest degree of moral blame. I understand that the noble Lord opposite found fault with me because I was not here during his speech. Now, 11 continuous hours without any remission of public duty did make it necessary for me to withdraw myself for one hour from the House, especially with the prospect of three or four hours longer attendance here. I had no idea that what was done by me was likely to form a material part of the statement of the noble Lord. I fear I have occupied the House too long; but let me refer for a moment to what is called the alteration of the date of Sir Spencer Robinson's letter. I do not complain that it is described as the alteration of the date, because I have called it so myself. Let me explain what it was. In reason and in substance there was no alteration of a date at all. Sir Spencer Robinson's letter was a letter which first acquired an official character when it became an official document. Until then the date was a date perfectly immaterial. Sir Spencer Robinson's letter had been written and had remained for some time in the possession of the Registrar or Secretary in the Admiralty, without being made an official document; and, as it had not been made an official document for a considerable time, I suggested that the date should be postponed till the time when it was so made, which was after the removal of Sir Spencer Robinson. I suggested this alteration because I saw no disadvantage thereby entailed upon Sir Spencer Robinson, while, on the other hand, there was an advantage, because it is not possible for any Board to admit as official documents contested minutes among its own members. I did not wish to refuse to produce this document. On the contrary, I thought Sir Spencer Robinson was entitled to have it produced; but, on the other hand, I did not wish to create an inconvenient precedent adverse to the discipline of the Department. Once more, I hope it will be clearly understood that the ground communicated to me by Mr. Childers was a double ground—the one being that Sir Spencer Robinson had himself agreed to resign, and the other that relations had sprung up in the Department wholly independent of that consent, which made his retirement desirable. With this explanation I leave the matter in the hands of the House, fully admitting the title of the House to take into its hands the examination and adjudication of any matter in which it is of opinion that one of Her Majesty's subjects has been aggrieved. I not only admit that the consideration of such an alleged grievance is a fair subject of discussion, but I also frankly admit that if the noble Lord thinks Sir Spencer Robinson is aggrieved, he is only discharging a public duty in bringing it under the notice of the House with all the freedom of criticizm he thinks fit to employ.

MR. WHITBREAD said, the right hon. Gentleman, with his quick ear, had caught an observation made by him to the right hon. Member for Kilmarnock not intended for the hearing of the First Minister, to the effect that the only ground assigned to Sir Spencer Robinson before his dismissal was a Minute of Mr. Childers, left by the right hon. Gentleman. He had felt keenly and bitterly, as an old colleague, the treatment which Sir Spencer Robinson had received, and he also felt that they were now fighting with foils with the buttons on, the real question not being before the House. The real source of bitterness was the subject of the *Captain.* He had felt also that it was impossible for him to speak in the absence of Mr. Childers. He could not consent to say what he should like to have said on this subject unless the responsible Minister were present. The right hon. Gentleman said that reasons were communicated to him by Mr. Childers, convincing him that it was impossible that Sir Spencer Robinson could remain in office. The House, however, had never heard those reasons, and he doubted whether they ever were communicated to Sir Spencer Robinson. He attached little blame to the Prime Minister in this transaction. Rather, if he did attach any blame to the right hon. Gentleman, it was of a very slight nature, and it was that he acted too loyally to his Friend and Colleague. If only time, that great healer of all ills, had been allowed, he (Mr. Whitbread) believed that a good many differences would have since been explained away. As to saying that the right hon. Member for Kilmarnock had brought a charge against the present First Lord of the Admiralty in any way, there never was a greater mistake. All that he (Mr. Whitbread) desired was to give Sir Spencer Robinson fair play, and he believed that Sir Spencer would have had this fair play if he had been allowed to remain longer in office.

Admiral ERSKINE asked to be allowed to state two facts. Sir Spencer Robinson had always expressed to his friends—he had also so stated to himself—that he had no intention of resigning his office after the Committee was appointed to examine into the ships, till the Committee had made its Report; and Sir Spencer Robinson was supported in this determination by his own friends. The second fact was, that never till that night had he heard a single word of complaint from Sir Spencer Robinson with respect to the amount of his pension.

Lord HENRY LENNOX, in reply, said, he would only trouble the House with a very few remarks. The First Lord of the Admiralty, he was quite sure unintentionally, misrepresented him on almost every point; and several of the mistakes had been cleared away by the right hon. Member for Kilmarnock. It had been stated that the Government had a perfect right to choose what officers should be employed to carry on the service of the country. He (Lord Henry Lennox) had never stated to the contrary. And in June last the Government did select Sir Spencer Robinson as Controller of the Navy. He had placed on the Paper of that night his Notice of a Motion for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the question, because it was the only way in which he could raise the question in the House. He was quite willing to agree in the suggestion of the Prime Minister, that the case of Sir Spencer Robinson, and his summary dismissal from the service, should be left to the arbitrament of the country. It was not his intention to give the House the trouble of dividing on the question; and, with permission of the House, he would withdraw his Motion. [" Divide!"]

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think it right to state that I shall not consent to the withdrawal.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 104; Noes 153: Majority 49.

PRIVATE CHAPELS BILL—[Bill 37.]

(*Mr. Salt, Mr. Dimsdale, Mr. Morrison.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Sir WILLIAM HUTT moved to leave out Clause 1, and insert—

(Bishop's licence to entitle Ministers to serve in Private Chapels, without consent of incumbent.)

" The licence of the Bishop of the diocese to a minister duly appointed to a consecrated Private Chapel, or to a chapel belonging to any college, school, hospital, asylum, or other public institution, whether consecrated or not, shall entitle such minister to serve such chapel, and to administer and perform within the walls thereof the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and such other offices, except the solemnization of marriage, as shall be specified in such licence, without the consent of the incumbent of the parish or district in which such chapel is situate."

Clause (Bishop's licence to entitle minister to serve in Private Chapels without consent of incumbent,)—(*Sir William Hutt,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

Mr. MONK objected to the Motion, on the ground that by its adoption the House would be practically reversing the decision come to in Committee.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE begged to back up the appeal of the hon. Gentleman opposite. The Bill, as it stood, met the need which existed for recognizing the common worship of hospitals, schools, and similar institutions as a thing to be regulated independently of the general parochial system; but this clause set up the possibility of schism and division in every parish in the country by the creation of rival churches at the mere will of the Bishop, in collusion with some discontented parishioners. If no one else should he would, in the event of the clause being adopted, or of the adoption of the very similar clause of the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt), put a Notice on the Paper to move the rejection of the Bill on the third reading.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said, he thought it desirable that the 1st clause should be allowed to stand as it was settled by the Committee.

Mr. SALT said, he hoped the hon. Member for Gateshead would withdraw the clause.

Sir WILLIAM HUTT said, he would consent to do so.

Mr. SALT moved a new clause (Provisions as to Private Chapels.)

Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

On Motion, "That the clause be now read the second time,"

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE objected to the clause, as he had done to the one of the right hon. Member for Gateshead, on the ground that it would introduce general confusion, as the Bishops of different dioceses, who would have to certify that such chapels were required for the spiritual necessities of the district, might have different views with regard to them, and that, in all probability, out of good nature and from the desire to avoid criticism and minimize responsibility, many of them might consider that they were bound by Act of Parliament to accept any teaching for the creation of such chapels, and so in unmerous cases inflict a cruel wrong on the legitimate work of the meritorious parish priest. It would be better not to imperil the remaining Bill by the introduction of such a clause, but rest content with the specific remedy which it provided for a well-defined class of cases.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL suggested that that portion of the clause should be left out which provided that the Bishop should certify that additional spiritual provision was required for the district.

Mr. MONK said, the question was, whether private chapels were really needed in particular parishes; and, under these circumstances, it was better to leave it to the Bishop to say whether they were required or not.

Clause read the second time and amended.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed to the Clause, in line 15, after the word "incumbent," to insert the words "or any parishioner being a member of the Church of England."—(*Mr. Holt.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Another Amendment made to the Clause.

Clause, as amended, *added.*

Amendment proposed to the Bill, in page 2, line 2, to leave out the words "minister thereof," and insert the words "incumbent and churchwardens of parish or district," — (*Mr. Raikes,*) — instead thereof.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 41; Noes 13: Majority 28.

Bill to be read the third time upon *Tuesday* 2nd May, and to be *printed.* [Bill 112.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 19*th April*, 1871.

MINUTES.] — Public Bills — *Ordered—First Reading* — Gas Works Clauses Act (1847) Amendment (No. 2)* [113].
Second Reading — Game Laws Abolition [51], *put off;* Game Laws (Scotland) Amendment (No. 2) [21], *debate adjourned.*
Withdrawn — Trial by Jury (Ireland) [47]; Gas Works Clauses Act (1487) Amendment* [76.]

TRIAL BY JURY (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Lambert, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. M'Combie.*)

[BILL 47.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. LAMBERT, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, he did not propose to call attention to the present state of Ireland, for that had lately been fully discussed on the Motion for the appointment of the Westmeath Committee. The Report of that Committee had not yet been presented; but it was pretty well understood that the evidence they had taken and their investigations had thrown very little new light on the subject. The condition of Ireland had, however, become so serious and so difficult that he considered it to have become the duty of any Member of this House to bring before it any measure which he honestly considered would have the effect of checking or repressing the crime that now went unpunished in Ireland, baffling and paralyzing the efforts of every Government to repress it. Under that feeling of responsibility, and acting on what he had seen and heard in Ireland, he had himself ventured to introduce this Bill, under the conviction that, if passed into law, it would considerably strengthen the hands of justice by increasing the number of convictions in Ireland. As Members were aware, the law of trial by jury was the same in Ireland as in England; the number of a jury was 12, and it was required that the jurymen should return an unanimous verdict in order to conviction. The same law applied alike to criminal and civil cases. The law in Scotland was different. There the number of the jury was 15; and in criminal cases a majority of that number carried a conviction; but in civil cases, after the jury had deliberated three hours without agreeing, the verdict of the majority would be received. The consequence in Ireland was that if there was one single man upon the jury who had been intimidated, or who sympathised with the prisoner, he could prevent a conviction, however strong the evidence against the prisoner might be. Hence the difficulty of obtaining convictions in Ireland—particularly where the party was tried for murder. It was unnecessary for him to describe the numerous cases in which prisoners charged with murder had been acquitted or discharged owing to the jury not being unanimous; but he would read a portion of the recent Charge of Chief Justice Monaghan, at the Westmeath Assizes—

> "Things were going from bad to worse; the police return showed three men shot, four lives attempted, 45 threatening letters, several houses burnt, and five or six cases of cattle houghing. In the large majority of cases the offenders had not been made amenable to the law. He trusted that the proceedings in Parliament would improve the country, and restore safety to the inhabitants."

The Grand Jury at the same Assizes adopted the following resolution:—

> "The Grand Jury of Westmeath assembled at the Spring Assizes at Mullingar feel it incumbent on them strongly to corroborate the assertion contained in the Motion which Lord Hartington has now before the House of Commons, to the effect that a certain unlawful combination and confederacy exists in Westmeath. They endorse this fact, as well from their own experience, as from evidence before them at the present assizes, painfully confirmatory thereof; and they have further to state, that all the measures hitherto adopted in this country, for the suppression of agrarian and other crimes, involving intimidation, have proved wholly insufficient, and that an immediate remedy is urgently demanded for a state of things too truly described by Lord Hartington as intolerable."

He thought these statements showed that all the measures hitherto adopted in Ireland for the suppression of agrarian crimes had been "wholly insufficient." Now, the measure he proposed would, to a considerable extent, remedy the present deplorable state of matters, and would give better security that convictions would be obtained where the evidence justified them; for it was to be hoped that out of the 15 jurors, of which number he proposed the jury should hereafter consist, at least eight would in every case be honest and above intimidation—whereas, as he had said, under the present practice a single juryman could prevent a verdict. He had collected some figures showing that upon the aggregate of five years, from 1865 to 1869 inclusive, the number of prisoners tried was —in Scotland, 16,021, of whom there were convicted 11,892, showing an average of convictions amounting to 74·22 per cent; while in Ireland the number of persons tried was, during the same period, 21,182; convictions, 12,567; showing a percentage of convictions to the number tried of only 58·0. The aggregate number of acquittals in Scotland was 4,129, or 25·78 per cent; and in Ireland, 9,165, or 42·0 per cent. During the same period the trials for murder in Scotland were 94, convictions 23, or a percentage of convictions of 24·46; while in Ireland the trials for murder during the five years were 106, and there had been only 10 convictions, or 9·43 per cent. Thus the percentage of acquittals for murder during the five years was in Scotland 75·54, and in Ireland 90·57. Taking the three years, 1867-9—the Returns for 1870 not having come in—it appeared that out of 60 persons tried for murder in Ireland, only one man had been convicted. Nor did this represent the whole of the case, for in addition to the number of murders for which persons had been put on trial, 86 other murders had been committed, for which no one had been brought to trial; this estimate not including cases of infanticide and children under one year. The result was that in three years 146 murders had been committed, for which only one conviction had been obtained. Such a state of things was truly appalling. These murderers were quite aware that as the law stood they might go on murdering even in broad daylight with a very remote chance of being brought to justice; but if they knew that a majority of the jury might convict, they would hesitate before taking life. His Bill, therefore, would not only increase the number of convictions, but would have a deterrent effect. He had been told that considerable disappointment had been felt that provisions such as the present Bill contained were not included in the Peace Preservation Act. It might be said that if the Bill were good for Ireland it would be equally good for England. But to that he replied that it was not required by the circumstances of England, as in this country it was not difficult to obtain verdicts, and juries were not subject to intimidation. Alteration of the law was therefore not required in England. Very possibly at some future time the law requiring unanimity of the jury might be altered; for many very eminent jurists did not approve of that requirement of our law. The Common Law Commissioners, appointed in 1831, reported in favour of some alteration; and certainly, in his opinion, it would be a step in the right direction that unanimity should not be required on the part of juries in Ireland. The state of Ireland necessitated prompt and decisive action; his Bill was no crude or untried measure; it had been in operation in Scotland for a length of time, and with the best results; if it became law in Ireland it would be a step in the right direction, as strongly urged in several letters he had received from different parts of Ireland, which he thought was unnecessary for him to read. He was rather curious to know what arguments could be brought forward against it? He should like to ask who would be aggrieved by its introduction into Ireland? Certainly not the well-disposed and most numerous class. There was, however, a class who would be strongly opposed to it—he meant the perpetrators of those fearful murders and outrages, who now went about unpunished and snapped their fingers at law and justice. He could not for a moment think that any Irish Member of that House had any sympathy with this class, or feared to do his duty to God and man. On these grounds he now asked —or rather called upon the Government to support this Bill, which would be sure to remedy, to a considerable extent, the present evils so unhappily now existing in Ireland.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Mr. MAGUIRE said, he had listened with the utmost anxiety to his hon. Friend to ascertain the reasons which he was about to adduce in sustainment of his daring proposition; but he must confess he had heard nothing to alter his first impression against the Bill. His hon. Friend's statistics were as unreliable as his reasoning was weak. He told them that so serious was the state of things in Ireland that every Member was bound to come forward and propose a remedy, and he then spoke of his sense of responsibility. He (Mr. Maguire), however, would tell his hon. Friend that he had no responsibility whatever—that he was wholly irresponsible; and it was this very sense of irresponsibility which rendered him so daring. It was not the first time that he had exhibited this daring of irresponsibility. The Member who regarded the National Debt as a trifle might be excused if he thought that a change in a fundamental principle of the Constitution was one of those things which might be easily dealt with by a private Member. His hon. Friend had failed to show either the necessity for his proposal, or that it would be attended with any good result whatever. His object was, he said, to secure a greater number of convictions. Now, he (Mr. Maguire) asserted that convictions were not wanting where there was sufficient evidence to warrant conviction; but that the great evil was not the want of honesty or purity on the part of the juries, but the want of evidence, without which no jury ought to convict. Then the question came, would the proposed change supply the necessary evidence? No doubt it might increase the number of convictions; but would that be a mode of obtaining reliable evidence? The great evil was the unwillingness of the people of a certain class to give evidence. What was the cause of this unwillingness? It arose either from a sympathy with the crime, or a hostility to and distrust of the laws. But when so fundamental a change was proposed as that involved in this Bill, they must not be afraid to inquire as to the cause of this distrust and hostility. It was of long standing; and it arose from a conviction in the mind of a large section of the people, that the law was their enemy and not their friend, their oppressor and not their protector. Take, for instance, one important law—the regulating the tenure of land. Confessedly that law was against the tillers of the soil, and not in their favour. What, in not very remote times, did the Irish peasant behold? He beheld the power of the law arrayed against him and his family, and his neighbours. He saw the sheriff come down, with his 50 or 100 police, to level his house, his neighbour's house—perhaps, to demolish a whole village; and what was more natural than that the law, under which an act of this kind was done, should be odious in the eyes of the Irish peasant, who was driven into the next ditch, or out naked on the world? Well, they had altered all that by the Act of 1869; and the people who were now watching the operations of this new law, would gradually begin to feel that the law was in their favour—that it was their friend—that it was their protector, and not their enemy and oppressor; and, with this conviction, would gradually grow up a respect for the law, and a confidence in its administration; and instead of there being an unwillingness to assist in its sustainment, the contrary feeling would spring up, and become eventually universal. When a great wrong was done under the protection of the law, which they now knew to have been a bad law, retaliation often resulted; and where there was thus an actual war between two classes, the victims of the bad law, or those who might any day become its victims, sympathized with the retaliatory outrage, and would not give evidence against its perpetrators. The influence of time, and the consciousness of the justice of the law, would do away with this hostility to the administration of justice, and even induce those who now stood aloof to give their aid to secure a rightful conviction of the offender. But the Bill of the hon. Member would not do that. The great desideratum was to inspire the mass of the people with confidence in the law—to banish the suspicion of the law, which had its origin in evil times; but the Bill before them would destroy confidence, and increase suspicion and hostility. Trial by jury would be brought into deserved odium from the very mode proposed. At present, where unanimity was required, there was, when a jury was fairly constituted, protection for property, for person, for liberty, and for life; but do away with this safeguard, and there was none whatever — and, more than that, you justified the suspicion which many still entertained as to the administration of the law in such cases as excited strong feeling where they were tried. At present, one man might, by his firmness, compel discussion, and even bring about a disagreement; but was this an evil? The prisoner might be tried again and again; and he had heard of a case—and that a recent one—in which a man was tried four times, and ultimately convicted. But suppose the law to be changed, and that a bare majority was sufficient to convict, how would that inspire respect or confidence? Eight men were for conviction, seven for acquittal; and the fact of this disagreement was made public. Seven say the man in the dock is innocent—that he ought not to be punished for what he has not done; but eight men say the contrary—and on the verdict of this bare majority he is sentenced to death, or to penal servitude. Would the carrying out of that sentence be attended with benefit, or be followed by great mischief? He (Mr. Maguire) believed that the effect created by the solemn pronouncement in favour of an acquittal by the seven jurors would be attended with the most disastrous result. The hon. Member had, inadvertently, no doubt, indulged in the most unjust and sweeping accusation against Irish juries—represented them as if no honest juries existed in Ireland, that their general character was that of corruption and dishonesty. He (Mr. Maguire), on the part of a most important class of his countrymen, repudiated that description—that grave practical calumny—in the strongest manner. His experience led him to this conclusion—that whenever the evidence was sufficient—in fact coercive upon conscience—juries convict; but Heaven forbid the day should ever come when juries would convict without sufficient evidence. There had been no want of convictions in Ireland, even in cases in which the strongest popular sympathy had been enlisted. Commencing with the trial of Mr. O'Connel, in 1843, and going through a series of years to 1868, we find that verdicts have been unfailingly obtained by the Crown. The fact was, the present jury system placed enormous power in the hands of the Crown to ensure convictions; and he certainly was not going willingly to increase that power, by enabling the Crown to obtain a majority to convict. So far from the present system not being sufficient, it is known that it can be and is often strained unjustly against the prisoner, through the matter in which the panel is managed, and jurors are set aside. Not only was there no demand on the part of any class in Ireland in favour of this change, but the feeling was strongly against it. *The Irish Law Times*, in a calm and impartial article on the subject, passed a grave and thoughtful condemnation on the scheme. The writer said that—

> "When the State institutes criminal proceedings for the protection of the community, it is of essential importance that no conviction should take place where any element of doubt intervened, and it is a matter of secondary importance only that there should be a definite result arrived at in each case."

"The idea of unanimity" the writer proceeded to say—

> "As essential to a conviction, has become so inveterate, through long custom, that the new system could hardly find a ready acceptance, even in the absence of the special circumstances of the social and political condition of Ireland."

The hon. Member had quoted the recommendation of the Common Law Commission of 1832; but, with every respect for him, he (Mr. Maguire) must say he had not represented it correctly. They never recommended a change in criminal cases, and they did not propose that there should be one law for Ireland and another law for England. Their proposal was for both countries, and was confined to civil cases. But it would appear they treated the principle of unanimity with contempt. There was, moreover, an authority far higher than that of the Common Law Commissioners—one so high as to entitle him to the respect of every cultivated mind—he meant *Blackstone*. *Blackstone* described trial by jury as having ever been "the glory of the English law," and especially in criminal cases; for that it—

> "Is the most transcendent privilege which any subject can enjoy, or wish for, that he cannot be affected either in his property, his liberty, or his person, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of his neighbours and equals."

[The hon. Member read the passages of *Blackstone's Commentaries* relating to trial by jury.] But the hon. Member treated the solitary dissentient with supreme contempt, or stigmatized him as dishonest or corrupt. Would he kindly listen to what had been written upon this point by an authority of great weight? Stephen, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, said—

> "The present system (of requiring unanimity) is attended, at least, with one practical advantage of the utmost importance—that in the event of a difference of opinion, it secures discussion, and enables one dissentient juror to compel the other eleven to fairly and calmly consider the question."

There had been in this country, as well as in Ireland, instances where the courage and honesty—not the dishonesty or corruption — of a solitary juryman had protected individual life, and public liberty. There was a remarkable case in his own city, when he was a mere boy, known as "the Doneraile Conspiracy." In that instance, not a conspiracy against the lives of landlords, but against the lives of peasants. Mr. O'Connell, who was brought down specially to Cork, broke up the conspiracy, but he was aided by an honest juror, who would rather eat his boots than give a verdict against his conscience, or his conviction of the truth. But had the hon. Member's Bill been law in those days, the prisoners would have been all hanged, and hanged wrongfully—a result which would not have tended to inspire the public mind of that day with a profound respect for the law, and in the administration of justice. The hon. Member desired to anticipate the action of Government in reference to Westmeath; but he (Mr. Maguire) only remarked that not a single one of the 14 witnesses examined before the Committee recommended the change proposed by this Bill. The evil complained of was mistrust, suspicion, hostility, on the part of a certain class of the people towards the law; but the effect of the Bill would be to intensify the evil, and not to diminish it. The public of Ireland would have no confidence in a mere juggle such as that proposed. In fact, it would combine all classes in common hostility to the administration of justice under such a system. He opposed this Bill because it was unnecessary—because it would increase the existing evil—because it would be sure to work injustice—because it would utterly destroy the growing conviction in favour of the law which was now springing up in Ireland. He opposed it, also, because it was proposed for Ireland and not proposed for England; and that the proposal of one law for one country and another law for another country was odious and offensive to Irish feeling. And he might add that, as far as he could learn, intelligent Scotchmen were not much in favour of continuance of verdicts by a bare majority, and desired a change. But if a measure affecting the liberty and lives of a people was to be brought in, let it be by a Government, not a wholly irresponsible private Member; and let the Government stand or fall by the nature and character of their proposal.

Mr. WATERS seconded the Amendment. There were many important distinctions in the jury laws of England and Ireland from those of Scotland, besides that which had been pointed out — the rule requiring unanimity. One there was in the method by which the jurors were selected; and here he ventured to think the Scotch system was preferable. In Scotland the Sheriff was bound to take the names from the panel in the order in which they stood; and, so far, the law protected the accused by insuring a fairly and indifferently chosen jury. In Ireland the Sheriff had an unfettered licence in selecting the jury, and he put them in whatever order he liked on the panel. This power of arbitrary selection of jurors in Ireland had been a continuous and fruitful source of dissatisfaction and want of confidence in the purity of the administration of justice. Time after time there had been complaints made against the Sheriffs for unfairness in arraying the jurors. To show how this arbitrary power was exercised, the hon. Member instanced that at a trial in the county of Cork—in which county there were 3,000 jurors on the book, of whom 2,000 were Catholics and 1,000 Protestants—there was only one Roman Catholic to six Protestants on the jury; and in the Monaghan case—which had occurred so recently as two years since, so that a similar thing might happen again any day—Mr. Sullivan, the present Master of the Rolls in Ireland, stated that of 1,215 names on the jurors' book, 423 were Roman Catholics; but of the 250 persons on the jury panel there were only 20 Roman Catholics, and these were placed at the end of the panel. Indeed, so gross was the conduct of the Sheriff in that case that he was removed from office. Another point which was worthy of observation in this part of the case was that, in Scotland, the prosecutor and the prisoner were put on an equality as regarded the right of challenge; there was a fair fight between them; the prosecutor had five challenges and the prisoner had five challenges; but, in Ireland, while the prisoner was restricted to 20 challenges, there was no restriction on the number of challenges allowed to the Crown. If this Bill became law, any unscrupulous prosecutor, with a subservient Sheriff who would pack his panel properly, would, with the majority system which was proposed, convert trials by jury into a nefarious system, by which the fate of every prisoner would be determined before the jury was empanelled. The Bill would work well enough in Scotland, which was happily free from the sectarian and agrarian differences which existed in Ireland, and where a majority might come to a conclusion; but it was not adapted to the state of Ireland. Nor was there wanting sufficient evidence to show that the present system deserved the encomiums that had been passed upon it by *Blackstone.* There had been cases in which the firmness of one man had saved innocent persons from conviction. Take the case of the two Kellys, who were tried in 1852 for the murder of Mr. Bateson, a gentleman of station and property. Three juries had disagreed; but, on a subsequent trial, evidence was adduced which convicted two other men, who were executed, the jury being satisfied that the Kellys were not present at the murder at all. It was matter of notoriety that the lives of the Kellys had been saved by the firmness of one man who stood out against 11. If this Bill had been then in operation, they must have been hanged. The Lambert case was very instructive as to the uncertainty of a verdict by a majority. At the trial of the prisoner in Galway, presided over by the Chief Justice, the jury disagreed, the numbers being nine for acquittal and three for conviction. At the next trial, the venue having been changed, the numbers were ten for conviction and one for acquittal. On the third day, the jury pronounced an unanimous acquittal. He had heard nothing from the Mover of the Bill (Mr. Lambert), except figures, to show any reason for its introduction, and even these figures were erroneous. The hon. Gentleman said that the number tried in Ireland in 1869 was 4,151; but that was a gross error, because that number represented, not the number of actual trials, but only the number of persons returned for trial—which was a very different thing. From that number had to be deducted 413 cases, in which the grand jury found no bills, and 364 cases in which the Attorney General directed that no prosecution should take place. The result of these deductions was to bring the number down to something nearer an equality with Scotland. The fact was that, in 1869, the number of convictions on trial was 74 per cent in Ireland, as compared with 73 per cent in Scotland. The hon. Member wanted the Scotch system; but these figures showed there was no necessity for the proposed change in the law. The true reason why offenders escaped in Ireland was not the fault of the jury, but arose from the public prosecutor being unable to obtain evidence to bring an offender to justice. He did hope that this Bill would be rejected. The extremely scanty attendance during the present discussion would not justify them in dealing with so important a question, involving, as it did, one of the absolute foundations of the Constitution. The people of Ireland were perfectly satisfied with the present system, and the adoption of the proposed change would lead to the greatest dissatisfaction.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Maguire.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Colonel FRENCH objected both to the principle and details of the Bill, and protested against such a subject being dealt with by a private Member. Not one of the three Gentlemen, whose names were on the back of the Bill, was connected with Ireland, or had any special knowledge of the feelings and wishes of the Irish people; and the Irish Members were unanimously opposed to the Bill. If the subject was to be legislated upon at all, it should be taken up by the Executive Government. Such a change as that proposed could lead to no satisfactory result.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Dowse) said, he hoped the Motion for the second reading of the Bill would not be pressed, and that the hon. Mover would be satisfied by what was said by Irish Members and on the part of the Government. It was fortunate for the Mover that an Order of the Day did not require to be seconded, for it was doubtful whether he would have found a Seconder; it was certain he would not have found one among the Irish Members present on the Liberal side of the House; there were only two Irish Members present on the other side; and the two hon. Members whose names followed that of the Mover on the back of the Bill were absent. These facts showed that, whatever might be the merits of the proposal, the general opinion was that the time had not arrived for legislation. The Bill extended to civil as well as criminal business, and involved a sweeping change of the law—a change of too important a nature to be proposed by an independent Member. Even the clauses dealing with criminal cases proposed a serious change. The professed object was to assimilate the law of Ireland to that of Scotland. Speaking for himself, he thought it would be advantageous if the jury system of the three kingdoms were taken up and considered at the same time with a view to the law being placed on one uniform basis. He expressed no opinion as to what that basis should be; but he certainly desired uniformity, if possible, in the jury system of the three kingdoms. This was a work which would have to be done by the Government, sooner or later, from whatever side of the House that Government should be taken; and, in the meantime, he deprecated tentative legislation for Ireland, as if that were "a vile body" upon which experiments could be tried. But this Bill would not attain even the assimilation aimed at, because in Scotland there was a practice in the selection of a jury, and in the constitution of the panel, that did not prevail in Ireland; and the operation of the Bill would, to some extent, exaggerate the divergence already existing between the jury laws of Scotland and Ireland. The Scotch Members themselves, as the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Miller) had just told him, were not altogether satisfied with their system. As to the statistics that had been adduced they were illusory, because the prisoners "for trial" included those apprehended, remanded, and committed, those against whom true bills were found, and those who pleaded guilty, as well as those who were acquitted, and as to whom the jury disagreed, and those never tried at all; and the importance of distinguishing one class from another was shown by these figures, which he would take, not from the Irish, but the English tables of criminal statistics—In 1860, 99 persons were returned by the police as having been guilty of murder; 268 verdicts of murders were returned by coroners' juries; 49 persons were committed for trial; and only 16 were convicted. In 1865, 135 murders were reported by the police; 227 verdicts of murders were returned by coroners' juries; 60 persons were committed for trial; and 20 were convicted. The figures neither in Ireland nor in England showed how many of the accused were discharged in consequence of juries disagreeing — because there were acquittals as well as disagreements, and unless you can ascertain how many prisoners escape from the juries disagreeing there are no facts on which to found such exceptional legislation. The difficulty in the disturbed parts of Ireland was not to get men convicted, but it was to get them put upon trial at all; and that state of affairs would not be altered by enacting that 8 jurymen out of the 15 should convict—a change of the law which was not suggested by a single witness from Ireland examined by the Westmeath Committee. In the North of Ireland he believed the change proposed would work incalculable injury. The Government, he believed, fully recognized the importance of dealing with this question, but they held that investigation must precede legislation; and when the subject was dealt with it must be upon a consideration of facts collected from the three kingdoms and by a measure proposed by a responsible Minister, who must recognize the rights of prisoners as well as those of the Crown, with an honest desire to further the cause of justice and of truth. It would be an injustice and an injury to Ireland to inflict upon that country a change which no Member from Ireland had supported, and which he did not believe any Irish Member would second, and under these circumstances he hoped the House would not be put to the trouble of dividing on this Bill.

MR. G. B. GREGORY said, he hoped the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lambert) would be satisfied with what he understood to be an assurance that the Government would take into consideration the jury systems of the United Kingdom — for those of England, Scotland, and Ireland equally required revision. The English system gave too much power to a minority of two or three jurymen to influence the views of the rest, and drive them to a compromise; the Scotch system gave too much power to a bare majority; and he trusted before long to see a system between the two, under which a reasonable proportion of a jury might have the power of binding a recalcitrant minority.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON feared the last speaker had a little misapprehended the Solicitor General, who did not in any way pledge the Government to consider the whole question of the jury system; what he did say was that, whenever legislation was proposed, the question ought to be considered as a whole, and one system adopted for the United Kingdom. While concurring with the hon. and learned Gentleman that this was a question worth consideration, which he hoped it might receive, he was not in a position, having regard to the number of matters pressing for the attention of the Government and of the House, to pledge the Government to deal with this question now or at any future time.

Mr. LAMBERT said, that after the statement made on behalf of the Government, he would not press his Motion to a Division.

Amendment and Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

GAME LAWS ABOLITION BILL—[Bill 51.]

(*Mr. P. A. Taylor, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. M'Combie.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR *: Mr. Speaker, the Bill which I have the honour now to ask the House to read a second time is, in all essential particulars, precisely the same as the Bill which I had the honour to introduce last year, with the exception of the addition of one Bill to the schedule of measures to be abolished—namely, the Gun Tax Bill, which was passed last Session. With this exception the alterations are merely verbal. The House will not be surprised that I should have added the Gun Tax Bill to the schedule of Bills to be abolished. Of the many extraordinary things which Her Majesty's Government have lately done, the passing of that Bill was one of the most extraordinary. Her Majesty's Government, as I will show directly, are deeply pledged to introduce some reform into the game laws. Now, there are two ways in which that Gun Tax Bill may be considered; one would be as a new Game Law Bill, and the other as a Popular Disarmament Bill. That the Government, when bound by all their antecedents to assist in passing a reform in the game laws, should add to the already sufficiently large number of those laws, was sufficiently extraordinary; but that, when the existing condition of the country's defence has led all parties to join in asking for an increased Reserved Force, so as to ensure the largest number of people who know at least how to look along a barrel and to draw a trigger—for Her Majesty's Government to choose such a time for passing a law for the disarmament of the people, was, I think, a strange inconsistency. The Bill, therefore, that I have now the honour to ask the House to read a second time, is in all essential respects the same as the Bill I introduced last year. It goes no further in regard to the question of game than did that Bill. I have been remonstrated with on several occasions by farmers, who have said that my Bill does not go far enough, and that if the game laws were abolished there would even then be too great a head of game unless I introduced a clause forbidding all contracts between occupiers and landlords for the preservation of game, and that I should even go further, and adopt the plan which used to be followed in this country with regard to wolves, and give a reward for their destruction. The Lord Advocate stated, in a speech he delivered at Whithorn, that my Bill was calculated to lead to the entire extermination of game; but he was not justified in saying that it had that for its aim, for, as I have repeatedly stated, in my opinion it would have no such result whatever. When I introduced it in the last Session of Parliament, I expressed the opinion which I still hold, that the carrying of my Bill would injure no parties but the extreme ones on each side; that it would put an end to battue shooting on the one hand, and destroy the profession of the poacher on the other; and that it would, in short, introduce all over the country that condition of things which exists now in those parts where the over-preservation of game does not go on. It is amusing to observe how in their zeal against my proposition, objectors bring forward arguments that contradict each other. Thus it has frequently been declared that under my Bill all game would be extirpated; and in the next sentence, that the lands of farmers would be overrun by poachers. But my moderate Bill, of course, is placed in the unfortunate condition of all moderate measures—it is equally disliked by both parties—by the preservers and by the poachers. My opinion as to the moderate effects to be expected from abolition is largely held by farmers themselves; and in illustration of this I will just read two or three lines from a gentleman well known in the agricultural world, because he expresses their feeling. The gentleman I refer to is Mr. Ransome, of the Hertfordshire Chamber of Agriculture, and he says—

> "If the game laws were repealed to-morrow, he did not think it would interfere in the least between good tenants and good landlords. The landlords would have just as much legitimate sport as ever they had."

But I may also appeal to the hon. Member for Dorsetshire (Mr. Sturt), who I am sorry to see is not in his place, but whose brilliant and amusing speech last year will be remembered by the House. Perhaps the most amusing part of that speech was the way in which it was cheered by the game preservers, who seemed entirely unaware, until after the speech was over, that the heaviest broadside had been poured into them from one among themselves, and on their own side. That hon. Gentleman said that which entirely justified my views of the results of this Bill. He said that by amicable arrangements with his tenants and people he had no need of the game laws at all; that he took care that his tenants and labourers were not injured; that he allowed them to destroy, and did himself destroy, the hares and rabbits, which did most mischief; and that with regard to other game he had established such good relations with the people around him that he did not know what it was to have poachers on his estates, or to have disagreements with his tenants; thus showing most distinctly that he owed nothing to the game laws, and that his position would in no degree be affected by their abolition. Now that, I maintain, is the result that would be produced all over the country by the operation of this Bill, and nothing would be changed but the over-preservation of game. I know it is a favourite cant phrase among some people to say that this is not a matter for legislation, but that there should be an amicable understanding between the landlords and tenants. No doubt, without an amicable understanding nothing goes on well; but it should be an amicable understanding with the foundation of a just law for it to be based upon, to the end that any landlord not disposed to do justice to his tenants might be called to order by the law, and compelled to do it. That is the proper basis to go upon, and not an amicable understanding which leaves the farmer completely at the mercy of the landlord. In a word, it is a very desirable thing that the giant and the dwarf should enter into an amicable understanding that the giant should not swallow the dwarf; but it is extremely desirable that there should be a law for the dwarf to appeal to if the giant should change his mind on further consideration. The question of the game laws is altogether one of over-preserving. The head of game must be diminished before the great evil of the game laws can be remedied, or even touched. All the schemes for altering the game laws; whether their object be to reform them, or whatever it may be, are mere shams and delusions if they have not this diminution of the head of game as their great object and aim. Those schemes which propose to protect game under the name of property are mere shams, and so also are those which desire to protect it under the sanction of a new law of trespass, thus maintaining the present head of game. I say that all such plans are a mere pretence and sham. It is said all game, and even all wild animals, in the absence of the protection of the game laws, would be swept away and exterminated. If that were likely to be the case, neither I, nor anyone who supports my views, would have any objection to the passing of any Bill necessary for the preservation of the species to any extent that might be thought desirable by the country generally, as was done in the case of the Sea Birds' Bill, though I give no opinion whatever upon that measure. Let that necessity be proved, and we should have the same law here as in America, where the sparrows, and robins, and birds and animals of all sorts are preserved in sufficient quantities for the purposes of natural history, or for the balance of natural life. But let that necessity be proved, and not the assertion be made as a cover for the protection of artificial quantities of game for mere sport. It is said that a new law of trespass is desired; let us have a new law then, but let us have it for that object, and not as a means of fencing round the obnoxious game laws. It is said that the law of trespass is insufficient at present; that a man may go into your garden, and walk up to and look through your windows, and that unless you can prove him to have a felonious intent, or show special damage, you cannot prevent him from doing all this. That may be so, and in that case a new trespass law might be passed; but it should be a trespass law, and not a law passed under false pretences for the protection of game. I am rejoiced at the improved feeling which has taken place in the way in which this question is considered. The whole tone of public feeling is changed, and the subject is put upon a sounder and plainer issue. No Member of that House, except, perhaps, the hon. and gallant Member for Portsmouth (Sir James Elphinstone), would now venture to say that the preservation of game to its present extent was for the benefit of the community. It was recognized on all hands that it did a great amount of damage, and for no other object than the sport of the wealthier classes. It was not so long ago since Mr. Grantley Berkeley, one of the most ardent defenders of game preservation in this country, acknowledged that he could not uphold the right of landlords to have wild animals on the land, if it was proved to be an evil to the community, and he was therefore driven to the extraordinary assertion that game did more good than harm. The farmers also, I am glad to say, are beginning to speak out; and at agricultural meetings and farmers' meetings they speak out as to the evils of the game laws, and the landlords are no longer able to prevent the discussion of them. At the meeting of the Warwickshire Chamber of Agriculture last year two noblemen had actually threatened to withdraw, and he was not sure whether they had not actually done so, because the farmers thought proper to discuss the game laws. [The hon. Member read a letter from Mr. Bailey, tenant of a farm of 470 acres, near Selby. The writer said, that although he himself had the right of killing game, all the surrounding land was strictly preserved; the consequence was that the hares and rabbits came upon his land, and eat or destroyed all that the land would grow. He set traps and wires to catch rabbits; but in the morning traps, wires, and rabbits had all been taken away. The damage done on three fields had been valued at £85. He had claimed £50 from his neighbour, but could get neither answer nor redress by law, for he found that the game-preserving landlords had had the making of the laws; and he said that this was not a solitary case—there were hundreds of farmers who suffered in like manner.] In further evidence of the feeling of farmers, I will mention a resolution passed by the farmers of Leicestershire in December last, declaring that agriculture was no longer a remunerative business. I hope my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) will address the House to-day, when I am sure he will tell us that the game laws are regarded by his constituents as an important element in remuneration. I observe, too, that at South Molton, in Devonshire, a meeting of farmers has lately been held to express their sympathy with, and present a testimonial to, two farmers driven from their farms because, after many years of occupation, they refused to submit to the introduction of a clause in their lease retaining the rabbits for the landlord. They refused like men and Englishmen to submit to such a yoke, and I think it was stated that they were about to leave the country. In further illustration of the feeling of farmers in regard to the game laws, I quote the words of Mr. Ransome, at the meeting of the Herts Chamber of Agriculture—

> "He would ask them how long such a state of things would be tolerated in Ireland? Why, the first thing the Irish farmer would do would be to shoot 10 gamekeepers and give 20 landlords notice to quit."

Concurrently, with the altered tone I have noticed on the part of the farmers of England, I observe with satisfaction a not unnatural change in the language of hon. Members of this House, and I will venture to quote with especial satisfaction the strong and earnest language of the hon. Member for Hertfordshire (Mr. H. R. Brand) at the meeting of the Herts Chamber of Agriculture. The

Hertfordshire case is a very strong one. A Hertfordshire magistrate wrote to me the other day—

> "We have had what may be called a Hertfordshire game assize, and it is due to the moderation of the Judge that it has not been a Hertfordshire bloody assize."

The heaviest complaints against the game laws are, of course, those having reference to the influence which they exercise upon farmers and labourers. With regard to their influence upon farmers, the senior Member for Hertfordshire (Mr. F. Cowper), said, last year—

> "He could not find words strong enough to condemn a landlord who allowed his tenants to be overrun by ground game. If it was without compensation it amounted to fraud, and even if with compensation, it was most demoralizing to the farmer. It took the heart out of his work; it made his work like the work of the old convicts in Norfolk Island, digging holes in the ground and filling them again."

With regard to the effect upon labourers the same hon. Member said—

> "You create a special crime for his behoof by means of this half-artificial offence; you entrap him into a career of real crime, from which, perhaps, he is unable to extricate himself; you give him every facility to commit it, for you hang the silver spoons, it is said, on a tree, which you punish him for stealing. Now, he saw in this argument matter for the gravest consideration to any man who thought of preserving game."

I must say, however, that the conclusion from this seems to me somewhat lame and impotent. The hon. Member concludes by saying, he "could not see in this argument ground for the Legislature to interfere." We have made certain laws which have produced certain effects, which the hon. Member has powerfully described, upon the farmers and labourers of the country, and when he is asked to support a Bill for the repeal of those laws the hon. Gentleman says that the case is not one for legislative interference. I cannot, it is evident, reckon upon the hon. Member's vote this year; but I trust that he is on the road to conversion, and that next year I may have his vote. The junior Member for Hertfordshire (Mr. H. R. Brand) said in November last—

> "The game laws were unequal, because they existed especially for the benefit of the richer and more powerful classes, while they were odious and irritating to the rest of the public."

I am sorry to say that I fear I shall not have that hon. Gentleman's vote either, though that seems to be leading up to it; for he ended with the declaration that the game is the "absolute property" of the owner of the soil, and that it would be "communistic, republican, and revolutionary to attempt to make it otherwise." I can only say that my hon. Friend seems to be labouring under what *Blackstone* calls "unreasonable notions as to property in wild animals." On this point I will also quote from the Lord Advocate, not the present Lord Advocate, but a former one, Mr. Moncrieff, a man of great intelligence and excellent judgment, and who could never be suspected of entertaining any notions adverse to the true interests of society. That Lord Advocate said, in 1869—

> "Game was not property in any sense. . . . . Therefore, being entirely the creation of statute, the Legislature would not interfere with property even if it abolished the Game Laws altogether to-morrow. . . . . That consideration must be the foundation of all inquiries into these matters."—[3 *Hansard*, cxcv. 1727-8.]

When my hon. Friend talks about any attempt to interfere with game as being communistic and revolutionary, we must inquire what he means by those terms. The word "communism" has two meanings. One meaning has reference to that property which all mankind have a right to enjoy in common, such as the air we breathe, the water we drink, as some think the land we inhabit, and certainly, accordingly to *Blackstone*, the wild animals that roam over the fields. But there is another sense in which communism is interpreted as a transference of property from some one to whom it might fully belong to some one else. Now, I maintain that to make game private property as my hon. Friend proposes would be communism, under this latter definition. As to the term revolutionary, the game laws are so infamous that I trust nothing of a revolutionary kind will be required to get rid of them. One thing, however, is quite certain, that revolutions and game laws have never agreed together. The French Revolution of 1799 swept away the game laws of France, and the German Revolution of 1848 abolished those of Germany. The idea of thinking any right can exist for animals to be grown upon the land irrespective of the good of the community is too monstrous to require argument or refutation. It has been stated that in 1869,311 tigers were killed in Bengal.

We in this country at one time called hares lions, and these British lions have committed ten times as much ravage and desolation as the tigers of Bengal. The prevailing improvement in the tone of discussing the game laws would appear to be true everywhere except in regard to Her Majesty's Government. If ever there were a Government pledged to legislative reform with regard to the game laws the Government which now sits on the Treasury Bench is in that position. The most important Member of that Government, at the time when it was first formed, after the Premier was my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), and what view he has always taken of the game laws the House and the country well know. Let me quote one or two sentences my right hon. Friend used in speaking on this subject two years ago. He said—

> "I hold the opinion now which I held 20 years ago, and which strengthens every year in the country, that the practice of preserving game, as it exists in this country, is opposed to the true interests of the people. . . . . The law I believe is a disgrace to our cultivation, and an evil to every class of the community."

I say that the Government which had the honour of having that man as a Member and an ornament, was bound to do something for the repeal of the game laws. But there is another distinguished Member of the Government—a man as much respected, perhaps as any man in this country—who has expressed his opinion very strongly on this question. I mean the Lord Chancellor of England. That noble Lord said—

> "He did not believe that the great grievance arising from the game laws could be relieved by any palliatives, therefore they must be altogether got rid of."

Again, Earl Granville, in speaking at a meeting of a Chamber of Agriculture, said—

> "He was fond of shooting, but he must confess that even in the excitement of the sport it had always appeared to him perfectly unjustifiable that, for the sake of a few hours' amusement, the growth of an animal should be encouraged which destroyed so much of the tenant farmer's produce."

[Mr. Percy Wyndham: Earl Granville was speaking of rabbits.] But the principle surely applies to hares as well as rabbits. I will mention the names of two other Members of the Government, the right hon. Members for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld). In 1862 those hon. Gentlemen joined with me in offering active opposition to the Poaching Act, which was intended to protect game. But the opinions of all these important Members of the Government, as well as that of the right hon. Member for Birmingham, have been set at nought by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who went down to Paisley, and there uttered the dictum that to repeal the game laws was an impossibility. That right hon. Gentleman handed over the question to the Lord Advocate. And what does the Lord Advocate do? He makes a speech on the game laws which extorts the admiration of game preservers on both sides of the House, the only qualification of their eulogy being that of the hon. Member for Buteshire (Mr. C. Dalrymple), who declared it somewhat too Tory for the Conservative Benches, and then he introduces a Bill which is simply a Game Preservers' Bill, seeing that while it would do no practical good whatever, it would afford a plea for shelving further legislation for the time. Against these Members of the Government I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. I appeal to him in the words of the memorial addressed to him the other day, by some of the most distinguished advocates of game law repeal in Scotland, such men as Mr. Hope, of Fenton Barns, Mr. Goodlet, and others —a memorial in which they say that "the game laws are a chronic grievance," and that the Government Bill—

> "Holds out to them only the alternative of ruinous litigation and interminable heartburning with their landlords."

I have barely time to trouble the House with my opinion with regard to the temptation which is put in the way of poachers, and I have already enlarged upon the number of convictions from year to year so much that I have been called the "poachers friend." The poachers themselves, however, neither approve of me nor my Bill; they think it would undermine the profession. However that may be, I will not lay myself open to that charge to-day. I will say nothing about the poachers—those exceptions from the agricultural community — beyond this, I wish to inform the House that the Returns since those which I quoted last year are within a very small number precisely the same as they were then. There were 10,000 convictions under the game laws in the year succeeding that which I mentioned last year. In passing, I will simply allude to a remark made by the hon. Member for Dorsetshire (Mr. Sturt) that it was a danger and a disgrace that such a state of things should exist; and I will appeal to the House to consider how much there is underlying these dry figures of sorrow and wrong, how much of people led into crime, and how much of family as well as individual suffering. I will now say a few words about the agricultural labourers; about those who, when we talk of the agricultural interest, should be taken into account as an important element; about those who do not fall under this temptation of poaching. I will not give you my own opinion, but I will prove to you, by authority which no one in this House will question, that the whole class are suffering under a condition of existence which is a disgrace to our civilization; and I will show by authority equally irrefragable that game laws have a very positive and practical effect upon that class. [The hon. Member then read numerous passages from the writings of Sir George Grey, late Governor of New Zealand, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and "S.G.O." showing, in the words of the latter—

> "That in hundreds of our villages the social condition of man is below that of any country of which I have ever read;"

and also the opinions of Lord Hatherton, the Duke of Grafton, Sir Harry Verney, and Dr. Fraser, the present Bishop of Manchester, that the preservation prevented the farmer from employing capital and labour, and that incidentally great injury was inflicted on the agricultural labouring class in respect of their food and dwellings.] Lord Hatherley (the Lord Chancellor) once made use of the pregnant observation that he wished country gentlemen would give up gamekeepers and take to schoolmasters. Now, we have taken to schoolmasters; we have sent, or are going to send them all over the country to teach the people. I wish the House would bear in mind that schoolmasters and game preserving do not go well together. The clergymen of the Church of England are said, and no doubt with great truth, to have been attempting great things with regard to education in their districts; but the parson will not look so well upon the school board the day after he has sent a poacher to transportation. There is a species of game not much known in this part of the country, but well-known in the North of Scotland. The question was asked the other day by the hon. Member for Buteshire (Mr. C. Dalrymple), why nothing was said about deer in speeches in this House. With the permission of the House, I will say a few words about deer; and I will do so the more especially because I take the practice of making deer forests in Scotland to be the most striking, and I may say, terrific illustration which can be found anywhere of the sacrifice of the interests of the country by men of great wealth, to the love of sport. I have seen it asked in Scotch newspapers on agricultural subjects—"Why not have a Royal Commission on deer forests?" A gentleman known to many hon. Members, and whose name would be received with respect if I gave it, writes to me—

> "A Royal Commission! He would be a bold man indeed who would dare to give evidence upon the subject; and he must make up his mind to be an outlaw or an exile from the country."

The evil example of Sutherland—which the House will well remember—has been followed up in various other counties in the North of Scotland. Between 1811 and 1820, 750,000 acres were, to employ the euphemism of the time, "resumed" by the nominal proprietors, and in this way 3,000 families, that is to say, 15,000 inhabitants, were driven from the interior, their villages demolished or burnt. Those who have read the history of that time are well aware of the thrill of horror which ran through Europe when this was done. The result was well described by Sismondi, the great historian, when he said—

> "No human voice resounds in the narrow passes of the mountains, formerly distinguished by the combats of an ancient race; no one recalls glorious recollections, the valleys have no hamlets; no accent of joy or grief disturbs those vast solitudes."

The transition from farms to sheep is not more easy, nor so easy, as that from sheep to deer. I do not mean to say that all these 750,000 acres are now turned into deer forests; but I mean to say that a very considerable amount of them are. I have taken great pains to get the best and most authoritative information upon the subject; and I am told that if the Sutherland deer forests do not now exceed those in other counties in Scotland, they are likely to do so.

I ask the House whether it is not recognized on all sides that the most alarming symptom of our civilized life, and that which affords the least security for the future, is the growing up, side by side, of enormous wealth with utter poverty—the gathering into the hands of comparatively a few an amount of wealth which makes the aggregate wealth of this country at the present time greater than was ever possessed by any other country on the face of the earth; while, at the same the masses of the community, so far from sharing in an equal, or, indeed, in any degree, in that national wealth and prosperity, are sunk in unutterable poverty. And pauperism, the worst phase of that poverty, as this House well knows, is bubbling up before our faces until all the expedients of philanthropists and statesmen have been exhausted in the endeavour to deal with this demoralizing evil. It is at such a time, when the industry of the country is desirous to have, above all things, fresh fields for labour, whether agricultural or otherwise; to have food, plentiful, and cheap as may be—it is at such a time that the enormous power of wealth, aggregated in particular hands, and, I regret to add, most recklessly used, is making whole districts—nay, whole counties of Scotland, depopulated and uncivilized; the people being sent away in order to provide for the sport of a narrow class. These men deal with the land in this little island as though they were dealing with the great valley of the Mississippi. Throughout Ross, Inverness, Aberdeen, and Perth, these deer forests are spreading far and wide. Mr. Buchanan, in his tribute to the marriage of the Princess Louise with the Marquess of Lorne, describes the condition of Argyll. He says that the population is much less than it was 70 years ago, and adds that every element which should mark the progress of civilization, except the increase of rent, has been diminishing within that period. It would seem that the "reign of law" is not altogether beneficent in Argyll. It is estimated by Professor Leone Levi that 2,000,000 acres are already devoted to deer forests in Scotland; that is to say, about one-tenth of the entire surface of the country. Baillie Ross, of Aberdeen, estimates the loss to the country through their deer forests at 370,000 sheep, or, as he thinks, 20,000,000 lbs of meat. Now, I ask the House to consider what is implied in this process of making deer forests? Certain large landed proprietors say—"We will turn our lands into deer forests;" and, accordingly, they turn out the inhabitants and turn in the deer. They neither wall nor fence it. They simply call it a deer forest; and I have it on authority which, I think, is quite unanswerable, that the mischief that is done to cottiers and small tenants, in winter especially, by these deer going down to their fields and into their rick-yards is something very great. I could tell the House of a case of an unpenned forest, into which the neighbouring farmer is not allowed to enter in order to collect such of his sheep as may have strayed there; and the gentleman's deer-keeper returns the sheep to the farmer at a penalty of 6*d.* a-head. It can matter but little to these people whether they are subject to these grievous wrongs at the hands of their hereditary chieftains, who should have protected them, or whether they are made over to the tender mercies of the Southern stranger, who, having amassed a large fortune at the counter or on the Stock Exchange, makes no better use of it, than to ape the habits and vices of the patrician. Let me mention one result of this system—namely, the bringing into very few hands vast tracts of territory. The statement I am about to make I make with hesitation, as it would appear to be too inconceivable to be correct; but I do so upon the authority of a periodical, long-established, and of high reputation—*The Westminster Review*—and the statement, so far as I have been able to observe, has never been gainsaid. It is to the effect that upwards of 19,000,000 acres, that is to say, something like 19-20ths of the whole surface of Scotland, belongs in fee-simple to 12 proprietors. If the number should be multiplied by 10 it is hardly less astounding. I will now descend from the general to a particular instance. In a beautiful glen in Scotland, which, I dare say, is known to many hon. Members, and which is named after the little river that flows through it—the Tanner—there were, at one time, some 300 or 400 of population, and with a flourishing school, church, and so forth. That has all been changed. My correspondent says—

> "I may state the case of another glen on Dee side, converted into a deer forest within the last 25 years. To accomplish this object 30 families were dispossessed. The glen formerly supported, on an average, 4,500 sheep, and 300 to 400 head of cattle. It yields now, I believe, 50 to 60 head of deer annually; so that we find to produce a pair of red deer costs the country 50 sheep and 4 cattle; and a human family has to be dispossessed to make way for them. Surely this is dear sport; and if there are individuals who can unfortunately afford to pay such an exorbitant price for it, the effects on our social system prove that the nation cannot."

I venture to give this illustration relative to deer forests as an additional reason why this House should be pleased to pass the second reading of my Bill. It is really too bad that the national interests and rights of various important classes should be sacrificed to a morbid love of sport, which, if regard be had to the timid nature of the animals that are the object of the sport, can at best only be termed effeminate athleticism. I would say that while such a system as this prevails, there is no appeal to revolution that may echo from Hyde Park or Trafalgar Square but must hide its diminished head; and there is no form of communism, however bad, but must rise, in comparison, into the form of a moderate and well-considered scheme of political economy. I am quite aware that the mere abolition of game laws is insufficient to deal with so enormous an evil. Laws to be administered, presuppose an existing population, whereas in this case the population is made to disappear in order that then wild animals may take their place. But I say that the House is bound to take at least the first step, and no longer to give legislative sanction to wrongs so great as I have described. The more I think of this question of the game laws, the more convinced I am that my Bill, or something as thorough in its principle, is the only possible remedy that exists. There is no half-way house between the present game laws and absolute abolition. There is no modification of them which would essentially lessen the evils that they beget; and, certainly, there is no modification of them that would give security against change for the future. I am perfectly aware that it is ground game—namely, hares and rabbits, which principally engage the attention and excite the hatred of the farmer. I am aware that these destructive vermin do far more harm to the farmer than the winged game. Still it is beyond question that winged game may be preserved to an extent to do very serious damage. But this is not only a question between the farmer and the proprietor. It is a national question. ["No, no!"] Yes; and I appeal to the Bishop of Manchester, who has said that if hares and rabbits do more damage to the farmers, it is the winged game that demoralizes the population. I venture, through this House, to say to the farmers of England that they will never get rid of this great evil; they will never remove this burdensome yoke from off their shoulders while they enter on the question in a class and partial way, thinking of nothing but their own interests. They must go into it as a national question, and appeal to the men in the great towns, and those who represent them; and when they do that, without pretending to the gift of prophecy, I venture to say that, whichever side of the House may be in power, the game laws will not be a year longer in existence. Again, much stress has been laid on the assertion that, in the event of my Bill becoming law, farmers will have their grounds trampled over and their hedges broken by trespassers in search of game. To this, of course, my answer is, that my Bill, by greatly diminishing the quantity of game, will consequently greatly diminish the temptation to trespass. But if you attempt to carry some modified scheme; such, for instance, as the one which seems to find most favour—namely, taking hares and rabbits out of the category of game, you do place the farmer in this danger, for you at once leave the greatest temptation to trespass while taking away the power now possessed of preventing it; for it would require something more than even the daring of a gamekeeper to swear by a man's face whether he was in search of the pheasant which remains game, or of the hares and rabbits which the law had ceased to protect.

Mr. DICKINSON seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. P. A. Taylor.*)

Mr. HARDCASTLE moved that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months. It was not because he was insensible to the evils of the present laws that he did so, or that he was a game preserver—on the contrary, he had a keen sense of the evils attaching to the present system—but because he thought his hon. Friend (Mr. P. A. Taylor), in his amusing speech, proposed a thing which was, in his judgment, utterly impossible. He could well understand that the present system had many objectionable features; but he thought they might be much better remedied than by the plan proposed. To attempt to destroy game by abolishing the game laws was both objectionable and absurd. The effect which the present game laws had on crime, which the hon. Member had passed over very lightly, was to him far more important than any other. He was afraid that thousands of the poorer classes owed their introduction into a life of crime to the fact that game was preserved. This was, no doubt, a very serious aspect of the question, and one which they must look into very narrowly—especially landowners and game preservers, the majority of whom, he believed, took a deep interest in the welfare of their poorer neighbours. If he thought that the evils of the present system could only be removed by the entire abolition of the game laws, he should feel bound to support the Motion of his hon. Friend; but he thought it extremely doubtful whether total abolition would be followed by the results anticipated. If they abolished the game laws they would diminish the interest which every proprietor took in being resident in the country. It would also cause considerable depreciation in the value of the land—but perhaps the hon. Member did not much mind that. It would also cause an alarming diminution in the amount of food supplied, for to withdraw the quantity of game that was now consumed must, of necessity, enhance the price of beef and mutton. And then he presumed that what happened in Germany, as to which the hon. Member did not inform the House, would happen in this country. It was true Germany at the revolution in 1848 abolished the game laws; but two years afterwards they re-established them in a more stringent manner than they existed before. The abolition of the game laws would most assuredly lead to a more stringent law of trespass than that now existing in this country; for at present there was no punishment attached to it except in the case of persons trespassing in pursuit of game. The scheme he (Mr. Hardcastle) proposed in his Bill would meet many of the objections that existed to the present law. Many changes had already taken place in the game laws, and he suggested whether it was not possible to go one step further, and enact that game should be the property of the occupier. One result would be that game would be rated; whereas at present nobody paid rates in respect of game if the landlord reserved to himself the right of shooting. He hoped, sooner or later, his suggestion would be adopted, as the result of such a Bill as that which he (Mr. Hardcastle) proposed would be to punish poaching identically with thieving, and thereby deter the otherwise honest labourer from the commission of an act which he now does not regard as a crime. It appeared to him that the only way by which questions relating to the game laws could be satisfactorily settled was by making game the property of the occupier. The hon. Member concluded by moving his Amendment that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. H. R. BRAND, in seconding the Amendment, denied that there were any rights of property in game vested in the people. The people who would benefit by the passing of the measure would not be the hon. Member's law-abiding constituents, but the professional gangs of poachers from the large towns — organized bands of thieves. There was no doubt considerable agitation in reference to this Bill, and he was sorry to find language used by the leaders of this movement, which was calculated to produce the most mischievous consequence. For example, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Leicester, who moved the second reading of a similar Bill last year, said that poaching was not a crime against morality, but only a law-made crime, and hon. Members might be sure that the same views were not expressed with any greater moderation outside the House. What were the consequences of such words? Why, at the last assizes of the county of Hertford, out of the 30 criminal cases tried, 13 were for poaching—some were mere ordinary poaching cases, others were of a more aggravated nature, combining assaults with the offence of poaching. Three of those men were sentenced to seven years' penal servitude, two to five years', and one to ten years'. He did not wish to excuse the acts of these men, nor did he aver that there were not some landlords who, by the systematic way in which they abused the game laws, were not in a measure responsible for the acts of these misguided men; but there were others who, in his opinion, were as guilty, morally speaking, as the men who committed these assaults, and those were they, who, agreeing with the hon. Member for Leicester, did, by their words, palliate the crime of poaching—a crime which carried with it occasionally these terrible consequences. Now, he (Mr. Brand) wished to impress on the Government the necessity of meeting this state of things by proposing a remedy to remove the real grievance involved. The many Bills before the House proved that some remedy was absolutely necessary. There was one class of persons who were opposed to all legislation on the subject; there was a second class who were willing to consider this question as one affecting the relations between landlord and tenant; and there was a third class who took a wider view of this question. He need not say anything respecting the first of these classes; but in respect to the second, it appeared to him that they were represented in that House by the Government and many of the Members from Scotland. Neither the Bill of the Government nor the Bill of the hon. Member for Wick really offered a remedy for the evil, even as it affected the farming interest. Now, was a man who occupied his own freehold to get compensation for damage done to his crops by the ground game preserved by his neighbours on either side? How was he to prove that the game had come from out of a particular cover? The position of such a man was not affected by these Bills, but it was affected, he believed, by the Bill of the hon. Member for Linlithgow, which went upon the principle that hares and rabbits were mischievous vermin, and ought to be treated as such. It was not the game laws that occasioned the evils complained of by the hon. Member for Leicester, but the abuses of the game laws. The hon. Member said that the game laws were injurious to the morals of the people. That was intelligible ground; but if the game laws were to be abolished in order to remove temptation out of people's way, the same principle would extend to every other kind of property. There were two objects to be gained in any legislation upon this subject—the one, to impress upon the mind of the poacher and of the public generally that there was no difference or distinction—as far as the moral guilt of the act was concerned—between taking a man's pheasant and taking a man's purse; the other, to check the over-preservation of game. The Bill of the hon. Member for Bury (Mr. Hardcastle), which declared that game should be held to be the property of the occupier of the land on which it was found, proceeded in the right direction, and its justice would be admitted by the people themselves. Game was, however, too freely defined in this Bill; hares and rabbits ought to be excluded from the list of game, because they were mischievous and destructive, and did not possess the same quality of property as partridge or grouse. It was no doubt difficult to identify such kinds of property, but it was not necessary to identify a particular pheasant or partridges — all purposes will have been served if evidence is given to the effect that a man was seen to shoot at the game which will belong to the person in occupation of the land upon which it was shot. It had also been said that game wants all the qualities of property; that was true with regard to some animals, but not with regard to others. Pheasants and partridges were not migratory birds, and a good keeper ought to be able to tell the number of coveys on his land, and almost to give the family history of every pheasant. In respect to the great evil in this matter—namely, the over-preservation of game, a check would be put upon the practice by making game rateable, and a further check would be provided by making it expensive. He agreed with what had been put forward by Mr. Kebbel in his book, that landlords who sold their game should be required to take out a heavy licence. With such a provision in force, landlords would either preserve game for purposes of trade, or give up preserving and save the cost of the licence. Much of the evil resulting from the game law arose from the ignorance and intemperance of a minority of the people, whose poaching propensities were fostered by the injudicious proceedings of those who indulged in excessive preservation, and of those who palliated the crime of poaching. He trusted that the ignorance would in time be cured by the success of the Education Act, and that some legislative means would be found by which to check the excess of drinking. Legislation, too, might do something towards checking the poaching habits of some of the people in agricultural districts; but if the landlords would deprecate excess of preservation as an abuse of the game laws, they would secure proper respect for the law, and at the same time frustrate the object of the hon. Member for Leicester.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Hardcastle.*)

Mr. BROMLEY-DAVENPORT said, it was a remarkable thing to him to find that some hon. Members were prone to take up subjects in that House with which they were but little conversant. He regretted that the hon. Member for Dorchester (Mr. Sturt) was not in his place to give to the Motion of the hon. Member for Leicester as effective a reply as that he had given to it last year. He had listened carefully to the speech of the hon. Member for Leicester; but he had failed to hear a single sound argument adduced against the game laws. The single point of the hon. Member's speech seemed to be that the tenants in this respect were entirely at the mercy of the landlords; and, in order to set the matter right, he made a proposal that would place the landlords at the mercy of the tenants. Now, it was quite evident that the hon. Gentleman was utterly unacquainted with the condition of the tenants generally in reference to this matter. Every tenant of his (Mr. Bromley-Davenport) had permission to kill the rabbits upon his farm all the year round, and he knew that the tenants of many of his neighbours enjoyed a similar power. How, then, could the tenant be aggrieved with the number of rabbits upon the land? The hon. Member said that the agricultural labourers were driven to poaching in consequence of the evils to which they were exposed by our system of game laws. Now, upon the whole of his (Mr. Bromley-Davenport's) estate, he never recollected an instance of an agricultural labourer having been taken up for poaching. But he had seen gangs from large towns, composed of the worst characters—men well armed—who took away at night whatever game they could get; and on one occasion a gang of this kind evinced their impartiality as to the character of the property they were in quest of by shooting 14 of his tame ducks. The real remedy for the evils complained of was to avoid the excessive preservation of game. He had only one remark to make, which he hoped the hon. Member for Leicester would take in good part. The hon. Member reminded him of certain dogs, excellent animals in every respect, except that they had an incorrigible propensity to roll themselves in any dirt or carrion they happened to come across, and then to befoul everything with which they afterwards came in contact. Now, the hon. Gentleman had shown a remarkable facility for finding something that was disagreeable, and, having rolled himself in it, he would endeavour to rub it off against the landlords. He had smeared himself over the other day with the dowry matter, and did not improve his appearance by afterwards revelling in the case of the old woman who stole the faggots. He (Mr. Bromley-Davenport) hoped that he would take warning by the fate which his Bill was certain to have in that House, and that he would not trouble them any more by such utterly useless and mischievous Motions as the one now before them.

Mr. CARNEGIE said, although he was not prepared to go the whole length of the hon. Member for Leicester, nevertheless he thought that the abuses connected with the preservation of game were very great, and could scarcely be over-rated. In the Bills of the hon. Members for Wick (Mr. Loch) and Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan) there appeared to him to be something like a remedy for these evils. Had any right hon. Gentleman been present to represent the Government he would have appealed to him whether the time had not come for them to do something in the way of removing the grievances of the tenant-farmers, and not drive them to adopt the Bill of the hon. Member for Leicester, in the absence of anything better.

Mr. CLARE READ observed that the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor) persevered year after year with his Bill, thinking, no doubt, that moderate men would be ultimately driven to support him in his proposal for a total abolition of the game laws. Such a speculation was utterly hopeless. He (Mr. Read), however, was sorry to see that the leaders on either side of the House had taken no step to remedy and hardly to mitigate the evils consequent on the over-preservation of hares and rabbits. He contended that all the legislation required was in that direction, and that few evils arose from the comparatively harmless winged game. On the contrary, they afforded most excellent sport without doing much harm. As to the amount of food derivable from hares and rabbits, he did not doubt that rabbits on some soils might be remuerative when they were confined in one spot; but when they were allowed to roam at large they destroyed a vast deal more than they produced as food. When he spoke last on this subject he expressed the opinion that in all civilized countries they would find a game law. Since then inquiries had been addressed on the subject to our various Consuls abroad. Their Reports had not all been sent, but he had seen two of them. One related to the United States of America, where they had game laws containing some curious provisions, and which imposed heavy fines. For instance, in New Jersey, and the thickly-populated districts of America, the game laws were much more severe than ours. There was, to be sure, no licence there to kill game or to carry a gun, but there was a strict law against the transgression of shooting on Sundays; and from the 10th of January to the 1st of November no one was allowed to kill a rabbit, and no one could shoot at a pigeon within a quarter of a mile of its nest. In Prussia the game laws, which were abolished in 1848, were re-established in 1850; and no owner of property less than 200 acres had a right to kill game upon his land. In Germany the crime of poaching was punishable by a penalty of £15, or three months' imprisonment, if committed in the day-time; and if at night £30, or six months' imprisonment. The other day a debate took place in the House on the Scotch law of hypothec; he did not vote on that occasion, and he had been asked why, having previously spoken in favour of that law, he did not do so? It was only on account of these game laws. By the law of distress, and the power of a re-entry, a landlord might let a farm at a high rent, eat the tenant up with ground game, and ruin him, and yet be sure of every sixpence of his rent; or he might be a needy and not an unreasonable man, who would be compelled to let the right of sporting, and the farmer's crops might be devoured with hares and rabbits of the game tenant, yet the power of distress would secure the full rent to the landlord, whatever might become of the farmer's other creditors. The agricultural Chambers to which the hon. Member for Hertfordshire (Mr. Brand) alluded came to the conclusion that hares and rabbits should cease to be deemed game within the meaning of the game laws, and that there ought to be an inalienable joint right in the owners and occupiers to the ground game upon the land. In agreements between landlord and tenant it was generally stated that "the landlord grants to the tenant the quiet and peaceable possession of the farm;" and he contended that there could be no quiet, peace, nor possession if the landlord stocked the farm with hares and rabbits. The Government had intimated that they did not mean to favour the suggestion of the hon. Member for Wick (Mr. Loch) and interfere between landlord and tenant; but the measure of the Government, if it did not entirely override contracts, would literally be of no use whatever; because when a man, from damage being done by game, became desperate or was ruined, his creditors might sue the landlord and say, pointing to the Bill of the Government, "There has been an unreasonable increase and preservation of hares and rabbits during this tenancy." But Parliament constantly interferred with all sorts of contracts; railways had no more a monopoly of transit than landlords of the land, yet the Legislature protected passengers, the merchant, and the public against unreasonable railways. Workmen were more independent of their masters than tenants of their landlords, yet we had the law of master and servant, with the Truck and other Acts. Solicitors had no more power over clients than owners over occupiers, yet the law gave the client power to repudiate his contract with his solicitor. And lastly, the money-lender could not deprive the man who borrowed money on the security of land of his ordinary right of redemption. If, therefore, it was proper to annul contracts which restricted trade, surely it was just to restrict contracts which injured agriculture. If for the sake of the revenue, certain contracts were made void for the sake of the public good, those which prevented the production of food might be forbidden; and if the equity of redemption was inseparable from a mortgage, why should not the right of the tenant to kill ground game be inseparable from all agricultural tenancies? In each case those for whose protection this interference was intended were as independent as were the tenants of game farms, and though he objected entirely to the proposal of the hon. Member for Leicester, any Bill introduced for the purpose of settling this question ought to override the exclusive reservation of the landlord to the ground game, or it would be ineffectual. This question had been made an election cry in Scotland, and appeared about to be made so in England. ["No!"] He could only say that it had been an election cry at a recent election for South Norfolk, where his hon. Colleague had only been returned by a narrow majority, because the first candidate selected by the Conservatives, though an excellent man, was supposed, rightly or wrongly, to be very fond of rabbits and hares. When his hon. Colleague appeared there was a cry of "Buxton and no hares!" It was not, however, to be supposed that there were no hares on the estate of his hon. Colleague, the fact being that his tenants had permission to course the hares and kill the rabbits as they pleased, and so all went comfortably. If before the next General Election the new law was passed for the payment of expenses out of the county rate, and also that for secret voting, by which falsehood and deceit might escape detection, then the House from this outcry against the game laws would lose—from both sides—a lot of good county Members, whom Parliament and the country could ill afford to spare.

MR. D. DALRYMPLE said, that representing a town constituency unable to dispense with hares, rabbits, and pheasants, he was unable to follow the hon. Member for Leicester into the Lobby on this occasion; neither could he himself, when in August, worn out by the effects of Blue Books and late nights in the House of Commons, afford to dispense with the recreation afforded by country sports. He believed that the Government might bring forward some legislation quite sufficient to protect the country from over-preservation of game. He hoped that, without interfering with contract between landlord and tenant, by passing a detrimental measure such as that of the hon. Member, some *via media* would be found by which hares and rabbits might be made less destructive, and the present over-preservation of game much diminished. But even if this measure should be passed, he scarcely hoped that the poacher would be got rid of unless game was made property. His own experience as a magistrate convinced him that the poacher was generally a man who made a trade of this particular crime, and depended on it for a livelihood. There were organizations which provided the poacher with a solicitor to defend him on his trial, paid his fines, and got him more poaching to do when he gained his liberty. With regard to sporting, he believed the attendance of hon. Members in that House would be less numerous than it was at present had they not the occasional opportunity of pursuing that excellent means of recreation.

MR. GREENE said, it was a great mistake to suppose that the tenant-farmers of England desired any measure of this kind, for nothing pleased the farmers more than to see their landlords among them in the winter season. The hon. Member for Leicester had taken a wide ground in his introduction of the measure, and had availed himself of the opportunity of enunciating some of his real, red-hot Radical principles; forgetting, however, that under large landed proprietors there had grown a middle class, who now formed the backbone of the country, and who would never have attained their present position but for that support. The hon. Member had also attacked the Government for their partiality to the game laws. It was not often that he (Mr. Greene) desired to defend the present Government; but in the present instance he thought the charge unjust, for a more unsporting lot of men he had never seen. The only man in the Government with any sport in him was their "first whip." He hoped this was the last occasion on which he should have the pleasure of opposing the Bill of the hon. Member for Leceister.

Strong as the feeling might be in the minds of some few, he felt sure that the farmers desired nothing but a fair settlement, in which their own rights and those of their landlords would be properly considered.

Mr. A. H. BROWN, in supporting the Bill of the hon. Member for Leicester, said, the hon. Member for Hereford, in the speech they had just listened to, had divided the cases under the game laws into two parts—those which came under the head of gang poaching, and those of an ordinary kind. Now, what he wished to point out was that they had endeavoured by their legislation of late years to put down the first of these offences, and nothing more could be done to put down the evil, as they had finally added to the already severe Code an Act which gave a single policeman power to search any person simply on suspicion. Now, when they found that they had gone to such a length to protect game and had failed, they must begin at the other end, and direct their efforts to diminish the over-preservation of game. Reference having been made to the game laws of the United States, he was prepared to say that as to New Jersey though there might be game laws there was no game, nor had the game laws any practical effect in the State of New York; and all Americans considered our game laws as one of the greatest blots in our legislation. In Prussia, he believed, they were referable to feudal rights, and belonged only to the lords and the head barons. The question had been too much regarded as affecting only the relations between landlords and tenants. Some landlords allowed the tenants to take rabbits on their farms; but very few allowed them to enter the covers and woods to take them there, and that was one of the points which caused the greatest hardship. In fact, it was a question of national importance, for it concerned the whole of the population, inasmuch as the game laws helped to fill our gaols and workhouses, and to reduce hundreds and thousands of families to the verge of starvation.

Sir HENRY HOARE had no wish to interfere with the right of private property in land, but he saw a grievance to be removed and an abuse to be remedied; and because all the game Bills hitherto introduced had failed to meet the exigencies of the situation he should, by way of protest, vote for the second reading of the hon. Member's Bill. By dropping hares and rabbits out of the game list the occupier might be satisfied, and the temptations to poach removed from the agricultural labourer. As to the rating of game, he was at a loss to understand how that could be done, where the sporting rights applied generally to the game itself and not to so many acres of land. Until the Government brought forward a broad Bill to meet these difficulties, he should vote for the Bill of the hon. Member for Leicester.

Mr. CORRANCE said, that representing a game preserving county, it might cause some surprise that he had never, upon any occasion since he entered Parliament, either expressed any opinion or given a vote upon this question. He would frankly confess that he had never seen a Bill yet at all worthy the consideration of this House, and without disparagement to the hon. Member for Leicester, never heard a speech worthy of debate. In his present speech he had set forth reasons—criminal, statistical, social, and economic; but he felt convinced that the House at that hour would excuse him from elaborate debate. In one point only did he intend to follow him—namely, in the appeal he made to the farming classes to seek the aid offered by the representatives of great towns. Now, without doubting the simplicity of faith in which the offer was made, he would beg the hon. Member to call to mind how often upon other questions that aid had been sought, and with what result. Did he remember the malt tax? Did he remember the cattle plague? Upon the question of local taxation had they had their votes? Well, then, was it it surprising that they exercised some discrimination in their choice; was it surprising that if they sought assistance it would be from such men as the hon. Member for Bury St. Edmund's, or others of that stamp, whose advice they could trust? Hopes were expressed that it would not be made a hustings question, but it was a hustings question on that side of the House and nothing else. The social evils of it had been stated, and no one more regretted that social evil than himself; but he could scarcely admit that it was one of a distinct or exceptional class, nor had he heard the proof of this. He admitted the importance of the question to the agricultural class, and was only too anxious to see a remedy provided adequate to the case. Two Bills were now before them that day, to do this—and there was something in each Bill he could support—namely, the Bill of the hon. Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan), and that of the hon. Member for Bury St. Edmund's (Mr. Hardcastle). He saw few objections to the first. In the second case, the game laws were abolished as such, but game became property under certain conditions. Now, what else could it be? It might, when living, be called vermin by the hon. Member for Norfolk; but he would probably not object to purchase it when dead. Well, then it has a money value, and must be property as such; nothing could avert such a consequence as this. It could be parted with for valuabe consideration, and its abstraction was theft. Well, that was the principle of the Bill, and it was just, although the hon. Member for Leicester, who probably objected to all property, might take exception to this. [Mr. P. A. TAYLOR: I did not say so.] The hon. Member said that he preferred the wildest communism to such privileges as that. Well, next, whose property was it by this Bill? The property of the occupier, and he approved of that. The hon. Member for Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) has said so it was now, and he saw no distinction in that case. He differed with him upon that point. It made all the difference whether possession was implied or absolute. It made all the difference whether it could be reserved, or must be conveyed by the act of the tenant himself, as in that case. The hon. Member objected to such freedom of contract. He (Mr. Corrance) did not. He had quoted many instances of its violation in law—such as the Irish Land Act, Equities of Redemption, and such like; but there was one thing he had failed to do — prove their analogy to this case. Would he liken the Norfolk and Suffolk tenants to those under the Irish Acts? Would he liken the landlords to the usurers he quoted? He (Mr. Corrance) thought not, and holding the policy to be retrograde and reverting to the objectionable principles of the past, when justices set wages, and drapers' prices were fixed, he could not recognize it in this case. Well, then, he thought the principle of the Bill was so far good. In fact, it should please every class—the game itself lost its wild character and became partakers of the general 19th century advance. The poachers would attain the superior dignity of a thief, and the occupier would gain full power over it, through the reservation he could make. If his hon. Friend went to a Division he should give him his vote. And if the Bill should be re-introduced upon any future occasion he trusted that its principle would meet with due consideration upon the part of the House.

MR. WINTERBOTHAM said, he regretted that in the absence of his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary, it should have devolved upon him to state the intention of the Government; for he felt that while giving his vote against the Bill of the hon. Member for Leicester he, to some extent, approved of its object. That a grievance existed no one could doubt when they considered the Bills for its remedy which were introduced Session after Session, and that there were four Bills at this time before the House. It seemed to him that those who had defended the game laws seemed to be in a difficulty between the love of game and their fears of an election cry; and they might rely upon it there would always be an election cry until this matter was settled. Some hon. Members, like the hon. Member for South Norfolk, seemed to consider that this was a question between landlords and tenants, and that when their respective rights were adjusted the matter would be at rest. But if these parties could settle their differences between themselves the real grievance of the game laws would remain, for the real grievance was the influence and effect of these laws upon the population generally. It could not be disputed that the present state of the game laws was a fruitful source of crime; and when they considered the largely increased masses of the people, especially in our great towns, it could not be denied that, regarded in a moral point of view, the question was a problem, the solution of which became more imperative every day. One of the remedies suggested was a very curious one. It was suggested that if game were made property the moral sense of the community in respect to game would be changed. But you could not change the moral sense of a people by changing laws—on the contrary, the laws had to be accommodated to the moral sense of the people. You could not by a law make that property which the moral sense of the people did not recognize as property. If the landlords did not recognize game as property as between themselves, how could they expect the people to recognize it as property between class and class? He was not in a position to say, on behalf of the Government, what they proposed to do with the question; but it involved an evil of such magnitude that it could not fail to be dealt with by them. The measure they had introduced on the subject was a step in the right direction, though he admitted that, so far as his own feeling was concerned, it did not go far enough. He should be very sorry to see this question made into a party cry; but he thought it would be a cry among the town populations and among those who had a right to be heard as representing the interests of the great mass of the people. He hoped that some mode would be found, short of this particular measure, for removing what was undoubtedly a great source of crime and danger to the community.

Mr. LOCH said, he intended voting with the hon. Member for Leicester, not because he agreed with the provisions of his Bill, but because he desired to protest against the game laws at every possible opportunity. Some remarks had been made as to the non-inclusion of deer in his own Bill, and statements put forward with regard to the vast extent of deer forests in Scotland; and he would therefore take the opportunity of saying that in no Highland county were the deer forests so small in extent as in Sutherland.

Mr. G. B. GREGORY remarked upon the extraordinary statement of the Under Secretary for the Home Department (Mr. Winterbotham), from which it was impossible to say to what lengths the Government would go. He had based his argument on the demoralizing influences of game laws, so that it was fair to presume nothing short of complete abolition would please him; because, however moderate those laws might be made, they would be, according to him, demoralizing to that extent.

Question put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. Winterbotham

The House *divided*:—Ayes 49; Noes 172: Majority 123.

Words *added*.

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *put off* for six months.

GAME LAWS (SCOTLAND) AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL—[Bill 21.]

(*Mr. M'Lagan, Sir Alexander Maitland, Mr. Orr Ewing.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. M'Lagan.*)

Mr. HUNT suggested that all the Game Law Bills now before the House be read a second time and sent to a Select Committee, in the hope that some satisfactory settlement of the question might be arrived at.

Mr. COLLINS hoped that if the suggestion were adopted the House would not be regarded as pledging itself to more than that the game laws needed amendment.

Mr. KINNAIRD said, he was glad hon. Members opposite were in favour of some Bill for that object.

Sir GEORGE JENKINSON said, that, although averse to the preservation of game, he was in favour of the preservation of land, and hoped for some amendment of the law of trespass.

Mr. CRAUFURD moved the Adjournment of the Debate, on the ground that no understanding could be come to in the absence of Ministers.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Craufurd.*)

Mr. NEVILLE-GRENVILLE said, he could not admit that the absence of Ministers was a sufficient reason for postponing business inconveniently.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM said, he did not think the Government could be fairly charged with obstructing business simply because it did not assent to the second reading of a Bill which had never been discussed.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 106; Noes 37: Majority 69.

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* 8th May.

GAS WORKS CLAUSES ACT (1847) AMENDMENT (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ARTHUR PEEL, Bill to amend the Gas Works Clauses Act, 1847, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ARTHUR PEEL and Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 113.]

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 20*th April,* 1871.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Marine Mutiny *; County Justices Qualification Amendment * (67); Trades Unions * (68); Criminal Law Amendment (Violence, Threats, &c.)* (69); Bank Holidays * (70).
Second Reading—Mutiny *.
Committee—County Property * (35).

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

LORD REDESDALE, who was warmly cheered on entering the House for the first time this Session, said — Before moving the third reading of some private Bills, I trust your Lordships will permit me to express my deep sense of the indulgence which your Lordships have extended to me in excusing my absence during the early part of the Session. I wish the noble Viscount (Viscount Eversley) were now in his place that I might express to him my deep obligation for the manner in which, as I have learnt from all quarters, he has kindly discharged the duties of my office. This has been a great satisfaction to me during my absence. I cannot say that I have entirely recovered; and it is possible that, for some little time, I may have to bespeak the indulgence of the House; but I trust I shall be able to perform my duties.

UNITED STATES—THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION—THE FISHERY QUESTION. QUESTION.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND: I wish to ask the noble Earl the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Whether the telegraphic communication which appeared in one of the leading journals this morning with respect to an agreement as to the Fisheries Question has any foundation in fact; and, if not, whether he can state the exact position of matters on the subject?

EARL GRANVILLE: I cannot confirm the intelligence which appeared in *The Times* of to-day. Indeed, I remark that the announcement was not made as a fact, but as a rumour. It would be unwise to place confidence in any un-official report of the proceedings of the Joint Commission, for both our own and the American Commissioners have very wisely resolved to keep the negotiations secret until some result—one way or the other—is obtained; and, as far as I am aware, that resolution has been scrupulously adhered to. I do not think I can state anything more, except that I see no reason whatever to complain of the spirit in which the negotiations have been carried on. To give any opinion as to the result would obviously be premature and improper.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 20*th April,* 1871.

MINUTES.] — NEW MEMBER SWORN — Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, baronet, *for* Norfolk (Southern Division).
WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—MATCH TAX.
PUBLIC BILLS—*Committee*—Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons) [78]—R.P.
Committee—Report—Charters (Colleges)* [97]; Anatomy Act (1832) Amendment * [110].

RECRUITS FOR INDIA.—QUESTION.

COLONEL SYKES asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there is not an egregious error in the Return to an Address of the House of Commons, dated 14th March 1871, No. 129, which states that the cost per man for drilling and preparing recruits for filling up vacancies in the East India Company's European Troops in India for ten years from 1850 to 1859, both inclusive, was £19 14*s*. 10½*d*. for 24,783 recruits, while the cost per man at the expense of India for a similar object for the European Troops of the Crown for seven years from 1861-2 to 1867-8, both inclusive, was £205 per man for 15,376 recruits, amounting in 1862-3 to £376 per recruit; and, whether it is true that India is to be charged for the future £136 13*s.* 11*d.* for each Cavalry, and £63 8*s.* 5*d.* for each Infantry recruit, independently of the cost of transit to India?

Mr. GRANT DUFF: In reply, Sir, to my hon. and gallant Friend, I have to say that there is no error in the Return referred to; and, further, that the charge to be made by the Imperial Government against the Indian Government is, under present arrangements, precisely as he states it.

Colonel SYKES said, he should take an opportunity for asking for details in reference to the matter.

THE JURY SYSTEM.—QUESTION.

Mr. LOPES asked Mr. Attorney General, When he proposes to bring in a Bill to amend the Jury System?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said, in reply, that he was not prepared to answer the Question.

Afterwards—

In reply to Mr. Lopes,

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, the Juries Bill had passed in accordance with the recommendations of a Select Committee. A Bill had subsequently been passed to repeal a single clause, and he thought it would be well to have at least one year's experience of it to see how it worked. It was not his intention to introduce a second Bill.

THE LOTTERY ACT.—QUESTION.

Mr. CHARLEY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether he is aware that an illegal lottery at which "bank shares," "fat sheep," "cases of champagne," and "chests of tea," are to be drawn as prizes "on the plan of the Art Union," is announced to take place on the first and second of May next, at the Rotunda, Dublin, "to raise funds for the completion of the new Church of St. Kevin, Harrington Street, Dublin;" and, whether the Irish Government have taken or intend to take any steps to suppress this illegal lottery?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, in reply, that it had been the practice for some time in Ireland to hold for charitable purposes bazaars, at which prizes were distributed by lot. These had been held occasionally for Protestant as well as Roman Catholic objects, and very frequently for the benefit of the poor, irrespective of any religious denomination. In 1864 the Irish Law Officers gave an opinion that it was doubtful whether lotteries of that description came within the letter, and certainly they did not seem to come within the spirit, of the Lottery Act; and though the subject had been brought to the attention of successive Governments, no prosecution had been instituted in Ireland or England, so far as he was aware, when the object of the lottery was of a charitable nature. At the same time, the parties promoting these lotteries did so at the risk, if they were illegal, of having *qui tam* actions brought against them. Under these circumstances, the Irish Government had not instituted, and did not intend to institute, any prosecution with regard to the lottery referred to.

ARMY—COLONELS PROMOTED TO STAFF EMPLOYMENT.

QUESTION.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Colonels on full pay in command of regiments, if promoted to Staff employment, will be reimbursed such sums as they would have received from their regiments under the old system in accepting such an appointment?

Mr. CARDWELL, in reply, said, it was intended to give full indemnity for payments hitherto customary if the officers could satisfy the Commissioners that, were it not for the Army Regulation Bill, they would be entitled to receive such payments.

POOR LAW—VAGRANT WARDS.

QUESTIONS.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Secretary to the Poor Law Board, How many unions are provided, at the present time, with vagrant wards which have been reported upon by the Poor Law Inspectors as satisfactory; in how many cases such wards have been built with separate cells; and what has been, in such cases, the cost per cell?

Mr. HIBBERT replied that he could not give the information as to the total number of Unions in England and Wales, but he could give it as to 482 of them. Of these 482, there were 374 which had vagrant wards which were considered sufficient, 61 had wards which were considered insufficient, and there were 47 which had no vagrant wards at all. It was stated that in the metropolis 30 parishes had provided wards which were reported as satisfactory. As to the second part of the Question of the hon. Baronet, so far as the latest information went, there were only 13 Unions which had separate cells for vagrants; these Unions were spread over various parts of the country, and the experience of having separate wards had been uniformly satisfactory in decreasing the number of vagrants in those places. He could not state what had been the cost.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH inquired whether the Unions included those in the metropolis; and whether, amongst the 13 which have separate cells, there are any which are in the metropolis?

Mr. HIBBERT: Of the 13 Unions none were in the metropolis, but the 482 included those in London. Perhaps the hon. Member would be gratified to hear that the Report of the Poor Law Inspector as to the Eastbourne Union said that such a system had been introduced there; that in the first year the number of vagrants had been reduced by 836 as compared with the previous year; and that the person in charge of the vagrant ward said that the professional tramps objected strongly to the system, whilst the honest wayfarers strongly expressed their approval of it.

ARMY—COMMISSIONS TO PASSED CANDIDATES.—QUESTION.

Major ALLEN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that Cadets at Sandhurst who passed out at the last Examination, and are entitled to Commissions without purchase, are not receiving them, while other Cadets, who passed at the same time but considerably below them on the list, are allowed to purchase Commissions; and, if so, whether such an arrangement is not a departure from the understanding on which Cadets at Sandhurst are allowed to enter the Army?

Mr. CARDWELL said, in reply, that all first commissions, purchased or non-purchased, were suspended during the progress of the Army Regulation Bill, except in the case of young cadets who had already lodged their money and wished to continue the deposit.

PRUSSIA—BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE AT BERLIN.—QUESTION.

Mr. RYLANDS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If Her Majesty's Government have received from the Chancellor of the German Empire any intimation of the wish of his Government that the position of the British Representative at Berlin should be changed at the next vacancy from the rank of Ambassador to that of Minister Plenipotentiary; and, if so, what steps Her Majesty's Government intend to take in consequence of such intimation?

Viscount ENFIELD: Sir, it will not be necessary for me to answer the latter portion of the hon. Gentleman's Question, when I tell him that Her Majesty's Government have received no intimation from the Chancellor of the German Empire on the matter to which the earlier part of his Question alludes.

SPAIN AND MEXICO.—QUESTION.

Mr. LAIRD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has received any confirmation of the following statement in the "Times" newspaper of the 18th instant—viz.:—

> "The diplomatic relations between Spain and Mexico, which have been interrupted since the fall of the Mexican Empire, have been renewed, and the 'Madrid Gazette' of the 13th contains the appointment of Senor Feliciano Herreros de Pajada, late Secretary of the Council of Ministers under General Prim, as Minister Plenipotentiary to that Republic:"

and, whether there is any probability of the resumption of diplomatic relations between England and Mexico?

Viscount ENFIELD: Sir, no confirmation has been received from our Minister at Madrid with respect to the statement in *The Times* newspaper quoted by the hon. Member, and with respect to the second Question he has addressed to me, I would say that there is not, to the best of my knowledge and belief, any immediate probability of the resumption of diplomatic relations between England and Mexico.

EDUCATION—THE NEW CODE (1871)—ATTENDANCE AT INFANT SCHOOLS.

QUESTION.

MR. RAIKES asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, under the New Code, the attendance of children over seven years of age attending an Infant School can be reckoned in calculating the average attendance of such school?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, in reply, that there was no strict rule to prevent the attendance of children over seven years of age in infant schools being reckoned in calculating the average attendance of such schools, although it was desirable that they should be draughted as soon as possible after that age into other schools, and instructions had been given to Inspectors to see that they were so draughted.

PERSIA—BRITISH OFFICERS.

QUESTION.

MR. EASTWICK asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he will state why the request of the Shah of Persia for the services of British Officers to discipline his Troops, preferred so long back as 1863 and since repeated, has not been complied with; and, whether there would be any objection to lay the Correspondence upon the Table of the House?

VISCOUNT ENFIELD: Sir, the Indian Departments of Her Majesty's Government have expressed their willingness to allow officers of the Indian Army to be appointed to organize and discipline the Army of the Shah of Persia. The question arose on what terms these officers should be appointed; the Indian Office offered terms which they considered fair and reasonable, to which the Persian Government demurred, wishing to throw all the cost upon our Government. This was not considered expedient, either on financial or political grounds; and the subject, therefore, has remained, and still remains, in abeyance, pending further application from the Shah. I fear that I could not undertake to produce the Correspondence in question.

IMPRISONMENT OF A CHILD AT TAMWORTH.—QUESTION.

SIR ROBERT PEEL wished to ask a Question of his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He had not given Notice of it; but he had written to him yesterday morning, forwarding a memorial signed by 2,500 persons in the borough with which he was connected, with reference to a child 10 years old, who had been sentenced to a month's imprisonment for breaking a window, and begging him to consider whether he could not pass the child to some industrial school, rather than suffer it to undergo the degradation of a public prison for such an offence. The child was only eight years of age, and the Home Secretary had not replied to that memorial. He wished to impress on his right hon. Friend the necessity of giving an answer to a question of that kind without further delay. The child was in prison. ["Order!"] He was aware he was out of order in making any observations; but he could easily put himself in order if he pleased. It was only in the interest of the 2,500 persons who had signed the memorial that he asked the question—Whether, there being no home for the child, his right hon. Friend would not send it to an Industrial School rather than allow it to remain in prison?

MR. BRUCE said, in reply, that he thought his right hon. Friend might have done him the justice to recollect what he had not stated—that, although he had not answered his last letter, he had written to him very fully on the question the day before. The facts were not such as had appeared in print, or as his right hon. Friend had stated them, so far as he was informed by the very respectable magistrates who had dealt with the case. The story as represented was that the child of eight years old was sent to prison for having broken a pane of glass in throwing a stone at a bird; but the facts as stated to him were that the child was 11 years old—that the child was throwing the stone at a girl and broke a pane of glass worth £2. The child had lost its mother, and the father was a very disreputable person, constantly becoming an inmate of the poorhouse. The magistrates had made strict inquiries, and considered what was best to be done for the interest of the child. Of course, the child was sent to prison for a period which, to him, seemed a long one; but the magistrates wrote to the governor and chaplain of the gaol recommending the child to the special care and instruction of the chaplain. He did not think it was the duty of the Secretary of State on all occasions to act simply on his own opinion as to whether a sentence was a correct one. When he was satisfied that the magistrates had thoroughly and carefully considered the subject, acting on the best of their judgment, and when their decision was not flagrantly opposed to justice and good sense, he thought it would be wrong in the Secretary of State to interfere with their discretion. He should be only too glad, if he had the power which his right hon. Friend suggested, of remitting the remainder of the sentence in order to send this child to an industrial school; but he had no such power. What he had suggested was, that when the child was released, and when, through the misconduct of the parent, he returned to his evil ways, he should be committed under the Industrial Schools Act. In that way he might be trained to better habits.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he desired to say one word in explanation. The right hon. Gentleman had endeavoured to raise a laugh by saying that a letter having been written to him yesterday, he had answered it the day before. In fact, he had written on the 13th to the Home Secretary, who took five days to answer the letter. Yesterday he sent him the memorial signed by 2,500 persons, and to that he had received no reply. He requested an answer to that memorial.

MR. BRUCE would only say, in reply to his right hon. Friend, that he had done what was always done under such circumstances. He referred the complaint to the magistrates, and the moment he received their answer he not only made a formal official minute on the subject, but wrote privately to the right hon. Baronet. The reason why he had not written to him a second time on the receipt of the memorial was, that it contained no fact which had not already come under his consideration.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS ACT, 1864—FELLOWSHIPS AT WINCHESTER COLLEGE.—QUESTION.

MR. J. D. LEWIS asked Mr. Solicitor General, Whether it is true that the Bishop of Salisbury has just resigned the Fellowship at Winchester College, which he has hitherto held in conjunction with his Bishopric, and that an election of a new Fellow has been, or is about to be, held; and, if so, whether the Public School Commissioners have informed the Governing Body that such an election cannot create a fresh vested interest under the Public Schools Act of 1864, or have otherwise taken notice of the proceeding?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL said, in reply, that they had reason to believe that the Bishop of Salisbury had lately resigned his Fellowship at Winchester College, and that it was proposed to elect a new Fellow. The Public School Commissioners held a meeting, and wrote an official letter to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College, calling attention to the Act 27 & 28 *Vict.*, whereby any person taking such office after the passing of that Act would not be able to establish any vested interest in it. The attention of the Warden and Fellows was called to that Act, and they were informed that, it having been proposed to reduce the number of Fellows to seven, if the eighth Fellowship were filled up the Fellow so elected would take office with the clearest notice that the Public School Commissioners would deal with his interests in what manner they should think fit.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUSINESS.

QUESTION.

MR. BOUVERIE wished to ask his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government, What course he intends to pursue with reference to the Report of the Committee of that House on Public Business? His right hon. Friend had promised to consider the question during the Recess, and he (Mr. Bouverie) now wished to know what was his right hon. Friend's intention.

MR. GLADSTONE was understood to say he had given the matter some consideration; but it was one not entirely free from difficulty, and he had been prevented, by the pressure of Public Business, from consulting his Colleagues upon it. He begged the right hon. Gentleman to accept the only assurance he could give, that he was desirous of dealing with the subject as soon as circumstances would allow the Government to do so.

TABLES OF LESSONS BILL.—QUESTION.

MR. MONK asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When he intends to go into Committee on the Tables of Lessons Bill?

MR. BRUCE said, it would be proceeded with at such a time that opportunity would be given for sufficient discussion.

MR. MONK said, he did not think that was a sufficient answer.

MR. BRUCE said, that if there was time, it would be proceeded with that night.

WAYS AND MEANS—
FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

WAYS AND MEANS *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Mr. Dodson—Sir, since we last met in this place to discuss the finances of the country, stupendous events have occurred in Europe, events which, having wrought many other changes, may not unreasonably be expected to exert considerable influence over our finances. The attention of two mighty nations has been absorbed by war. Industry and commerce have been greatly interrupted by these events. At the period when this war broke out we were only just beginning to recover from a long period of depression, and it might have been very reasonably expected that the result of this war would have been to fling us back into the state we were in a year or two ago, but I think the finances of this country never gave stronger evidence of vitality, soundness, and elasticity, than has been shown by what has happened since the war commenced. In proof of this assertion I will just read to the House these figures:—The estimated Receipts for the year 1870-1 were £67,634,000; these Estimates were made up at a time when nobody had the slightest idea of the tremendous future that was before us; but, notwithstanding the war, the Revenue has exceeded these Estimates by £2,311,000. If they be sought for, the causes of this wonderful elasticity are not difficult to find. In the first place, I do not doubt that the war in which those two great nations have been engaged has transferred to us a quantity of business that could not well be done during the war in those countries. The war has also transferred a considerable quantity of capital which has sought refuge here. I think we may see very plainly how wide, as well as how solid, is the foundation on which our commercial prosperity rests when we have been so little affected by the state of affairs in Europe involving the two countries nearest to us, and with which we have so many relations; and that we have been so little influenced shows that our commerce is derived from every quarter of the world, and that though there may be something going on wrong in one place, and perturbation may be everywhere apparent, it does not affect us in anything like the degree that might be expected. If I were to enlarge my view of the subject, and take into consideration the two years which have elapsed from 1868 to the present time, I find that the Revenue receipts in 1868 were £72,600,000, and that for the year that has just expired — that is, for 1870-1 — they were, in round numbers, £70,000,000, showing a decrease of £2,600,000. But during that period of two years have elapsed between then and now—there has been a remission of taxation to no less an amount than £8,600,000; and these remissions have been as follows: — On assessed taxes, licences, stamps, and sundries, £1,000,000; on fire insurance, £1,000,000; on corn, £900,000; on sugar, £2,700,000; and on the income tax, 2*d.* in the pound, or £3,000,000 — making altogether, as stated, £8,600,000. Deducting from the total amount of remissions the diminution of Revenue of £2,600,000, it appears that there has been recovered by the increase in the productiveness of Revenue upon a reduced system of taxation no less a sum than £6,000,000 during the period referred to. The recovery has been at the rate of a little more than two-thirds of a million for every million of reduced taxation.

I will now state to the Committee the estimated Receipts for 1870-1 under the several heads, comparing them with the actual produce. The estimated receipts from Customs were £19,300,000; the actual receipts were £20,191,000, so that the receipts exceeded the Estimate by £891,000. In Excise, the estimated receipts were £21,660,000, and the actual receipts £22,788,000, showing that the receipts exceeded the Estimate by £1,128,000. In Stamps, the estimated revenue was £8,589,000; the actual receipts were £9,007,000; so that the revenue exceeded the Estimate by £418,000. In Taxes, the estimated revenue was £2,850,000; the actual receipts were £2,725,000, so that there was a falling off of £125,000. In Property Tax, the estimated revenue was £6,350,000, and this was exactly balanced by the actual receipts. In the Post Office, the estimated revenue was £4,775,000; the actual receipts were £4,770,000; so that there was a deficit of £5,000. The estimated receipts for the Telegraph Service were £675,000, and the actual receipts £500,000, so that there was a deficit of £175,000. For Crown Lands the estimated revenue was £385,000, and this was exactly balanced by the receipts. Under the head Miscellaneous the estimated revenue was £3,050,000, and the actual receipts were £3,229,220, so that the excess of receipts was £179,220. The general result is, that the estimated revenue was £67,634,000, the actual receipts were £69,945,220; and the receipts exceeded the Estimate by £2,311,220. The Committee will observe that there is a most remarkable increase on the Estimate in Customs and Excise; indeed, with regard to Customs, there is hardly an item in which there is not a notable increase. There is an increase in coffee and chicory of £80,000; in foreign fruits of £50,000; in foreign spirits of £233,000; there is a remarkable increase in tea of £592,000; in tobacco and snuff there is an increase of £5,000; and in wine of £108,000. Against this increase is to be set off £105,000, loss on the abolition of the 1*s.* duty on corn, a small balance of the duty having been collected in the previous year. Upon sugar there is a loss, owing to the reduction of the duty by one half, of £2,162,000. A loss of half the duty would have amounted to £2,708,000; but we had reckoned upon a recovery of £358,000; and the actual recovery has been £546,000, or not far from £200,000 more than we had estimated. The Excise has also proved equally prosperous. Malt has produced the extraordinary sum of £431,000 more than last year, and spirits £481,000 more. The Revenue derived from these two articles is larger in amount than it has ever been before. This is the more remarkable in the case of malt, because the Committee is aware that in 1865 the duty was reduced from 4*s.* to 2*s.* 7*d.* per bushel. Licences, sugar, and railways have also been more productive than was anticipated; but the repeal of the duties on stage and hackney carriages has involved a loss of £108,000. Under the head of Stamps we have lost, by the abolition of the duty on fire insurances, £440,000, and on newspapers £50,000, which is £10,000 less than we estimated. Stamps on Deeds and Legacy and Succession Duties show a reduction of from £40,000 to £30,000, while probate shows an increase of £100,000, and receipts, draughts, and bills of exchange an increase of £65,000. Bankruptcy and Chancery fees, in place of being applied to the payment of salaries, have since the 1st of October, 1869, been levied by means of stamps, and hence there arises an increase under this head of £70,000; but this is only a matter of account, as the salaries are put upon the Estimates, and this increase under the head of stamps is, therefore, apparent rather than real. Thus, although there is a decrease as compared with the previous year of the Revenue derived from Stamps of £241,000, the actual receipts have exceeded the Estimates by £418,000. The head of Taxes has been affected by the substitution of licences for the assessed taxes, and the exceptional receipts of the former year vitiate a comparison. We estimated the reduction at £1,650,000; but it appears the actual reduction was £1,755,000, or £105,000 more than we anticipated. That does not arise from any diminution of the land tax and house duty, but is owing to a temporary delay in the collection of the taxes. The Income Tax exactly corresponded with our expectations; and the Post Office and Miscellaneous receipts about realized the estimates we submitted. The Telegraph Service has fallen short by £175,000; but we are informed that there is really no loss there, but simply that the receipts have not yet reached the Exchequer. The net result of the whole Revenue is, as I have already stated, an increase beyond the Estimate of £2,311,220. The decrease of income compared with 1869-70 is £5,489,000, arising from a reduction of taxation and from the exceptional receipts of 1869-70 owing to the change in the mode of collection.

I will now proceed to compare the estimated with the actual Expenditure for 1870-1, the year which has just expired. The estimated Expenditure for the interest of Debt was £26,840,000; the actual expenditure was £26,826,437, or £13,563 less than the Estimate. The expenditure in respect of the other Consolidated Fund services was estimated at £1,820,000; the actual expenditure was £2,113,196, or £293,196 more than the Estimate. The expenditure for the Army was estimated at £12,965,000; the actual expenditure was £13,430,400; but this does not include the expenditure under the Vote of Credit of £2,000,000 granted in August last in reference to the war in Europe. The expenditure for the Navy was estimated at £9,370,000, and the actual expenditure was £9,456,641; that is to say, the expenditure exceeded the Estimate by £86,641. As I have stated, the Vote of Credit for the war in Europe was £2,000,000. Of that the actual expenditure has been £1,350,000; and no more can be expended than what has been authorized under that Vote of Credit. The expenditure falls short, therefore, of the grant by £650,000. The Civil Services were estimated at £10,064,000; and the actual expenditure was £9,849,315, showing a reduction of £214,685. For the Customs and Inland Revenue Departments the Estimate was £2,583,000, while the Expenditure was £2,573,128. Therefore, the expenditure was less than the Estimate by £9,872. The Post Office Estimate was £2,377,000; and the actual expenditure was £2,373,000—that is, the expenditure is less than the Estimate by the sum of £4,000. For the Telegraph Service the Estimate was £360,000, and the actual expenditure £362,274, showing an excess of expenditure over the Estimate of £2,274. The Packet Service Estimate was £1,107,000, and the actual expenditure £1,214,148, showing an excess of expenditure over the Estimate of £107,148. The result is that the total estimated Expenditure for the service of the year 1870-1 was £69,486,000, and the actual Expenditure £69,548,539, so that there was an excess of Expenditure above the Estimates of £62,539. That includes, of course, the expenditure under the Vote of Credit. The estimated Expenditure as given in the Financial Statement of last April for the year 1870-1 was £67,303,000; but during the Session, in the month of August, a special Vote of Credit of £2,000,000 was taken, in consequence of the breaking out of the war in Europe, and to that was added the sum of £183,000 mainly due to an arrangement for paying the half-pay and the retired pay of the Navy monthly instead of quarterly, and to some additional charges upon the Civil Service Estimates, principally connected with public works. These two sums raised the estimated Expenditure to £69,486,000, and converted the surplus, which was reckoned in April last at £331,000, into an anticipated deficiency of £1,852,000. Independently of these extra charges, we had an unexpected claim. Under the "Courts of Justice Salaries and Funds Act" of last Session certain funds of the Courts of Chancery and Bankruptcy were transferred to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, the Government giving, as security for the purposes to which the funds are being applied, a sort of guarantee in the shape of a book debt, bearing no interest. The sums reserved for the discharge of ordinary payments proved inadequate during one part of the year, when the demands are exceptionally heavy, so £472,957 had to be paid in order to replenish the balances, which amount forms part of the expenditure of last year. That amount, of course, went really to relieve the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt from repaying the sum which they had received and were employing in the reduction of the Debt; and, therefore, it is equivalent to spending that sum in the reduction of the National Debt, although we cannot take any great credit for this, as the payment is entirely involuntary on our part. It does, however, raise a question which I shall consider carefully. *Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet et onus.* It might have been better if the Act threw the responsibility of making up the deficiency on the National Debt Commissioners instead of upon the Consolidated Fund. Should this turn out to be a sound view, we will endeavour to remedy the case for the future.

The result, therefore, of a comparison between the Revenue and the Estimates for the past year is as follows:—The surplus estimated at £331,000 in April last has been increased by an excess of receipts above the estimated Revenue of £2,311,220, making altogether an increase of £2,642,220. But, on the other hand, there has been an increase over the originally-estimated expenditure of £2,245,539, owing to the war in Europe and other causes. Now, subtracting one of these sums from the other, there is left a surplus of £396,681, or, to put the case more simply, the actual Revenue for the year just concluded is £69,945,220, and the actual Expenditure is £69,548,539. Subtracting one from the other, the result is a balance of £396,681, which is the balance that remains to us this year after having discharged the £1,350,000 spent under the Vote of Credit, which has been the cause of no new taxation to the country at all. The increase of expenditure in the year 1870-1 as compared with the year 1869-70 is £683,787. The expenditure on account of the war in Europe takes the place of an almost similar sum expended the year before in finishing up the account of the Abyssinian Expedition — namely, £1,300,000. The Consolidated Fund charges, from the cause already explained, show an increase of £383,000; the Civil Services of £546,000; and the Telegraph Service of £302,000; while the charges for the Debt are less by £227,000, the Army by £135,000, and the Navy by £300,000.

I now pass to the consideration of the balances and the state of the National Debt. The Exchequer balances on the 1st of April, 1870, stood at £8,606,648; there has been a surplus of Revenue over expenditure of £396,681; there has been an excess of re-payments over new advances for public works, and other matters, of £574,402, making altogether £9,577,731, out of which there has been applied in reduction of Debt £2,554,296, leaving a balance, on the 31st of March, 1871, of £7,023,435. The state of the Debt on the 31st of March, 1871, was as follows:—Funded Debt, £732,043,270; capital value of Terminable Annuities in Three per Cent stock, £57,969,885; Unfunded Debt, £6,091,000—total, £796,104,155. The total of the Debt during the last four years has been as follows:—The total Debt was £806,572,883 in 1868, £805,480,164 in 1869, £801,406,563 in 1870, and £796,104,155 in 1871. There has thus been since March, 1868, a reduction in the amount of Debt of £10,468,728, while during this period we have spent £7,000,000 on the purchase of telegraphs, which sum we borrowed, thereby increasing the Debt so much, £875,000 on fortifications, and paid £6,300,000 on account of the Abyssinian Expedition. The Fee Funds of the Courts of Chancery and Bankruptcy, amounting to £5,517,232 in stock and £334,838 in cash, have formed part of the funds applied to the reduction of Funded Debt, a liability of equal amount having been raised in the books of the National Debt Commissioners, but as no interest is payable upon it, the liability incurred is a book debt in the nature of a guarantee rather than of actual Debt. While on the subject of the Debt, I may be allowed to make a statement with reference to a measure we are taking which I hope may have considerable effect in enabling us to reduce the public Debt. The Bill designed to carry out our object is now before the House, and as it is germane to the subject before the Committee, perhaps I may be allowed to allude to it. The Committee are aware that the funds of the Court of Chancery are managed by the department of the Accountant General, and although I am not prepared to find any fault with the administration of these funds, I may say it is certainly conducted on rather antiquated principles as compared with modern finance. For instance, I find it is characterized by a system of double accounts, one set being carried on in the department of the Accountant General and the other in the Bank of England, but this trouble of keeping double accounts is compensated by there being no audit of the accounts at all. I cannot blame anyone for this extraordinary state of things; it has come down to us from the earliest days of the Court of Chancery. But besides this there is considerable delay in getting money out of the hands of the Court of Chancery, not only as a consequence of the forms and proceedings of that august tribunal, but even when the suitor has come to an end of the formalities prescribed by the Court, he has to exercise patience for another fortnight before he can get possession of the moneys to which he is entitled. Being a legal office, too, it has its vacation; and for two months, from the end of August to the beginning of November, it is impossible to draw any money out of the Court of Chancery. Consequently there is a great rush at times upon the funds, and as much as £300,000 was drawn out in one day last year. These are considerable inconveniences to the suitor; but he has others also to contend with. If he has money in Court, he has a choice of two modes of dealing with it; either he can leave it in the hands of the Accountant General entirely unproductive, or of having it invested in the funds, taking upon himself the risk of loss which may arise if at the time of subsequent sale there should have been a fall in the value of the securities. It has occurred to us, and the Lord Chancellor has consented to the proposition, that it would be more beneficial to the suitors and to the country, if the Government were to place the Accountant General's Department under that of the Paymaster General, by which means we shall get rid of the system of double accounts, secure an efficient audit, and allow the money to be obtained at any time, whether in the vacation or not, and the suitors would have what they have not now exactly got—the security of the Government for their stock. We propose, in addition, that the Court shall be allowed, unless the suitor object, to lend the money to Government as a deposit at £2 per cent, that is that the suitor shall receive interest at 2 per cent, and at the end of the suit obtain his money *in solido*, without being subjected to any fluctuations at all. We hope in this way to consult the convenience of the suitor, which will of course be necessary to the success of the scheme, and to form a powerful engine in the hands of the Government to reduce the Debt. The fund formed by the deposits of suitors, unlike the fund obtained from Savings Banks depositors, would not be run upon in bad times; the money would be paid out only when the decree of the Court had been issued; there would therefore be a stability about the fund which does not belong to ordinary deposits. We propose to invest this money in the purchase of stock, and to convert that stock into Terminable Annuities of exactly the same value. The surplus of the yearly annuities, after payment of the interest due to suitors, will be reinvested in fresh stock, which will again be converted into Terminable Annuities. By this means we hope to convert at the exact value a large portion of stock into Terminable Annuities, and thus in time make a sensible impression upon the National Debt.

I have now completed the retrospective part of my task, which has been a singularly agreeable one; I have had to tell the Committee of nothing but large excess of Revenue over expenditure. I am sorry to say that in turning my back on the past, I turn my back also on prosperity, for the prospects of the year before us by no means correspond with the results of its predecessor. We cannot expect to realize in the coming year the unprecedented receipts we have hitherto obtained. We cannot frame our Estimate for the future on the basis of those receipts, simply because they were unprecedented, and because our custom is not to take a single year to guide us, but an average of years. It may be that the receipt of the coming year will be equal to those of the past; but no sound financier who valued his reputation would make the unprecedented receipts of last year his basis of calculation for the future. To do so might have the effect of making things pleasant for the moment, but it would be only deceiving the House. The day of retribution would surely come, and I should be most justly reprehended for having been over-sanguine. Nor can we hope, I am sorry to say, that our expenditure for the coming year will be limited to the sums which have been found sufficient for the year just expired.

I will now compare the estimated Expenditure of the year 1871-2 under the several heads of services with the total grants of the previous year, as shown in the Appropriation Act. This is the fairest way, because the Appropriation Act includes the Supplementary Estimates, and if these were omitted from the calculation the Committee would be led into error. I will therefore compare the estimated expenditure of this year with the expenditure which was actually sanctioned in the year previous. The estimated interest on Debt for the year 1871-2 is £26,910,000; the total grant during the year just concluded for that purpose was £26,840,000, showing an increased Estimate for this year over the total grant of last year of £70,000. The other Consolidated Fund charges are estimated for the coming year at precisely the same sum as was authorized last year—namely, £1,820,000. The Army, including the abolition of purchase, is estimated to cost us during the present year £16,452,000. The total grant for the past year for the Army was £12,965,000, so that there is an increase of Estimates for this year over the total grant of last year of £3,487,000. The Navy for the present year is estimated at £9,756,000; the actual grant last year was £9,370,000, showing an excess this year of £386,000. In the grants of last year there was a Vote of Credit of £2,000,000; there is, however, no corresponding Estimate this year, because the Vote of Credit ceased with the war in Europe. The Civil Service, it is estimated, will cost us £10,726,000; the total grant last year was £10,306,000; thus the Estimate for the present year shows an increase of £420,000 under this head. The Estimates for the Revenue Departments is £5,076,000; the cost last year £4,990,000, showing an increase of £86,000. The Packet Service we estimate at £1,148,000; the total grant last year was £1,225,000; thus the Estimate is less than last year's grant by £77,000. The Telegraph Service we estimate at £420,000; last year £360,000 was granted, so that we have an increase this year of £60,000. The totals show that we this year have an estimated Expenditure of £72,308,000, while the total grants last year amounted to £69,876,000; the increase of Estimates for this year, therefore, over the grants of last year is £2,432,000. The increased Estimates for the Army and Navy have been already discussed; I will not therefore dwell upon them. The Civil Service increase of £420,000 may be very well accounted for; indeed, it is more than accounted for. In the first place, £561,000 is due to National Education, the fruits of the Act passed last year. Of course, it was quite manifest that carrying out the Education Act would involve expenditure, and the Committee will remember that, not only has the area of education greatly extended, but the proportionate amount required has increased from one-third to one-half. The cost of the Census, too, falls upon this year, as if its misfortunes were not numerous enough, and the increased charge on this account of £131,000, coupled with an increased charge for police and prisons, which cannot be avoided, of £50,000, makes a sum of £742,000, to account for an increased demand of £420,000. If we compare these Civil Service Estimates with those of 1868, we shall find an increase of no less than £1,609,000. But that increase is easily accounted for; £745,500 arises from transfers from the Consolidated Fund, Fee Funds, Army Estimates, and other heads, implying an alteration in the mode of account, but no increase of expenditure. Then, again, the amount required for education has increased since that period by £715,631; Census, £134,201; automatic services, like the increase of salaries by increments pensions and other matters which are not under the control of the Treasury, but take care of themselves, £181,000; and £16,000 has been placed upon the expenditure by Act of Parliament. These figures give an increase of £1,792,332, a great increase since 1868-9; but as far as any discretion has been allowed, it is only fair to my right hon. Friend the late Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Stansfeld) to state that it is impossible that Estimates could have been examined with greater care and attention. Then, in dealing with the Revenue Departments we have had to contend with the great discontent exhibited in the Customs, Inland Revenue, and the Post Office. Some improvement of pay has been granted in certain Departments. But the matter is a difficult one to deal with, because if you give a small increase you probably do not allay the discontent, while anything beyond will cause a very appreciable increase in the Estimates. On entering office we found that the late Government had decided in favour of an increase being made to the salaries of the officers of the Customs; but it occurred to my right hon. Friend the President of the Poor Law Board, before adopting the decision of our predecessors, to ascertain whether it would not be possible, by a review of the Department, to save the money required for this purpose out of the expenses of the Department itself. The matter was inquired into by a Treasury Committee, and the result is that my right hon. Friend has been signally successful, for from this source alone my right hon. Friend has been able to make a rather more liberal provision than that which was recommended by the late Government, and we thought it right to grant the increase from the time that it was originally intended to take effect. Hon.

Members, too, may be surprised to learn that so efficient has been the action of this Committee that, while it has simplified the administration of the Department, it has already retrenched in the London Customs alone 130 clerks, and will, before the retrenchment is finished, effect a reduction in the number of the clerks of probably not less than 200, without, in the least degree, impairing the efficiency of the establishment. This change has been effected in London alone. It remains still to extend the inquiry to the outports, and though I am not in a position to state what the effect will be, hon. Members will be in a position, from what I have mentioned, to judge of its probable results for themselves. The Reports relating to that subject will be laid before Parliament.

I now come to the estimated Revenue for the year 1871-2, as compared with the Revenue actually received for 1870-1. In the Customs the Estimate for 1871-2 is £20,100,000; the actual Revenue for 1870-1 was £20,191,000; so that we have placed our Estimate at £91,000 below the receipts of the present year. The Estimate for the Excise for 1871-2 is £22,420,000; the receipts for the past year were £22,788,000, showing a decrease in the Estimate of £368,000. The Stamps we estimate at £8,750,000; the actual Revenue last year was £9,007,000, showing a decrease of £257,000, owing to the reductions in some of the duties sanctioned by the Stamp Act of last Session. Then we estimate the Revenue from Taxes at £2,330,000; our actual receipts from this source for 1870-1 were £2,725,000, showing a decrease of £395,000. The Income Tax we estimate at £6,100,000, and our actual receipts last year were £6,350,000, showing a reduction of £250,000. But the Estimate is obviously right, because this £6,100,000 is the full amount that would accrue from an Income Tax of 4*d.* in the pound, and therefore the larger sum must have been made up of the arrears of former years. The Post Office we estimate at £4,670,000; last year the actual Revenue was £4,770,000, showing a decrease in our present Estimate of £100,000. We estimate the Telegraphs at £750,000; last year they yielded £500,000, so that there is an anticipated increase of £250,000. Crown Lands we estimate at £375,000; last year they yielded £385,000; we therefore estimate less than our receipts of last year by £10,000. We estimate our Revenue for 1871-2 from miscellaneous sources at £4,100,000; last year the actual Revenue was £3,229,000, so that in the ensuing year we anticipate an increase of £871,000. The result is that the total Estimate for the year 1871-2 is £69,595,000; the actual receipts for the past year amounted to £69,945,000; so that, on the whole, we anticipate a decrease of £350,000. In the Estimates for the present year we cannot safely reckon upon the recurrence of some of the exceptional receipts which helped to swell last year's Revenue. We cannot, for instance, expect to receive probate duty upon colossal fortunes every year. We are not justified in calculating upon the same receipts from the malt duty which yielded an altogether exceptional return last year. Last year, too, there were arrears of certain duties which the Legislature has repealed, and these arrears went to swell last year's receipts. We cannot, however, count upon them in the present year. We have now pretty well finished with all the different reductions of taxation effected in 1869-70, and they will disturb our calculations no more. There are two items in the Estimates which I have mentioned on which we expect an increase. One is the Telegraphs, which we believe capable of yielding an increase as soon as the system becomes better organized and is more appreciated by the public. I do not, however, go into this matter, because a very excellent Report upon the subject has been laid upon the Table of the House. The other item is that of the Miscellaneous Receipts, upon which the Committee will observe that there is an anticipated increase of £871,000. The meaning of that is this—There have been very great savings effected in the Army and Navy during the past two years, and these savings have been applied towards meeting the expenses of the Abyssinian Expedition; large advances which had been issued to the Treasury chest will, in consequence of these savings having been applied to meet the cost of the expedition, be repaid into the Exchequer. Though the sum derivable from this source comes in very opportunely to swell the Revenue of the present year, it cannot, unfortunately, be looked upon as permanent Revenue. The effect of the figures I have laid before the Committee is this—The estimated Expenditure for the year 1871-2, is £72,308,000, and the estimated Revenue £69,595,000; deducting the one Estimate from the other we find a deficiency of £2,713,000. Before, however, I depart from the matters I have just been dealing with I must remind the Committee that, while in 1872-3 we cannot expect to receive from the miscellaneous receipts any repetition of this sum of £871,000, it has been announced by my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty that it may be necessary in that year to hand over the house tax for the purposes of local taxation. While, moreover, we have taken in the Estimates for this year the first instalment for the extinction of Purchase at £600,000, the sum required for that purpose next year will be at least double that amount. We are now, then, confronted with the realities of the case. It will not, I am sure, be expected of me to go at any length into that question, which has been so fully discussed by persons abler than myself—I mean the question which really rules finance —namely, the policy of which these figures are only the symbols. In what we are now doing Her Majesty's Government believe themselves to be carrying out the wishes of this House and of the country. Finance is the handmaid of public policy, and my duty is only to give expression to what I understand to be the wishes of this House, and the objects that the Government have undertaken to carry out. I can imagine few positions more agreeable than that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in prosperous times, particularly when he has the good fortune to be surrounded by very economical Colleagues. They rise early, they sit up late, and know no rest, in order to save money for the public, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has had only a very small share in their labour, comes down once a year like a benignant fairy to scatter blessings o'er the land, for which he frequently gets very undeserved credit and applause. But, on the other hand, I think justice is pretty well done. The Duke of Cumberland always said he had been most unjustly praised for his victory at Culloden, and most unjustly depreciated for his capitulation at Closterseven; so that, upon the whole, he considered that justice had been done to him. In the same way I am only one among a number who are concerned in this matter. Of course, the whole weight of this increased expenditure falls upon me, and I must accept the perhaps undeserved censure, because I have received for two years the most undeserved credit for the labours of my colleagues. I wish, however, to point out to the House one view of the case which, as it is peculiarly financial, may not be irrelevant for me to state. I will leave it to others to comment on the inconvenience of being invaded, and the desirability of preventing invasion if possible; what I now desire to point out to the Committee is that whatever may be the power of any State on the Continent of Europe, of even Prussia herself, crowned as she is with victory, and standing in a position of unexampled strength and predominance, it is not in the power of that State to prove to any man's satisfaction that she cannot be invaded. She may show that she is strong enough to repel invasion; but she has not the power of drawing a line around her territory and saying with regard to all within that line, as was once said with regard to France—"This is sacred soil; no enemy shall tread upon it." That is an advantage which, in the nature of things, cannot be given to any Continental State; but I maintain that it can be given to England. I do not mean to enter into the question of the probability of invasion; but the point I wish to make is, that it is in the power of this House and of the country, if they are so minded, to take such measures as shall, I will not say prevent England from being invaded, but shall satisfy all who can judge that she cannot be invaded successfully. If that can be done, I can hardly imagine any sacrifice that it would not be worth while to make upon purely financial considerations, because if we can satisfy people that this is the one spot in the world that is safe, and that will in all probability be free from the ravages of war, think how our credit will rise, how the value of our property will increase, what a predominance it gives us over other nations. That is no particular merit of our own; but it is our good fortune to have such a result placed within our reach. Is this so or not? I do not speak of our fleet, because, although England is at present mistress of the seas, she may not always be so, and we know, moreover, from the events that preceded the Battle of Trafalgar, that a fleet may be decoyed a long way from its station at the particular moment when it is most required, as the fleet of Nelson was when it sailed for the West Indies. But suppose that line of defence failed us, is there any other within our reach? I maintain that it is in the power of this nation, if we are so minded, to take such measures as will enable us to have on foot a force sufficient—demonstrably sufficient, considering the conditions of the problem of landing a force in an enemy's country—to crush any enemy before he could possibly accumulate sufficient strength to invade us. With a certain amount of sacrifice I believe that can be done, and I maintain that in a purely financial point of view it ought to be done, and that in order to effect that result no sacrifice would be too great. I will make no further remark upon this subject, and indeed I am not sure whether I have not gone beyond the record in saying so much. It may, however, be said to me "If you now find yourself in this difficulty, why have you been taking off all these taxes?" That would be a very fair remark. My answer, of course, is that when we took off those taxes we did not know what was going to happen. Everything in this world is very uncertain; we are very blind, and no one feels this more strongly than I when I remember how matters stood this time last year and consider how they are now. It is obvious that when you have surplus taxes which are a considerable injury to the country, it is the part of a wise man to use his surplus at once, and not to be tempted to hang back on account of something which may never happen. If you follow a policy of apprehending danger and that danger does not come, the public have been defrauded of the benefit of that remission of taxation to which, under the circumstances of the country, they were fairly entitled. The real difficulty that we have to deal with, and it is as well to state it at once, is this: what we are doing now is to virtually impose taxes in the nature of war taxes at a time when we are not going to war, and there is no probability of our doing so. We are acting prospectively, and I hope with a large and judicious view. But, of course, when we impose taxation on this country in this way, in time of peace, we miss all that "storm-pressure," as the Germans call it, which exists in time of war—all that anger, animosity, and excited patriotic feeling which enables War Ministers to put on any taxes they please. We are now confronted with this difficulty—"What shall we do?" I have had a great deal of good advice from many quarters. I have not answered all my correspondents yet; but I will take the opportunity of doing so now. The first suggestion that I will notice is, that I should apply my surplus to meeting our expenditure, and so tide over the difficulty. That was, perhaps, an excellent piece of advice; but I will not now stop to consider it, because the misfortune of the case is that the surplus which my critic assumed to exist vanished almost as soon as he had offered his suggestion. He was not aware that during the last few days of the financial year there is a kind of race among the various Public Departments for the public money, and he supposed that because there was a surplus at the beginning of the week in which he wrote there would also be that surplus at the end of it. I will not now stop to consider that suggestion, because it is like the dinner of the Barmecide. The next suggestion was, that we should meet the case by borrowing money, and in that way tide over the difficulty; but I must remind the Committee of what has happened since I have held my present office. On two occasions Motions have been made in this House in favour of reducing the National Debt. To one—that of the hon. Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Lambert)—I assented on behalf of the Government; the other the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Candlish) was good enough to withdraw, on my assurance that the subject should not be overlooked or forgotten — an assurance which I mean to keep. Every year a large sum of money appears under the head of "Public Debt" in the national accounts, and towards the reduction of that Debt we annually pay a large sum. When we have pledged ourselves to reduce that Debt, and are burdening the public with heavy taxes in order to extinguish it, what sort of a figure should we present to the country if, with our exceedingly flourishing and elastic Revenue, we were unable to meet without borrowing the truly national purpose we have in view? As far as our Revenue is concerned we were never in a higher state of prosperity, and, under these circumstances, should we shrink from meeting this £2,713,000, and betake ourselves to borrowing? I can imagine no popularity so cheaply or more discreditably gained than by adopting that course. Individually, I should be most happy to do so, and make a little popularity for myself by saving the pockets of the public now by borrowing the amount of our present deficit, and then two or three years afterwards coming forward in a more flourishing time to pay off this debt. But you may depend on this—if it is important to reduce a National Debt, one thing still more important comes before it, and that is, not to contract it. It is much better not to have a debt than to have a debt and pay it off; and therefore I hope the country will go with the Government in thinking that it is our duty in this matter not to increase the National Debt. I have one further remark to make with regard to this. I could certainly show to the Committee a way in which, without imposing any further taxes on any class of Her Majesty's subjects, we could raise something like £2,100,000 of the sum that we want. I allude to the subject of exemptions. We abolished protection, among other reasons, for this—that we could not endure that the whole nation at large should be tributary to a single class of any kind whatever — a protected class; but at this moment we are violating that principle in the most flagrant manner, because in our taxation there are the strongest and most sweeping exemptions which deprive the public of a great deal of money merely for the benefit of a particular class. For myself, I say boldly that I know of no proper exemptions from taxes except in those cases where the taxes are not worth collecting. All persons should be taxed, each according to his ability, and no exemptions ought to be allowed unless the public would be losers by the taxation. I venture to submit that as a sound principle of finance. Let me read to the Committee a list of some of the exemptions which are now in force and what they cost the country, because it must be remembered that every one of these exemptions from taxes has to be made up by the rest of the community, who are really tributary to these persons. Let me mention a few of these exemptions—Agricultural horses, £900,000; agricultural and trade carts and waggons, say £1,000,000; establishment licences in Ireland, £80,000; charitable and collegiate funds, £50,000; and dividends belonging to foreigners residing abroad, £70,000; making altogether £2,100,000. There are a good many others; but I mention only these as specimens of the exemptions of which I am speaking. Nor do I propose to go at all minutely into the case, because I do not suppose the Committee would assist me in doing away with these exemptions. When a right hon. Member makes a proposal in favour of an exemption, the feeling is generally on his side. I merely wish to point out that when we have to make provision for this sum of £2,100,000 we are paying not only for the expenses of war, but for the exemption of certain of our fellow-subjects from taxation.

Well, Sir, I think it would be unwise to touch the Customs duties. I could not do so without causing some disturbance to trade, and I do not think the case sufficiently pressing to interfere with them.

It now remains to me to find something on which I can lay hold, and I can assure the Committee the matter is one of no little difficulty. I wish, however, to submit to their notice a tax which has, I think, at any rate the recommendation that it will in no degree disturb industry, and that it will not place a burden on those who will have to pay it beyond what they may be fairly called upon to bear—I allude to the subject of the Probate, Legacy, and Succession Duties. I will, in the first place, speak of the Probate Duty. The Probate Duty at the present time has many faults. In the first place, Probate Duty is paid on personal property bequeathed by will, and a duty is also paid on the property of intestates. But, strangely enough, the amount paid in the case of intestacy is in the ratio of 3 to 2 as compared with the case of persons who have made a will. I presume that the law was made by lawyers, and I suppose they thought it necessary to punish the enormity of going out of the world without providing oneself with that legal intrument. I, however, hold that it is no business of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or of Parliament, to interfere with a man whether he likes to make a will or to take the will which the law has already made for him by the Statute of Distributions, and I therefore propose to sweep away the distinction to which I have referred. The scale on which the Probate Duty is now paid is exceedingly troublesome and objectionable. It is founded on no comprehensive principle, and contains some extraordinary jumps and divergences. A great deal may, in my opinion, be done to simplify it with great advantage to the public. The subject is a technical one, and I will not dwell on it. What we propose is to place all personal property, whether testate or intestate, upon the same scale—on the principle of a 2 per cent Probate Duty. It is a scale very much like that of the existing Probate Duty, rising at intervals by £50 up to £500, by £100 up to £2,000, by £200 up to £3,000, by £500 up to £5,000, by £1,000 up to £10,000, by £2,000 up to £20,000, by £5,000 up to £50,000, and by £10,000 to any sum whatever. At present the scale is capricious when it gets above £1,000,000, and jumps by £100,000. The change which I propose will practically, I believe, be one of considerable value; but it will not make much difference so far as the Revenue is concerned. But there is an alteration in the law of Probate Duty which I am about to propose which will, I think, make some difference to the Revenue. At present many estates pay Legacy Duty and not Probate Duty, and *vice versâ.* The rule of law is highly technical. Probate Duty depends on the *situs*, or the place where the property is situated. The Legacy Duty is levied on the principle of *mobilia sequuntur personam.* The law is this—If an Englishman dies in France, being domiciled there, and has property in England, that property will pay Probate Duty; but the legacies which he may leave would not pay Legacy Duty because they are considered to follow his person, and the law looks upon his property for that purpose, though situated in England, as being situated in France. Again, if an Englishman, domiciled in England, happens to have property in France, that property will pay Legacy but not Probate Duty, because the *situs* is not in this country. Now, I propose to deal with the matter by sweeping away all those cobwebs and laying down the simple rule that where you can get at property for the one purpose you can get at it for the other, so that whenever it pays Legacy Duty it shall pay Probate Duty, and whenever it pays Probate Duty it shall pay Legacy Duty.

I now come to a more important subject — I allude to the Succession and Legacy Duties. The Committee are aware that those duties are paid according to a scale, and that scale is of this nature —The lineal descendant or ascendant, the son inheriting from the father or the father from the son—*successiones luctuosæ*, as they are termed by civilians, which would lead one to suppose that there was nothing *luctuosum* about other successions at all—pays 1 per cent. In the case of succession between brothers the duty is 3 per cent; between descendants of the same grandfather, 5 per cent; between descendants of the same great-grandfather, 6 per cent; all other persons in a more remote degree of consanguinity, or having no claims of consanguinity at all, paying 10 per cent. Now, I am not myself a great admirer of this scale in the abstract. The true basis of taxation is equality, because it in the first place renders its incidence more just, and in the second place lighter—whereas under this scale you have persons who receive the same benefit, but who pay very differently for it. I am, however, well aware that the feeling in favour of this scale is so thoroughly ingrained in the minds of the people of this country, that it would be in vain to seek to make any great alteration in it. I think, at the same time, almost everyone will admit that it is a very extreme scale, and that it works out the principle on which it is based almost *ad absurdum.* I am further of opinion that there is a fair case for increasing certain of the Succession Duties by means of some alterations in the scale. I am of this opinion because I recollect that in 1853 my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, making what at the time was considered a very moderate estimate—indeed, he was blamed by many hon. Members for its moderation—stated that he thought this duty would, in a few years, reach the sum of £2,000,000. The Parliament of 1853, however, having heard the estimate of my right hon. Friend, gave its assent to the proposal, and legalized a duty which was estimated to yield £2,000,000, and which, I believe, Lord Cairns, who was then a Member of the House of Commons, estimated at £4,000,000, it being the opinion of another hon. and learned gentleman, the present Vice Chancellor Malins, that it would reach the large sum of £8,000,000. All this occurred 18 years ago, and the Succession Duty now amounts to only £732,000. A moderate increase of that duty can hardly, therefore, be regarded as an unreasonable proposal when accompanied with exactly the same increase in the case of personal property. I do not propose to make any difference in this respect between personalty and realty. Realty has the disadvantage, which it appears to me it must always have, of paying local rates, because I do not believe in the possibility of rating personal property in any effective shape; but it has some compensation in the freedom from Probate Duty, and in the circumstance that the Succession Duty is calculated not on the value of the property, but on the capitalized value of the annuity for the life of the successor. I am of opinion, therefore, that we need not shrink when we really want money for a great national purpose — a purpose, too, which recommends itself strongly to the minds of those very Gentlemen who are most interested in this question—from making a moderate increase in the Succession Duty. What I propose to do, therefore, is to raise the 1 per cent paid by the lineal descendants to 2 per cent, the effect of which will be, so far as personalty is concerned, to increase the tax by £496,000, and in the case of realty and settled personalty, which, being the object of settlement, comes under the head of real estate, by £250,000. I also propose to raise the second head of the scale—that is, as between brothers—from 3 per cent to 3½ per cent, so that the scale will rise symmetrically from 2 per cent to 3½ per cent for brothers, and from 3½ per cent to 5 per cent for first cousins, or children of the same grandfather. The effect of these changes will be to give an increased Revenue from personal property of £630,000, and from real estate and settled personalty of £290,000, making a total of £920,000. I estimate that the alteration with regard to the incidence of the Probate and Legacy Duties will produce altogether about £100,000, and this gives a total of £1,020,000 from these sources, of which we calculate that £300,000 will fall within the present year. There is no attempt whatever to put any particular tax on Realty. Legacy and succession are subject exactly to the same rule. It being necessary to find some money, I have placed them *pari passu* with each other. I hope hon. Gentlemen opposite will not think that in doing this I am making any attack on the land, or doing anything unfair towards them, since personal property will, in truth, contribute twice as much as real.

The next tax which I have to propose is one which I commend to the favour of the Committee on account of its Trans-Atlantic origin. We are just, I hope, going to make up our quarrel with America, and I present this tax to America as an instance of my humble admiration of her finance, and of my good will towards her. The tax is one which was invented by that acute nation just at the end of the war, and I have no doubt the Committee will anticipate me when I mention that it is a tax from matches. I do not mean matrimonial engagements. The matches which I mean have sprung up within the remembrance of many of us, and are among the most splendid boons—though it sounds an humble thing in itself—which science has given to man in my time. They have enabled us to dispense with the flint and steel. We get them almost for nothing, and yet they are among the greatest advantages we enjoy—one which nobody can fully appreciate who has not been in backwoods and remote regions. The cost of matches is almost nominal—it is hardly possible to put a value upon them; and they are consequently used in the most reckless and dangerous manner. Any Gentleman in this House who happens to be a director or shareholder in a fire insurance company knows that nothing could be more beneficial to those companies than slightly to restrict the traffic in matches by putting a little check upon the abuse of them. There are a number of young gentlemen who amuse themselves with going about and throwing matches down into the areas; and very often while wine and beer are unpacked, and the straw is lying about, something takes fire, and very serious consequences follow. Then they are thrown on floors, and we tread on them. I think just a little regulation in the trade, without seriously impeding it, would, in itself, be a great advantage. The American tax upon matches is one cent for every bundle of 100, and by it they have realized £400,000. [An hon. MEMBER: Dollars?] Not dollars, but pounds, by a duty of one cent on each 100 matches. Well, we have gone very carefully into the calculation of what is likely to be realized by this tax here, and I shall astonish the Committee when I tell them what I expect to get. At the same time, I cannot honestly put it at less, because the figures are absolutely overpowering, and it would be a mistake if I were to do so. What we propose is to put a halfpenny stamp upon every box of matches containing 100. [An hon. MEMBER: Not more than 100?] Not more than 100, and as few as you like. We also propose to put a penny stamp on a box containing 100 wax lights, as we consider them more aristocratic. And as the duty on tobacco has risen £5,000 this year, we propose to put a penny stamp also on every box of 100 fusees, which are very instrumental in the consumption of tobacco. I speak seriously to the Committee when I say that I believe we may calculate upon receiving from these sources of Revenue, in the present year, £550,000. The figures are absolutely incredible. Of common matches—those entirely made of wood—I am informed that 560,000,000 boxes are manufactured in the course of the year, and of wax lights and fusees about 45,000,000 boxes. We, therefore, have come to the conclusion that we cannot honestly put the result to be obtained at less than I have stated. But then we must ask for the co-operation of the House in the matter, because the American Government suffered very grievously by the delay which intervened between the proposal of the tax and its actual imposition. A number of persons set to work and manufactured to such a tune that for the first year or two the duty was very little. I hope, therefore, if the Committee should think fit to adopt my proposal we shall receive the greatest assistance in passing the Bill through the House, so that there may be as little delay as possible. There is only one thing further that I have to say on this subject. We have thought it necessary to devise a motto for this novel species of taxation. On the match boxes which are sold at present we usually see a very odd and inappropriate device, one which suggests a rather watery idea—namely, Noah's Ark. But I propose to put this motto on our new match boxes—*Ex luce lucellum.* Most of our matches are manufactured in this country; but on all that may be imported an equal tax will be imposed. There is one great protection connected with this tax. I made the best inquiries possible respecting it in America—though not all that I could wish, for to say the truth it is rather a combustible affair; but in America I find that the tax is particularly easy to collect, because everybody is, in a sort of way, a detective in the matter; the penalty being considerable for selling without the stamp, and the profit on each individual quantity being extremely small, it is not worth while to run the risk for the sake of the gain that could be made by cheating the Revenue.

As I have already stated, we calculate upon a receipt in the present year from these matches of £550,000. From the Probate, Succession, and Legacy Duties we expect to receive £300,000. These two sums together will make £850,000 this year.

The Committee will observe that the deficit with which we shall have to deal is £2,713,000; but I cannot be content to take that sum merely to supply it. I must dress myself out with the borrowed plumes of a surplus, which I cannot do without getting at least £2,800,000, which would yield a very moderate surplus indeed. I have got £2,800,000 to find, and I have got £850,000 towards it. Deducting that £850,000 from £2,800,000, there remains £1,950,000 to be provided, and the Committee will not be surprised to hear that it is my intention to raise that sum by means of the income tax. I regret very much to be obliged to have recourse to this measure; but the money must be had. The dinner has been eaten; the wine has been drunk; and nothing remains, as Sydney Smith said of the men of Pennsylvania, but to "Book up and pay," and I know no other means by which that can be done, with so little disturbance to trade. I sincerely hope the increased income tax may not be of long continuance.

And here I am encountered by a difficulty. I want £1,950,000 from the income tax. How am I to get it? The Committee is aware that, when the income tax was first imposed by Sir Robert Peel, it yielded, for every penny in the pound, £700,000. Now, I ask the attention of my hon. Friend the Member for West Norfolk (Mr. G. Bentinck), who is always dreading the poverty to which the country will be reduced, to the fact that one penny in the pound 29 years after the tax was first imposed yields, not merely £700,000, but £1,525,000. I have got £1,950,000 to find. How am I to do it? I can get £1,525,000 easily enough by an additional 1*d.* income tax; but then there is £425,000 more, and how am I to get it? Formerly there was a plan sometimes resorted to by which a penny was put on for half a-year; but I severed myself from that resource effectually by collecting the income tax for the whole year at once. On this matter I seem to be in the difficulty of being obliged to do one of two things—either to take a sum of £1,100,000, which I do not want, or to go without £425,000, which I do want. After reflecting deeply on the manner of charging the income tax, and after much meditation, this is the conclusion at which I have arrived. I have made this profound discovery, that a penny in the pound is the same thing as a hundred pence in a hundred pounds, and, having got so far, it appeared to me quite easy to change the present mode of assessing the income tax into a percentage. That seems to me to be the way of meeting the difficulty. We are familiar with the calculation of interest. It is not a very difficult rule that to ascertain the amount of interest you should multiply the sum on which you have to pay interest by the amount of the interest, and divide it by 100. Substitute for the word interest the words income tax, for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of income tax you have to pay. There are numerous interest tables which will inform you of the amount of your income tax. I certainly would not wantonly incur the difficulty of changing a well-established custom of the people, but the Committee will observe that a percentage affords the same facilities for taking off the tax as for putting it on. It has also this incidental advantage that those of us who are familiar with decimals will find that a percentage gives great facilities in calculating our income tax.

The question, then, is this—we have an income tax of 4*d.* in the pound, or £1 13*s.* 4*d.* per £100. That produces £6,100,000. We want £1,950,000; and by increasing the income tax from £1 13*s.* 4*d.* to £2 4*s.* per £100, the additional sum of £1,950,000 will be obtained, and, therefore, the total produce of the income tax next year will be £8,050,000. I hope the Committee will think I have not wandered into this new path out of any mere caprice of my own; the arrangement has been suggested by me for no other reason than to do what is convenient to the taxpayer, and to avoid the imposition of other burdens I should have otherwise had to lay upon him. The effect, then, of what I propose is this:—The Legacy, Succession, and Probate Duties will amount to £1,020,000, of which £300,000 will fall in the present year. The Matches Duty will amount to £550,000, and the addition to the Income Tax will amount to £1,950,000, making altogether £2,800,000—the sum that is required. The account then will stand in this manner—Customs, £20,100,000; Excise, £22,970,000; Stamps, £9,050,000 (I should observe that the Probate, Succession, and Legacy Duties come under the head of Stamps, and the Duty on Matches under that of Excise); Taxes, £2,330,000; Income Tax, £8,050,000; Post Office, £4,670,000; Telegraphs, £750,000; Crown Lands, £375,000; Miscellaneous, £4,100,000 — total, £72,395,000. The expenditure amounts to £72,308,000, leaving a surplus of £87,000. I thank the Committee for the attention which they have given to me. I beg to hand in the Resolution with respect to the duty on Matches.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged and paid for and upon every box or other enclosure of Lucifer Matches, Fusees, or other Matches prepared so as to be capable of being ignited by friction or otherwise than by the application of actual fire or heat (hereinafter called 'Matches'), whether manufactured in or imported into the United Kingdom, which shall be sold, or exposed to sale, or be offered or kept ready for sale, in the United Kingdom, on or after the 10th day of May 1871, a Duty of Excise as follows (that is to say):

Where the box or other enclosure contains Matches which, independently of the substance for ignition, are composed wholly of wood—	£	s.	d.
If the number of Matches therein contained does not exceed 100	0	0	0½

	£	*s.*	*d.*
If the number of Matches therein contained exceeds 100, then for every 100, and also for any fractional part of 100, of such number . . .	0	0	0½
Where the box or other enclosure contains Matches which, independently of the substance for ignition, are composed wholly or partially of a material other than wood—			
If the number of Matches therein contained does not exceed 50	0	0	0½
If the number of Matches therein contained exceeds 50, then for every 50, and also for any fractional part of 50, of such number . . .	0	0	0½

And the Duties upon boxes or other enclosures of Matches shall be denoted by, and collected by means of, Labels to be affixed upon such boxes or other enclosures."

MR. WHITE said, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lowe), when making his Financial Statement last Session, characteristically expressed his own notion of the functions of a British Minister of Finance. He then told them that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a man whose duties make him more or less a taxing machine. And he further said that, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he is intrusted with a certain amount of misery, which it is his duty to distribute as fairly as he can. Whether the right hon. Gentleman then had, or had not, strikingly illustrated his own ideal, he would leave it to the Committee to judge. He (Mr. White) would only remark that it was astonishing with what equanimity one can bear the miseries of other people. He believed the right hon. Gentleman would find that he had taken a far too gloomy view of the future. Last year he took the opportunity of telling the right hon. Gentleman that he had under-estimated his incoming Revenue by £2,000,000, and that prediction was verified by the statement just made by the right hon. Gentleman. He believed the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the end of the next financial year would have a surplus exceeding by £1,500,000 that which he had now estimated. As to the proposed increase of £3,500,000 in the Army expenditure, he had not yet discovered a single individual who believed that it would secure the object which the Government and the people had at heart. The public believed that without a change in the *régime* at the Horse Guards no effective Army reform would be produced by any amount of increased military expenditure. To secure efficiency in our Army, they must strike higher than the Government had yet dared to do. With new measures, they should have new men. The Government scheme of "Army Regulation," what was it—if enacted—but putting new wine into old bottles? And surely the result must be, what might be naturally expected. As to the new scale for probate duty, he was dissatisfied. He thought the right hon. Gentleman ought to have re-adjusted it by making real property subject to the same duty as personalty. He thanked the First Lord of the Admiralty for his recent most valuable Report on local and Imperial taxation. That document showed that of our Imperial taxation only 12½ per cent was derived from real property, while the remaining 87½ per cent was derived from other sources. With regard to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's estimate of his receipts from Customs, so far from expecting that they would yield less in the coming year than they did last year, he should himself have been disposed to put them at fully £500,000 more. Again, as to the Excise duties, he did not see why the right hon. Gentleman should estimate them at a lower amount than last year. It was to be hoped that the disturbed state of France would not long continue, and that from the low price of money, and also of cotton and wool — the raw materials of our two great staple manufactures—an impulse would be given to our productive industry, which would greatly add to the prosperity of this country, and thereby tend to much increase the incoming Revenue. With respect to Stamps and Taxes, the changes made in them might, perhaps, justify the right hon. Gentleman's estimate of their receipts. With reference to the income tax, he had yet to learn that there were not still some arrears of that tax which might accrue in the coming year as well as in the last. The estimated expenditure, £72,380,000, was of startling magnitude; and when to that was added the £36,000,000, of existing local taxation, as stated in the First Lord of the Admiralty's Report, the total amount extracted from the people for local and Imperial purposes amounted to £108,000,000 per annum. As to taxing an article of general consumption like matches, it might be expedient to resort to that source of Revenue if the accruing amount were really required; but to his mind it seemed a step almost from the sublime to the ridiculous to now establish such an impost. Again, he objected to the mode in which the income tax was proposed to be assessed. The country had grown quite accustomed to that tax; and, for himself, he should have preferred if the right hon. Gentleman had boldly taken an additional 2*d.*—["No!"]—raising the tax from 4*d.* to 6*d.* in the pound. He only so said, in the hope that such an unwarrantable increase would have a good moral influence on the people, who, perhaps, would have then recognized in the augmentation of 2*d.* the unavoidable consequence of the excessive expenditure on the Army, which, he thought, was wholly unjustifide by the necessities of the case, or by the requirements of the vast majority of the taxpayers of this country.

Mr. J. B. SMITH said, he had last year called the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the sugar duties, and now desired to do so again. The sugar duty was the only duty now existing in this country which operated as a protection on the manufacture of any article. Twelve months ago he moved for some Papers relating to the sugar duties; but though those Returns had been promised they had not yet been produced. When a Member of that House wished to expose such abuses as existed in connection with these duties, instead of meeting with opposition, he ought to receive every encouragement from those in office. In the Committee on the Sugar Duties in 1862, over which the present Secretary of State for War presided, it was proposed that there should be one uniform rate of duty levied on sugar instead of classified duties; but the Committee, by a majority of 1, rejected that proposal, which it was thought would yield a smaller Revenue than the proposed classified duties. It had been shown, however, by an official Return from the Treasury, that in 1848 a uniform rate of duty on sugar would have yielded more by £77,300, and in 1869 more by £149,885 than was received in those years under the classified rates; so that the Revenue was robbed in those two years of £223,000, which was the amount of bounty given to the sugar-makers. Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer intend to continue that system? It was true that last year the right hon. Gentleman reduced the sugar duties by one-half, and the effect of that had already been to induce a much larger consumption of good sugar. The imports of good sugar this year were about 10½ per cent greater than they were last year, yet a bounty was still given to the sugar manufacturers. He wished to know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended to continue this protective duty on sugar, which was a disgrace to a Government pretending to be a free-trade administration. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made great pretensions to being a political economist; but he should bear in mind what the present Prime Minister said in reference to the paper duties, when our paper-makers wanted a little bit of protection. The Prime Minister said—"The claims of the consumers were paramount; they had a right to buy their paper in the cheapest market." Well, that was just what he now claimed for the consumers of sugar in this country.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he thought the dealings of the right hon. Gentleman with the succession and probate duties would give general satisfaction; but he should have dealt with an anomaly which had been often commented on, and should have applied the succession duty to the property of corporations and companies. He believed that they had no conception of the vast amount of property which was held by these bodies, and it passed down through a succession of individuals, for long periods of time, without any break of continuity. It was said that companies had no souls, nor did they die; but their liability to succession duty might be commuted for an annual payment. The existing exemption in their case should be done away with. Probate duty should also apply to these corporations and companies which had a large amount of personal property. It was a great hardship that people should have to pay probate duty upon very small estates, and he was told that they had to pay the lawyers 10 or 15 times the amount that the Government received for duty. He thought that something might be done to remedy this evil. Another still greater hardship was inflicted by charging income tax upon small incomes, say up to £100. A deduction of £2 or £3 from a total income of £100 was felt to be immeasurably greater than deductions from a man's superfluities. There was a large class of persons struggling to maintain their social position who contributed largely to the Revenue in the form of indirect taxation, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give effect to a general wish that in the matter of direct taxation these persons should be liberally dealt with. He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman upon his evident intention to persevere in reducing the National Debt by means of Terminable Annuities. Such annuities, now representing about £50,000,000, supplied the most reliable, effective, and steady means of reducing Debt, and if it were not for Terminable Annuities, which ought to be increased, he feared the Debt would not be in course of liquidation at all.

Sir FREDERICK W. HEYGATE said, he did not wish it should go forth uncontradicted that agricultural horses and carts were improperly exempt from taxation. They were as much a part of the stock-in-trade of the farmer as the expenses which a tradesman or manufacturer might deduct under Schedule D. Then, as to licences in Ireland, alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman as another exemption, the amount at stake was very small. There was no exemption except from the house tax and the duty on railways [The Chancellor of the Exchequer: There is no duty on servants or horses.] But in a poor country there were few servants liable to the tax, and at a time when they were trying to raise the character of the poorer dwellings in Ireland, it would be an extraordinary measure to tax them. He did not at all like the complicated plan of calculating income tax by a percentage instead of a poundage. The easier and better plan would have been to increase the income tax by 2*d.* in the pound. The people would willingly pay it if they were assured that it was necessary to make up a deficiency, and to provide for the proper security of the country.

Mr. CRAWFORD said, that he should be prepared to give the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer the best consideration that the time would allow; but, having heard a great many Budgets, he must say that there had been none which he looked on with so little favour as the present. As the right hon. Gentleman had crossed the Atlantic to find a tax on matches, he should have borrowed another American notion and imposed a tax on photographs, which would have proved a source of considerable Revenue. He (Mr. Crawford) agreed with the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. White) in what he said as to the low tone taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reference to the prospects of the coming year. These prospects were understated, and the right hon. Gentleman might have contented himself with placing an additional 2*d.* on the income tax, instead of tinkering with the mode of assessment, and changing it from a poundage to a percentage. If they were dealing with it for the first time, he could understand that a percentage should be adopted; but the present mode of assessment was so ingrained in the minds of the people that the change would create a great deal of trouble. Reference had been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Chancery Funds Bill which was before the House. It stood for second reading on Monday next, and he hoped that the House would have an opportunity of discussing it; and that it would not be brought on at such an hour that it would be impossible to give it proper consideration. He looked with the utmost jealousy upon this Bill, and he would venture almost to express the hope that the House would not sanction it.

Colonel GILPIN observed that, if the proposal for the abolition of purchase were carried out, the £16,000,000 would be nothing like sufficient for the expense of the Army if the Government dealt justly with the officers. The right hon. Gentleman had expressed some surprise at the results exhibited by the malt tax; but these were only in accordance with universal experience, that the consumption increased wherever the amount of the taxation was reduced, and *vice versâ.* During the Crimean War, when the right hon. Gentleman now at the head of the Government increased the malt tax, he ventured to tell him that his anticipations would not be realized, and he lived to hear him say that his expectations had not been fulfilled. Upon the principle which had been enunciated that evening by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he hoped he would be encouraged to proceed still further, and to reduce, as he had already suggested at a deputation to the right hon. Gentleman, the amount of the tax to 10*s*. The reply made by the right hon. Gentleman was that he should be a loser of £2,000,000 in the first instance; but in the long run he believed the Exchequer would gain largely by the reduction. There was another suggestion he would like to make, but he was afraid the right hon. Gentleman would not take it. The right hon. Gentleman had said that taxes in advance was an extremely unpopular measure; but if he would take the income tax in advance in July—six months and six months—it would be much more popular in the country. And the great injustice at present done to the growers of malt in refusing them the drawback which was allowed to great brewers who exported their beer ought also, if possible, to be redressed. As to finance generally, the right hon. Gentleman had given the House a glowing picture of the past, and rather a gloomy picture of the future. He had not been surprised at this, for it was a result which more than once had been brought about by a very economical Government. In connection, however, with this statement that £72,000,000 would be required to meet the expenses of the coming year, he must remind the right hon. Gentleman of a saying of one of his late Colleagues, the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), whose intellect and eloquence they all admired, and whose absence they all regretted, though they might differ from many of his political opinions, that "no Government deserves the confidence of the country which is unable to govern the country at a less cost than £70,000,000 a-year."

MR. DYCE NICOL appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the reconsideration of one clause of last year's Budget, abolishing hawkers' licences, which was no doubt done with the best intentions, but under an entire misapprehension of how his sympathy with that class would be abused. The right hon. Gentleman stated that it was a hard tax on a trade which was only taken up by those who had tried and failed in others, and that a licence costing £2 was a dreadful obstacle to place in such a man's way. The police in his district had recently informed him, that with the facility of procuring a certificate, which could be given by any householder, the increase of what might be called "legalized vagrancy" was quite remarkable, and that, as the summer approached, when the number of vagrants were further increased, they feared that without additional force, they could not be responsible for the depredations and mischief caused by them. That they had a short time ago paid a midnight visit to a cottage occupied by a woman and her daughter in a parish near to his property, and that they found 16 men and women connected with the hawking profession huddled together, where there were only four beds—a state of things disgraceful to any county, and particularly where only a few miles distant from Her Majesty's Highland residence. He had made inquiries of the chief of the constabulary force in Aberdeenshire on this subject, who informed him that since 1st January he had issued 579, and countersigned 347 pedlars' certificates, and that he continued to sign one or two daily; and as the Act did not authorize him to make any inquiry as to the description of goods that are to be hawked, or whether or not the hawker travelled alone, or in company with his family or others, he did not consider that he had a right to do so. He added that the Act was most mischievous, as it practically prevented any punishment for breaches of it, as there was no imprisonment as an alternative if the fine be not paid, so that when there was no money to pay—and there never was among such a class—the accused escaped. The chief constable of the county he represented (Kincardine) informed him, in like manner, that during the last three months he had issued 51 certificates and endorsed 195, and he spoke of the wretched, squalid, appearance of those hawkers. Last year the late President of the Poor Law Board (Mr. Goschen) admitted that vagrancy was a subject which ought, and he hoped would, be dealt with by Government, and that he was in communication with the Home Office, with the view of devising some scheme by which the evils complained of might be remedied. He (Mr. Nicol) trusted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would also lend his aid either by re-imposition of the hawkers' licence tax, or by some system of registration which would check this really alarming state of things in our rural districts. With regard to that, he might almost say, unconstitutional tax on guns, imposed last year by the right hon. Gentleman on the peaceable, inoffensive agriculturalists of the country, the opinion he had expressed last year had been confirmed by experience, that it was most objectionable. He was aware that it was with some persons very popular, and he admitted that in mining districts and large towns the careless and offensive use of fire-arms should be checked, but with such exceptions as were now allowed, nothing could be more unjust and demoralizing than this tax. Quite recently an official letter had been written by the Board of Inland Revenue, that they would not require licences to be taken out in the cases of shooting matches at a target, when a moderate number of guns were used, and where those were conveyed to the spot under the directions of the person who conducted the match, and who held a gun licence. And a noble Lord, in inviting his tenants to a *battue*, was reported to have said that he intended to have presented each of them with a gun licence, but on looking into the Act he found this was unnecessary. Being himself possessed of a gun licence he invited them to join in the sport, and to consider themselves exempt from duty. Surely an Act affording such facility for evasion ought not to be allowed to remain on the Statute Book.

Mr. NEVILLE-GRENVILLE said, he could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had under-estimated the income and over-estimated the expenditure. Taking one item, which occurred only once in 10 years—he meant the Census—the Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the expenses at £134,000. In 1851, the Estimate was £111,000, and the actual expenses £130,000. In 1861 the Estimate was £127,000, and the expenses had then fallen down to £126,000. He hoped, therefore, that £134,000 would prove to be more than was absolutely necessary. He would not follow the able remarks of the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Crawford) about the disadvantages of the change in the income tax to a percentage, because the remarks came with very much greater weight from that Gentleman than they would come from himself. But matches had been proposed to be taxed for the first time by the present Budget, and he hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken into consideration the fact that the people who were employed in the manufacture of matches were the very poorest people possible in this country, and in taxing the produce of their work, he hoped the House would consider whether the tax would be any detriment to these poor people. Not only the manufacture, but the sale of matches was confined to the poorest of the community, who even now had no representatives in that House. He believed that if photographs had been selected for taxation instead, the burden would not have fallen upon an impoverished class. As to the gun tax, he did not agree with the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Dyce Nicol) for he had not found any complaints of it in the part of the country from which he came (Mid-Somersetshire).

Mr. FAWCETT desired to enter his protest, in the strongest language, against the extravagant, perilous, and wicked expenditure which had been proposed that evening, for which all the Members of the Cabinet were responsible. With regard to the probate, legacy, and succession duty, he ventured to suggest that the estimate of the increase of Revenue was much too large. The present Prime Minister, though a most skilled financier, had wrongly supposed, when it was imposed, that the succession duty would produce £2,000,000, whereas, it had only yielded £750,000 a-year up to the present time. The reason was that it was a tax which could be easily evaded, for a father, before his death, could hand over his property to a son, whom he trusted, and if the duty were doubled, the inducement to evade the tax would also be doubled. The proposed tax on matches was a bad tax for two reasons. It would interfere with a trade in which labour was poorly remunerated, and it would be felt in every house throughout the country—even the poor creature who lived on an out-door relief of 3*s*. a-week having to pay the tax. Nothing could justify such a tax but the most absolute necessity, and that did not at present exist. As to the proposition regarding the income tax, the argument of the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Crawford) seemed conclusive, for nothing was more worrying to a commercial community than constant changes in the mode of collecting a tax. He thought that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would find, that when his proposal was considered, there would be an almost unanimous protest against any change in the mode of levying. The House ought to be grateful to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for resisting any increase in the funded or unfunded Debt. The expenditure of the country was now £72,250,000, and next year it would be £73,000,000, and as the income of the whole country, including the income of every man who lived on daily wages, and every child employed in industry, was probably not more than £750,000,000, an expenditure of £72,000,000 therefore took about 10 per cent from the income of every man, woman, and child in this country. It took from the agricultural labourer, earning 10*s*. a-week, 1*s*. from his weekly wages; from a clerk struggling to live on a salary of £100 a-year it took £10; and from a literary man earning £300 it took £30, which he wanted for the education of his children, or for the purpose of making a provision for his widow. They had a Liberal Government pledged to economy, and but for that pledge the Government would not have been sitting on those benches, yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer of this Government was proposing the most extravagant scale of expenditure ever proposed in that House. This was said to be necessary in order to prevent danger to the country; but that was the old cry which had been raised over and over again. Looking back for 15 years, he recollected that Lord Palmerston proposed Estimates £16,000,000 or £17,000,000 less than the present, and he well remembered sitting in the Strangers' Gallery, and listening with delight to the denunciations of the present Prime Minister against that profligate expenditure. He (Mr. Fawcett) had hoped to follow the right hon. Gentleman in his onslaught on this expenditure, but never had hopes been more rudely shaken. We were entering on a wicked rivalry of armaments. All the great European Powers were spending far more money than they could afford. The consequence was that they had to come to this country to borrow; but, perhaps, we should one day find out our mistake. France had a Debt of £1,100,000,000, and could not borrow money under 7 or 8 per cent. The credit of Spain had gone, and she could not borrow at less than 10 per cent. Italy had a Debt of £300,000,000, and, with a population of 22,500,000 was supporting an Army of 300,000 men, and could not borrow money under 10 per cent. Turkey could not borrow money under 12 or 14 per cent, and Austria could not borrow under 7 or 8 per cent. Our Colonies were proceeding in the same course of profligate expenditure. Australia, with a population of 1,500,000, had a Debt of £28,000,000; while New Zealand, with a population of 250,000 men, had a Debt of £7,000,000. He wished to know where all this was to end? They had heard something about the policy of guarding our shores against invasion. Surely it could not be supposed that the sums demanded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer could effect that object. It would take something like £20,000,000 to effectually guard our shores. But that was not what the country required. It was not money that was wanted in order to save the country from its enemies. It was a Ministry of efficiency—it was a Government capable of dealing boldly and courageously with the great evils that pressed with undue severity upon the industrious classes of society. In fact, no Minister should be allowed to remain at the head of the Government who was not prepared to deal effectually with the great abuses which existed in the principal Departments of the Government. For example, the man who was placed at the head of the Army should either be a most skilful soldier or one of the best administrators in the kingdom. We were spending this year on the Army and Navy something like £27,000,000, yet what was our Army compared with the Prussian Army? Prussia could afford to have a great standing Army because Prussia could secure administrative efficiency. Notwithstanding the late war the whole of Germany had a Debt of only £170,000,000, and their finances were in such a condition that in a few years that Debt would be paid off altogether. It might be said that our Debt and expenditure were not greater than they were years ago, considering the increase of our national wealth. We had been peculiarly fortunate during the last few years, which were years of peace and great commercial prosperity. But he contended that in our prosperous times our Government should have better husbanded their means so as to have afforded them the opportunity of vastly diminishing our Debt. America had reduced her Debt since the war by £95,000,000. Our Government, on the contrary, when we had really reached a time of peace and prosperity, had chosen to present to the House the most extravagant Estimates that had ever been brought before it. The Government came into office pledged to economy; but he must say, in all sincerity, what to them at the last General Election was a great source of strength, and gave them their majority, would, if they now went to the country, prove to them a great source of weakness. He would tell them that they could not carry out their principle of economy unless they dealt boldly with the great subject of administrative reform. The country had been rudely disappointed in their expectations of the policy of the Government. The people did not believe in that kind of economy which began at the bottom of the ladder, and when approaching upwards spared sinecurists because they found them to be in the position of influential men. The only economy the country would approve of was that which began at the top of the ladder and passed down to the bottom with the most strict impartiality. He entrely agreed with what had been said by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Gilpin) in reference to an opinion formerly expressed by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright)—whose absence they all greatly deplored—that no Government was worthy of the confidence of that House which could not manage its affairs for less than £70,000,000. But they were told that these Estimates were transition Estimates. No one would believe that. It was his conviction that they would be permanent and stereotyped unless the people made a strong and a bold resistance to them. The Liberal party in that House would not represent the great majority of the nation out-of-doors, unless immediately, or, at all events long before the close of this Session, they gave the House an opportunity of expressing their opinion by affirming the brief, simple, and intelligible proposition of the most distinguished Member for Birmingham, which he had just quoted.

Mr. HERMON said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to tell the Committee why, when the principal of the Debt was admittedly decreasing, the interest should be increasing. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that many fires had occurred by idle boys amusing themselves by throwing matches among loose straw. He had himself lost some thousands of pounds by such accidents, and that was no amusement to him. He (Mr. Hermon) was in hopes that the right hon. Gentleman would have sought to justify this part of his propositions by showing that it would have the effect of preventing so many accidents from fire, as occurred from the careless use of those matches. In the absence of any such explanation it appeard to him that that proposal would have a most injurious effect, by its interference with the principle of free trade, of which he approved in common with many other Members on his side of the House. In respect to the accidents arising from those matches he did not believe they originated with the box itself, so much as from the practice of certain classes carrying the matches openly in their pockets. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not stated separately the sums required by the Departments of the Customs and Inland Revenue separately; but coupled them with the Post Office service in one sum. He should be glad to hear what the sum required for each of them was. [The Chancellor of the Exchequer: I have done so.] He was not aware of that fact. Before concluding he wished to notice one more point. Instead of resorting to a system of percentage in connection with the income tax, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would upon re-consideration adhere to the old practice of asking for what he wanted on a calculation of so much in the pound. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer applied for 1½*d.* in the pound income tax he would obtain the whole sum which he required. ["Too much!"] Well, the right hon. Gentleman would not have objected to it on that ground. It appeared to him that if the Government really intended to carry out the non-purchase system, and the retirement allowances for officers in the Army, they would require a vastly larger amount of money than they now asked for.

MR. W. FOWLER said, he agreed to a large extent with what had fallen from the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett). He regarded this as a melancholy Budget. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed himself so to regard it, for he said he turned his back on what was pleasant and began to consider what was unpleasant. This was a panic Budget, a Budget originating in a panic which had no cause. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, when he brought in his Army Regulation Bill, told the House there was no immediate danger to be apprehended in this country, yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer now proposed to the Committee the most extravagant Army Estimates they ever had before them since the Crimean War, and if they went on increasing according to the fanciful fears of hon. Members, the Army Estimates might yet amount to £30,000,000. Ever since he was a child the great cause of fear and alarm to this country was the power of France; but now that this fear had been entirely dissipated, we are obliged to conjure up some other cause of fear in order to justify our extravagant Estimates. The country had been mystified and deceived upon this question by those who ought to have guided it to a different conclusion. He did not think the Chancellor of the Exchequer had thoroughly grappled with the succession duty, in which he (Mr. Fowler) took a great interest, for he had apparently failed to observe or deal with the gross unfairness of taxing alike life interests and the estate in fee. He believed the cause of the defect in the estimate of the Prime Minister in 1863 was not that stated by he hon. Member for Brighton; but the error arose mainly from the fact that he did not sufficiently allow for this distinction. If the tax had been graduated, so that holders of the fee-simple had paid the proportion they ought to have paid, the result would, in his opinion, have been different, and would have been nearer to the expectation of the Prime Minister. As it was, the holder of the fee-simple did not pay what he ought, or else the tenant for life paid a great deal too much. He was inclined to think the tax on matches would be very unpopular, because it would tax very poor people, and he would have preferred an increase of the income tax to the imposition of a tax upon matches. He sympathized with what had been said by the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Crawford) as to the inconvenience of the change proposed in the mode of assessing the income tax, and it would have been better if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had avoided it, even if he had asked for a trifle more money than he wanted, so as to leave himself with a fair margin. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had been a little too hasty in coming to the conclusion that he could settle the question of local taxation off-hand by this Budget. The plan of compensating one class of property by taxing it less than others, and then putting on local taxes to get rid of the distinction, was a clumsy expedient; and they had better do what they were asked to do by the hon. Member for Devonshire (Sir Massey Lopes)—grapple with the whole question of these compensations; see whether or not real property was taxed too much, and, if it were, take off taxation and put it upon some other property; but if it were the fact that landed property was taxed rather under its proper rate than above, let that be understood and let them act accordingly. He should have been glad if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had treated the matter not as a settled but as an open question; and he would then have been able to deal in a more satisfactory way with probate duty, succession duty, and legacy duty; but, as it was, he had not dealt with the exemption of real estate from probate duty. The whole question of local taxation was one waiting for consideration, and it could not be settled off-hand in the debate on the Budget. It was an ingenious Budget, but he could not regard it with much satisfaction, and he doubted if it would meet with the approval of the country. He desired to see more economy than we were exercising. After so many years of prosperity and peace, the fact that we spend a sum in the defence of the country equal, or nearly equal, to that spent during the Crimean War was a fact that ought to bring shame on all those who were engaged in the conduct of the affairs of the country. They must get rid of those senseless panics, as Mr. Cobden used to call them, or they would never commence an era of economy.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE said, he regretted he could not congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the mode in which he proposed to supply the deficiency in the income. He proposed to tax capital by increasing the probate and legacy duties, to tax income by an increase of the income tax, and lastly, to tax expenditure by imposing a tax on lucifer matches. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to pride himself upon the taxing of lucifer matches which he had borrowed from the United States; but was he prepared to carry out the principle and tax everything instead of beginning with matches? Was he prepared to tax the possession of gold watches, plate, and articles of a similar description, as was done in America? The Chancellor of the Exchequer considered that the tax would lessen the danger of fire; but the tax was more likely to increase the danger by causing matches to be carried loose in the pocket. For the right hon. Gentleman did not propose to tax matches, but the boxes in which they were inclosed; and, in that case there would be nothing to prevent matches being sold by the hundred, tied together by a string, so that matches would be carried about more loosely than ever, to the increase of that danger which it was the professed object of the tax to diminish. The taxing of match-boxes would give rise to a number of new offences. At present, the dealers in taxable articles were licensed; were the manufacturers and sellers of matches to be required to take out licences? Some of the children in the streets would be apprehended for selling boxes with false stamps upon them, and, of course, they would not know where these stamps came from. Was a Customs duty to be imposed upon matches if they were imported in boxes? If they were imported loose, there was nothing in the proposed regulation which would render them liable to taxation. One expedient which would be resorted to in order to evade the law would be to dip both ends of the matches instead of one only, which was done with some fusees at present, so that only half the usual number of matches need be put into each box. The right hon. Gentleman had exhibited an amount of courage that everybody must admire, because he proposed to remind of taxation everyone who struck a match to light a candle, or a fire, as well as a pipe or a cigar. Poor persons would naturally ask whether gold watches and silver plate were taxed here as they were in America. This was not the way in which increased expenditure ought to be met, especially when it was an object with us to get rid of Customs duties. The right hon. Gentleman had been carried away by an original idea; but it must end in smoke. A Chancellor of the Exchequer who touched the probate and legacy duties should enter upon the question as a great one, and endeavour to place those duties upon an equitable basis; and to increase these taxes without doing this would simply be to augment their unfairness and injustice. If a house were in the occupation of the freeholder at his death, it was only liable to succession duty; but if it were in the hands of a leaseholder, who paid a ground-rent to the owner of the freehold, the successor must pay both succession and probate duty. This was manifestly unjust. Again, when a professional man died, leaving to his family a little property, the Chancellor of the Exchequer immediately levied a tax upon it, which tax it was now proposed to double. If a man carried on a business separately, and not as a member of a firm, the Executor must at once pay the probate duty on the whole amount of the assets, including the debts due to the estate, without being permitted to deduct the debts due from the estate. He might, indeed, subsequently claim re-payment of the duty, but every business man knew that over the entrance to Somerset House was this inscription—"No money returned, under any circumstances, if it can possibly be avoided." Another anomaly was that the succession duty might be paid by instalments within four years; whereas the probate duty must be paid before the estate could be touched. With regard to the income tax, the right hon. Gentleman seemed imbued with percentages and decimal points. The people of this country, however, had, since

1842, when the tax was first imposed by the late Sir Robert Peel, been accustomed to regard it as so many pennies in the pound; and to them 5¼*d.* in the pound would be much more intelligible than 2⅕ per cent, or 2·2 per cent. He hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would review and revise his Budget.

MR. COLLINS said, he thought it would have been much better if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had raised the income tax from 4*d.* to 6*d.* in the pound, instead of concocting a cumbrous scheme of taxing lucifer matches and doubling the succession duty. He thought the Government should, before making such a proposal, grapple with the whole question of the probate and succession duties, and take into consideration at the same time the burdens which fell upon real property with reference to local rating. There were certain kinds of taxes which fell most iniquitously on leasehold property and railway shares. Leasehold property had to pay, in addition to the usual charges on freehold property, probate and succession duty, because it was personal property. Railways were still more hardly treated. As they savoured of the realty, they paid their share of local rates, and being likewise personal property, they were liable to probate and succession duty. Moreover, there was a tax on locomotion, so that money invested in railways paid, in three ways which other kinds of property did not. At present the duty on personal estate was something like 2 per cent in the shape of probate duty, and 1 per cent in the event of succession from father to son; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed practically to raise it to 4 per cent. Now, to take a twenty-fifth portion of a person's estate was a very near approach to confiscation. In case of succession from one brother to another something like 5 or 5½ per cent was to be levied. He objected to the compensatory system of casting burdens on real property with reference to local taxes, and then saying to the owners—"You have no probate duty to pay." Both personalty and realty ought to be fairly dealt with, both in regard to local and Imperial purposes; but he hoped the House would not consent to double the succession duty in the arbitrary way proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. To people of large means the mode of calculating the income tax was of little importance; but the poorer classes and the less intelligent, who could well understand so many pennies in the pound, would be puzzled at hearing of 2·2. The alteration of the income tax from so much in the pound to a certain percentage he thought would not be viewed with favour by the country generally, as it provided a complicated instead of a simple mode of assessment. The fact that they had increased expenditure and additional taxation to deal with was matter of no surprise to him; it was invariably the case when there was a large Liberal majority in the House, and a strong Liberal Government in office. With the Liberal party in power, extravagant expenditure must be expected; extravagant expenditure, in fact, was the price the country paid for the luxury of a Liberal Government. He hoped the time would come when the House and the country having recovered from panic, parties would be more evenly balanced in the House, and Governments would be compelled to act up to their professions.

MR. CANDLISH said, the hon. Member for Boston (Mr. Collins) would have spoken with more consistency if he had voted with the minority of 90 who supported the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) in his Motion and criticisms upon the Army Estimates. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had imagined some one asking him how it came to pass that, having in former years reduced warlike charges, it was now proposed to increase them. The right hon. Gentleman had left the question unanswered, and, perhaps, he would now supply the omission. Certainly, the proposals of this year condemned those of years past, or *vice versâ.* Either this year's Estimates for the Army and Navy were a great blunder, or else the Estimates of the last three years were totally indefensible. The expenditure on the Army alone this year was more than the amount spent on the Army and Navy together in the year immediately preceding the Crimean War. He entered his protest against such unjustifiable extravagance. The cost of abolition of purchase was admitted to be a necessary consequence of demands made from his part of the House; but he and his friends contended that this cost might have been met by reduction of extravagance elsewhere. With regard to the National Debt, he regretted that the reduction of that Debt should be left to the mere haphazard of a possible surplus. The cheapest and best way of paying the National Debt was to put down boldly in the Budget a certain specific sum to be devoted to the payment of that Debt. That course, he was sure, would be favourably received by the country.

Mr. BOWRING said, that many epithets had been applied to the Budget. It had been called by turns a disappointing, a melancholy, and a panic Budget. One thing it was not, it certainly was not a "matchless" Budget. The Revenue which the Chancellor of the Exchequer expected to derive from the proposed tax on matches was £550,000; but the minimum tax of a halfpenny per 100 upon the enormous quantity stated by him to be manufactured in this country would produce £1,250,000. Either, therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would get a great deal more Revenue than he anticipated from this source, or else there would be an enormous decrease in the production of the article. Considering the large number of persons of the poorer classes, especially women and children, engaged in manufacturing, and also in vending matches of various kinds, the House would do well to consider very carefully any proposal that would restrict their production and sale; and if he did not oppose to-night the adoption of the formal Resolution on the subject, it must be understood that he reserved to himself the right of taking whatever course he thought fit when the actual Bill for imposing a tax upon matches was brought before the House. With regard to the income tax, he was glad to hail anything tending in the direction of the decimal system, of which he had always been a strong advocate; but nothing would be of much service in that way until there was a change in our coinage. With our present system of coinage, the plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of levying a percentage, and that proposed by the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence), for charging 5¼*d.* in the pound, were equally bad and equally complicated. The suggestion of the hon. Member for St. Ives (Mr. Magniac) that taxes should be imposed on those bodies that had no souls—namely, upon corporations, was one which deserved the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because corporations, however soulless, had very substantial material resources, and could well afford to contribute towards the Revenue of the country. He regretted the necessity that appeared at present to exist of largely increasing the expenditure on our Army; and he only gave the Government proposals his support, not because he approved of the system of increased expenditure which the Government had initiated, but because he believed that they were thoroughly in earnest in wishing to put this country in a proper state of defence, and because he believed that the expenditure now to be made was intended to be the maximum and not the minimum for future years. If he found that this opinion was incorrect, he should in future years withdraw that support. He might, in conclusion, remark that, although it was no doubt right to err, if it was necessary to err at all, on the side of prudence, he thought the right hon. Gentleman had not made sufficient allowance for the elasticity of the Revenue, especially with reference to the Customs and Excise, which were likely to produce much more Revenue than the Estimates would lead the country to expect. He considered the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Estimates in respect of those items to be greatly understated. At the same time he approved of the changes proposed in the succession and probate duties, and hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would take further steps in that direction in future years.

Mr. MACFIE regretted that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stockport (Mr. J. B. Smith) should have lent the sanction of his name to a misconception with regard to the classification of the sugar duties. A Select Committee had some years ago considered this subject. It arrived at the conclusion that, not only ought the strength of sugar to regulate the duty as did the strength of spirit, but the classification was necessary in justice to those interested, while our treaties with France and other foreign Powers left us no liberty to alter our system in this respect, unless, indeed, the business of refining were conducted in bond. With the abolition of this classification, we should lose a valuable branch of industry, and the products of our sugar-growing Colonies would be driven to other countries, instead of being brought, as they now were, to London, Liverpool, and Glasgow. Of course, the supplying of export articles would go to those countries much to the disadvantage and loss of British trade. With regard to the probate and legacy duties, he should like to have a more comprehensive arrangement, and would like the legacy duty with regard to charities to have been so altered that people would not be tempted because of the heavy duty to leave their property to distant relations, for whom they in all probability cared little or nothing, instead of bestowing it upon institutions where it could be made serviceable to the poorer and more deserving of our population. He thought a condition might be attached that the two nearest heirs in succession should signify in writing their approval of the legacy during the testator's life. As to the income tax, he did not quite agree with hon. Members who objected to the percentage system in place of the poundage; but he should have been better pleased had the right hon. Gentleman increased the tax to 2¼ or even 2½ per cent, as then it would have been easier of computation than 2·2-10ths. With reference to the proposal to impose a tax upon matches, the right hon. Gentleman would find considerable difficulty. There was a very large manufactory of matches in Sweden, and matches by the shipload were or might be sent into London. If there was to be a stamp, all must be stamped or none at all; and if a stamp were employed, it would be necessary to affix a stamp to each of the 1,000,000 boxes which were so imported. This objection would, he feared, prove fatal to the scheme. After the tax which had been imposed upon guns, he believed it would be very inexpedient to increase the unpopularity of taxation by venturing upon this novel impost. With reference to the expenditure proposed for our armaments, he believed that nothing less would allay the panics which were occasionally experienced, and that we should be able to bear ourselves better before foreign nations if we were satisfied that our ports were in a proper state of security. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would not have been fit to occupy that post in the Government had he shrunk from imposing taxes when informed by the highest authorities that they were necessary to the proper defence of the country. He thanked the Government for having manfully faced this difficulty, and only regretted that their measures had not been more ample.

MR. BEACH said, he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer was fully justified in placing before the Committee the true state of the finances of the country, and no complaint ought to be made, because the state of affairs on the Continent rendered a large expenditure necessary, for the taxpayers would not be sorry if the result of our expenditure were such that our defences were placed in a permanently effective state; but they had a right to complain if it were mainly incurred to rectify a sentimental grievance. As regarded the reduction of the National Debt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not be expected to do much in a year when the expenditure was estimated to be larger than the Revenue; but his proposal with respect to the funds of the Court of Chancery would make a sensible impression. One question remained —namely, as to how the balance which would accrue was to be paid to the holders of the annuities. The Budget naturally divided itself into two parts, that which was the result of the past, and that which was proposed for the future. Last year the Chancellor of the Exchequer professed to be desirous of holding the scales equally between direct and indirect taxation; but he only reduced 1*d.* in the income tax which had been imposed for the Abyssinian War, and it seemed now that, having given up £2,300,000 of sugar duty, there could be no retracing that step, except in case of great emergency, on account of interfering with the interests of trade. They ought to be grateful to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the tax which he had improvised on matches. Some time ago he (Mr. Beach) had sat upon a Committee for inquiry into the best protection against fire, and it was then proved that a great amount of property had been sacrificed annually by the careless and indiscriminate use of lucifers. He wished the fertile genius of the right hon. Gentleman could devise some other equally innocuous tax which would secure a large sum to the Revenue without imposing a burden upon the community. When a large amount had to be collected in the present day, recourse must be had to the income tax, though such a step ought much to be regretted, while no complaint ought to be made of the proposed increase on the probate duties, which had not hitherto been levied in a perfectly fair manner, particularly with regard to property held in foreign securities. He had, however, a right to complain that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in referring to the exemption of agricultural horses from taxation, seemed to indicate a will or an intention to tax them in a future year. He trusted, however, that such a step would not be taken, because that would be imposing a tax on the life-blood of the country, and check an important department of national industry.

Mr. M'LAREN protested against the opinions which had been expressed by the hon. Member for Leith (Mr. Macfie), who seemed to wish the House to give up its duty of supervising the taxation of the country. He (Mr. M'Laren) repudiated the doctrine that, as regarded Army expenditure, the House had to trust to the Executive, open their mouths, and swallow whatever was sent. Gentlemen on that side of the House had been blamed for encouraging the increased Army expenditure; but he had far more frequently heard Gentlemen of the Opposition goad on the Ministry to increase the armaments, so that the country might be adequately protected. The very small change in the succession duty on real property was hardly what could have been expected, as, notwithstanding the increase in the wealth and population of the country since 1853, this source of Revenue did not realize one-half of what was then its estimated amount. In his opinion the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not acted with his usual discrimination, or as justice required, in putting on such a small addition to this succession duty. The change in the mode of assessing the income tax involved a troublesome fractional difference. With a tax of 5½*d.* in the pound everybody would have known what he had to pay; but the proposed alteration was one of those trifling and peddling arrangements which were unworthy of being acted upon. The tax upon lucifer matches would never stand the test of investigation. It would cause much annoyance, and the little boys in the streets would defy the law, and sell matches without having stamps. Therefore they would have to provide increased accommodation at industrial schools and prisons for the boys who evaded the law. The true principle of taxation was to make every family pay according to its ability. Was there any difference between a family with £500 a-year and £1,000 a-year, or between a family with £100 and one with £1,000, in regard to the number of matches which they consumed? ["Yes!"] He maintained that there could be no practical difference, and, therefore, this tax would apply as a poll tax equally on the poor and rich. As to the reference which had been made by an hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Gilpin) to the statement of a right hon. relative of his (Mr. Bright), that no Government deserved the confidence of the country which spent £70,000,000 a-year, he would only say that any Government which continued to spend that amount would gradually lose the public confidence; and Members who helped the Government to incur that expenditure would fall under the displeasure of the great body of their constituents. The present Census would doubtless show that there were 6,500,000 families in the United Kingdom, and thus every family was called upon to pay £11 for its Government. The remarks of the hon. Member for Kincardineshire (Mr. Dyce Nicol) with reference to hawkers did not accurately represent the views of the community in that part of the country; for if any blame could attach to the Chancellor of the Exchequer or Home Secretary in the matter it was because the regulations affecting hawkers' licences were already too stringent.

Mr. BARNETT wished to point out that questions were likely to be very generally asked to-morrow morning in the City with reference to the proposed alteration in the mode of levying the income tax. He could understand a rate of £2 4*s.* per cent, and he durst say that the right hon. Gentleman might tell him that the amount per pound would be something like 5*d.* and a fraction. The question he wished to ask, however, was what coin of the realm would represent that fraction, and what course the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended to pursue with regard to the collection of the income tax, or the numerous small sums which were collected in the shape of a tax, upon coupons and other small payments which were made in the City to a great extent. There was another point to which he also desired to call the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Extreme inconvenience was caused because of there being no income tax in existence, for the Act expired on the 5th of April. Since that time, and especially on the 15th instant, documents had been presented to bankers and foreign agents from which the income tax should have been deducted. In some cases that had not been done, and in others the tax had been supposed to be payable at the same rate as before that date. He thought a great deal of heart-burning would be created by persons having to go by-and-by to the authorities at Somerset House in order to procure the deduction of the tax which may have been paid in error.

MR. DIXON said, he should confine his remarks to the subject of the Resolution before the Committee — namely, the proposed tax on lucifer matches. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had attempted to defend his proposal on the ground that the lucifer match was a dangerous article; and that argument had been echoed from the other side of the House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke of the practice of throwing matches down areas, by which fires were caused. Another common practice was that of throwing orange peel on the pavement, from which very many serious accidents resulted. If they were to introduce the new principle of taxing articles because they were dangerous, then it was high time to lay a tax on oranges. He abominated nearly everything which was sold in confectioners' shops, and on behalf of his children he would suggest that a heavy duty should be imposed upon those articles. Those articles into the composition of which gunpowder entered might be considered to be dangerous. Yet neither those things nor the gunpowder itself were taxed. He disapproved of this system of taxation, not because it formed a large part of the industry of Birmingham, but because he thought the principle involved was erroneous. He thought the proposal last year to tax guns a great mistake; and now, when another tax was to be imposed upon a very important article of industry, he feared that it might be the intention of the Government to bring about a reversal of that which had hitherto been the policy of the Liberal party and Government, by imposing a tax which would seriously interfere with our manufacturing industry. The tax on matches was a small tax, it was true; but still it amounted to 100 or 200 per cent on the value of the article. They had not received any explanation as to the manner in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to deal with matches which were exported. That trade was put down as of the value of £175,000 in the statistics of exports; and it could not be continued under this tax without a return to the obnoxious system of drawbacks. Another objection to this proposal was that the cost of the collection would be very considerable, while by increasing the income tax by 1½*d.* the necessity for this new tax would be avoided. Although the number of boxes now sold was large a considerable diminution might take place in the consumption of the article, and he thought the expectations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the amount to be raised would be disappointed. For the reasons he had given he should divide the Committee upon this Resolution.

MR. ANDERSON said, he wished to join his voice to those of the hon. Gentlemen who considered the Financial Statement they had just heard highly unsatisfactory. It was impossible for anyone who had heard the various Estimates laid before the House to have expected anything liberal from the right hon. Gentleman on this occasion; but there was one satisfaction to be derived from his statement, and that was that £600,000 of the £2,000,000 voted on credit last August on account of the war on the Continent had not been expended. He (Mr. Anderson) thought the fact of that £600,000 being left showed, in the first place, that the Vote was unnecessary, and, in the second place, that the Government had not been absolutely reckless in the use of the extraordinary powers then delegated to them. A good deal had been said about the mode of raising the income tax. He thought the change proposed by the right hon. Gentleman was not a very judicious one. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to ignore the possibility of advancing by farthings, which was very simple. He could not imagine why the Chancellor of the Exchequer had selected 2·1-5th per cent, or £2 4*s.* in the £100, which was a rate entirely unknown to mercantile men and bankers, and he doubted whether there were any interest tables calculated at that rate. Such tables always advanced by eighths, quarters or halves. He did not, however, see the great objection to a tax upon matches. The hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence) had said that matches would be dipped at both ends, and that boxes would be used over again, but these were difficulties which he had no doubt could be got over. People also could save the tax by means of a decreased consumption, which seemed to be, indeed, anticipated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because at the present rate of consumption the tax would produce £1,250,000. There was no doubt that lucifer matches were recklessly used, and in many cases with disastrous results. He thought the sooner they had some disagreeable tax the better for the country, for it might arouse the people to a sense of the iniquitous scale upon which taxation was levied. Until then they had little chance of an amelioration in that direction.

Mr. Alderman LUSK said, that the two former Budgets of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been eminently successful, and that was a considerable guarantee for the present. With respect to the income tax it would be desirable not to make all the change proposed. Let the right hon. Gentleman content himself with 5*d.* in the pound, and leave the £400,000 to Providence. He made that suggestion as a friend. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, he thought, gone on the principle of underrating our income, and, therefore, he might safely trust to 5*d.* in the pound as sufficient. He looked upon the Estimate of £72,000,000 for the present year as merely temporary. In his opinion, a great deal too much had been made of the matches. Small things were great to little-minded people. He had sat on the Committee to which the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Beach) had referred, and a great deal of evidence from England, Ireland, Scotland, and even America was brought before them, which showed that one of the principal causes of fire was the reckless use of lucifer matches. The Committee did not recommend that a tax should be put upon them because they had not the courage to do so. He was glad, however, that the right hon. Gentleman had courage enough to propose it. His hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence) talked of people carrying matches in their pockets in bundles instead of in boxes; but if they did they would be very likely to get burnt. He wanted to know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give a drawback on matches that were exported. [The Chancellor of the Exchequer assented.] He knew the great difficulty and expense that poor people were put to in proving wills, and it would be a great boon if anything could be done to simplify the operation. They had no right to find fault with the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the large amount of expenditure, because they had themselves already voted the greater part of the large Army expenditure, and it was the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to provide the money. They had already gone as far as Vote 12 in the Army Estimates, and therefore a great deal of the money required had been voted. But if Members objected so strongly to the amount, why did they not come forward at the proper time and oppose it?

Dr. LYON PLAYFAIR said, the tax upon matches which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to levy might have had a Trans-Atlantic origin in one respect, but it was fully considered in 1867 by the Select Committee of that House which reported on fires. On that occasion he (Dr. Lyon Playfair) was examined as a witness, and though much pressed by Members of that Committee, he hesitated to recommend the imposition of such a tax, as likely to interfere with an important branch of industry. Since then he had given more attention to the subject, and was now a convert to the tax. The amount of damage done by the careless use of lucifer matches was extraordinarily great. The secretary of the Sun Fire Office stated in evidence that that office lost £10,000 annually by fires from such matches, and the hon. Member for Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) had given an estimate that £30,000 worth of agricultural produce was annually consumed in England and Wales by the careless use of lucifers. The percentage of all fires in London from that cause was 1½ in

1867, but had been rapidly increasing. The manufacture, was in fact, very often carelessly carried on. No matches ought to ignite under a temperature of 120 degrees; but many of the matches which were sold took fire at 100 degrees, a temperature which might readily be reached on a chimneypiece in a kitchen during a summer day. The effect of a stamp would doubtless be to improve the quality of the manufacture, because the charge of a halfpenny for a hundred would raise the price of the box to be sold to an extent that would induce manufacturers to compete in quality as well as quantity. It would no doubt give a great stimulus to the use of boxes of safety matches, in which the phosphorus was placed with the emery on the rubbing surface, and was not on the match itself. If it did so, it would serve the cause of humanity largely. The working people who made the lower kinds of matches were subject to the most frightful diseases of the jawbones, while the phosphorus used in the safety matches was not poisonous in any way. He believed, then, that the stamp, while it would bring revenue to the Exchequer, would only limit the profligate and careless use of lucifers. The hundredth part of a halfpenny was a small tax on the means of getting an instantaneous light. He was old enough to recollect when the first friction match was introduced in 1832. Before that, lights were obtained by dipping matches into oil of vitriol, which was projected, and burnt their clothes, and after that they pulled off the heads of half a boxful by the sand-paper before they got an explosive light, that sent melted matter over them in like manner. Now they had such facilities for obtaining lights that they scarcely realized the importance of the progress in that branch of applied chemistry. If he thought that the tax would be seriously injurious to the manufacture, he would oppose, not support it. But it was because he believed it would improve the quality of the manufacture by rendering less common the use of poisonous materials, and would thus promote the health of the makers of matches; and though it might lessen the careless and profligate use of lucifers, it would not sensibly raise difficulties in their use for legitimate purposes, so that he was not much grieved that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had imposed upon them this moderate duty. Undoubtedly any tax on a manufacture was objectionable in theory; but this one in practice would produce the minimum of evil. Hon. Gentlemen had objected to it because the poor as well as the rich would have to pay it. He was sure that the objection ought not to come from the working classes; while we, with better incomes, did not object to an increased income tax to secure the safety of the country, the poorer men should not grudge the mite asked from them by this increase in indirect taxation; for they, as well as ourselves, benefited by the augmented security which our larger expenditure was intended to afford.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he was not surprised at the discussion which had taken place. He knew what means a Chancellor of the Exchequer possessed of obtaining information for the production of Estimates, and he should be very unwilling to throw any doubt on the Estimates which the right hon. Gentleman had made. At the same time he thought he might have given some explanation of the motives which led him to make his estimate of income at a lower figure, because all the causes in operation last year, which brought out the result of a large increase of actual receipts over Estimates, were still in existence. There was still great activity in trade; there was still a great number of strangers in this country as compared with former years. Moreover, it should be recollected that the excess of receipts over Estimates arose during the last year when the agricultural prosperity of the season was interfered with by an extraordinarily dry summer. If there should be anything like an average harvest in the coming summer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have taken a more sanguine view, and have estimated his receipts very much higher than he had done. He thought with the hon. Alderman (Mr. Alderman Lusk) that the right hon. Gentleman might have taken an additional penny and saved himself the trouble which would be involved in the levying of the new taxes. There would be a general dislike to the increase of the succession duty, and it would be evaded to a large extent. If parents and children were on a good understanding, the parents could easily in their lifetime give their children a lump sum as an allowance. He was aware of innumerable instances of the succession duty having been evaded in that way. If the right hon. Gentleman had been content with the lower duty he had no doubt but that evasion would be obviated. Then as to the reduction of the cost of the Revenue Departments, the Civil Service Estimates had, nevertheless, greatly increased, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given reasons for the increase. In former years when an increase took place, it arose from the desire of the House and the country to improve the administration, and the late Government was told that if an increase was necessary on one side, economies ought to be effected on the other. That principle must be given up now when they saw the Civil Service Estimates were increasing year by year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House that he had made a reduction in the cost of the Revenue Departments, and he made allusion to a matter which had excited a great deal of interest in the House and the country—namely, the complaint which had been made for many years by the clerks of the Custom House because of inadequate remuneration. The right hon. Gentleman stated that this was being inquired into by the Government, and economies had been effected which would more than countervail the increased charge of carrying the Report thereon into effect. He (Mr. Sclater-Booth) thought the right hon. Gentleman would find in the Report relating to the clerks, submitted to the late Board of Treasury, that the economies now in progress had been originally suggested as a set-off against the charges therein recommended.

Mr. M'LAGAN said, his object in rising was to support the statement made by his hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury (Mr. Alderman Lusk). He had the honour of being the Chairman of the Committee that inquired in 1867 into the causes of fires, and no subject was pressed more seriously on the Committee than the desirableness of putting a tax on lucifer matches, with a view of preventing a negligent use of them, and thus diminishing the number of fires. In addition to the £30,000 worth of agricultural produce yearly destroyed by the careless use of lucifer matches, as mentioned by the hon. Member (Dr. Lyon Playfair), within the last four years there had been an increase in the number of fires in London from 1½ per cent to 2½ per cent, owing entirely to the careless use of lucifer matches. A fact also stated before the Committee was that the Watch Committee in Liverpool placed two policemen to prevent the lighting of pipes and matches on the part of the men employed in the cotton warehouses, the consequence being a very material diminution in the number of fires. He (Mr. M'Lagan) was quite certain that the tax would be followed by an improvement in the quality of matches, and bring about a more careful use of them. Hon. Gentlemen who objected to the taxing of the match trade should recollect that, if a tax were laid on agricultural horses, that far more important industry, agriculture, would be severely taxed.

Mr. A. EGERTON stated, with reference to the succession duty, that the present 3 per cent duty fell with extreme weight on real property, amounting in some cases to the whole of the first year's income derivable from the estate. He strongly objected, therefore, to the present scale of 3 per cent; and, of course, if it were raised, as now proposed, to 3½ per cent, its oppressive incidence would be proportionately aggravated.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER thanked the Committee for the numerous and valuable suggestions that had been made in connection with the proposals he had had the honour of submitting to the House, and hoped they would not expect him to reply to all, or even any great part of them. He had already occupied so much of their time by his Statement that he would not be justified in detaining them more than a few moments. He would only answer the questions that had been put to him as far as he was able. The hon. Member for Kincardineshire (Mr. Dyce Nicol) had asked him whether it was his intention to impose any new tax upon hawkers. Perhaps hawkers required much keeping in order and greater police regulation; but they were poor, and made their bread by a very laborious occupation, and he did not think they were proper subjects of further taxation, and he should not be a party to any such proposition. The hon. Member for London (Mr. Crawford) had spoken of the inconvenience that would be occasioned by assessing the income tax by a percentage instead of by so much in the pound, and, as he had understood him, said people would prefer paying an extra penny to that alteration. That extra penny would mean the payment of £1,100,000. [MR. CRAWFORD said the right hon. Gentleman had quite misunderstood him.] He would not pursue that point further; but hon. Gentlemen had made various suggestions. One hon. Member (Mr. Alderman Lusk) recommended a *5d.* income tax; but a *5d.* income tax would only produce £7,625,000; whereas he wanted £8,050,000, so that he would be short by a good deal over £400,000. Then another hon. Gentleman (Mr. M'Laren) wished to make the tax 5½*d.*; but by that he should get £8,387,000, instead of the £8,050,000, or upwards of £300,000 more than he wanted. He quite admitted that any change of that kind was indefensible unless it was for the ease of the taxpayer; but he could not agree with hon. Gentlemen in thinking it so very light a matter whether the people paid £300,000 more than was wanted. That way of looking at these things would justify any amount of grinding of the taxpayers. He was anxious not to put upon them a penny more than he could help; and it was only because the plan of a percentage limited the tax exactly to what was required that he had proposed it. He had been asked a question with regard to the payment of the income tax on dividends becoming due in April. He understood that by law as much of the tax as became due in the financial year must be paid in that year; but as to the rest there might be a doubt on the point. That was an objection which always arose every year, from the fact that the House had hitherto insisted on the income tax being an annual one; and he thought it would be a great improvement if the House would consent to its being made a permanent tax, and re-cast. ["No!"] If that were done, the amount could still be varied from time to time by a schedule, as the exigencies of the case required. Unless that were done he was afraid it would be impossible to remedy the inconveniences that had been mentioned. Then he had been asked how the tax could be paid according to a percentage in every case by any coin of the realm. The rule for collecting the income tax was to take it with as great precision as they could, and if there was any slight difference, to give the taxpayer the benefit of it. The same rule would be followed in levying the tax by a percentage. He hoped the House would not decide against that proposal, because if it did it would inevitably oblige the Government to put more taxation upon the people than they desired. He had consulted those who had experience in such matters, and found that there would really be no more inconvenience under that arrangement than there was at present. He hoped the Committee would allow him to take the Resolution on the question of matches that night. He had altered the date to the 10th of May instead of the 1st of June, because the latter seemed too late a day, and if the 10th of May should be found too early it would be easy to alter it again in the Bill. They intended to give a drawback, and of course the same duty would be charged on the imported as on the home manufactured article. He proposed to fix Monday next for the discussion of the other and more important Resolutions, if that would suit the convenience of the House; and they would endeavour to report the Resolution tomorrow, in order that the Bill might be brought in.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON said, he thought the House ought to understand whether the Army Regulation Bill was to come on or not on Monday, the day for which it had stood fixed for a long time.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER could only say, in the absence of his right hon. Friend, that he had been informed by the higher powers that he was to fix the Budget Resolutions as the first business for Monday.

MR. J. B. SMITH reminded the right hon. Gentleman that he had omitted to say anything about the sugar Returns.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he was sorry if his hon. Friend had been annoyed by the non-production of those Returns; but he could assure him the fault was not his. He hoped they would soon be forthcoming.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 201; Noes 44: Majority 157.

On Motion, that the Resolution be reported, Sir JAMES ELPHINSTONE said, he was the last man to offer any opinion on financial matters, because they were out of his way. But there was one point in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement to which he wished to refer. It appeared that the Government now intended to surround the country with gunboats for the purposes of defence. For the last 14 years he had urged that policy of an inner line of defence upon the country, and he was glad to find that the Government had come to that determination. On that point he should support the Government; but beyond that he wished to remind the right hon. Gentleman that he had got the Colonies to defend.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

PRAYER BOOK (TABLES OF LESSONS) BILL—[Bill 78.]

[*Lords.*] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Mr. LOCKE KING expressed his objection to proceeding with the Bill at that hour of the night.

Mr. J. D. LEWIS, who had given notice of his intention to move,

> "That, in the opinion of this House, no change in the law with regard to the reading of Holy Scripture in the Church of England is desirable which withholds from the officiating clergyman the power of reading such portions of the Old and New Testament at morning and evening prayer as to him may seem most desirable,"

said, he thought the time had come when there ought to be a solemn protest entered by the House against this kind of legislation. Last year they had no less than 19 Bills dealing more or less with the Established Church of England. He did not know how many there were this year, for he had not counted them; but the House would remember, with apprehension, the letter which the Archbishop of Canterbury had written early in the Session to the Bishop of London, in which they were threatened with seven ecclesiastical measures: and, besides these, they had a number of private ventures, such as the Bill of the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Viscount Sandon) for turning the Church of England into a kind of congregational Body, or, as he should prefer to style it, "pouring old wine into new bottles." Now, all this legislation concerned only about one-third of the people of this country—the remaining two-thirds being contented to carry on their improvements or alterations in respect to their churches without appealing to this House. But from the anomalous position of the Church of England it appeared it could not go on without coming to Parliament. He suggested that the Tables of Lessons should be permissive. The preface to the second part of the Homilies in 1563 allowed a discretion to the officiating clergyman, and it was not until 120 years after the Reformation that the clergyman was bound by an iron hand to read fixed lessons. The liberty he asked for those clergymen was conceded to the ministers of all Dissenting sects; to the ministers of the Established Church of Scotland and the Free Kirk. The objection to his Motion was centred in this feeling—namely, that the clergy of the Established Church were not to be trusted. Surely that was a strange argument to come from their professed friends, and stranger still that there should be an objection to a clergyman making his choice out of a book every atom of which was, according to the view prevalent in that House and out of it, divinely inspired: so that whatever his choice might be, he could not read anything which was not directly from God; and yet that that same clergyman should be allowed to get into the pulpit and preach for an hour, it might be, almost any doctrine, High Church, Low Church, or Broad Church that came into his head. He might deny every miracle in the Bible, except three or four which were accidentally mentioned in the Articles. Surely, compared with this, the danger of a clergyman making a bad selection from the Bible was small. It was sometimes said that the sermon was booked to the clergyman and the services to the people; but what about the hymns? He had a pile of such books; but they contained Romish rather than Church of England doctrines. It was further said that the object of fixing these lessons was that the Bible should be read through publicly before the people; but the Bill would not effect that general rule, because the people did not regularly attend church every day; and therefore to effect that object they should have a kind of circulating Table, extending over a period of seven years. In the time of Edward VI., and for years afterwards, it was highly important that the Bible should be publicly read, because the people had not the opportunity, and could not read it elsewhere. He hoped the House would accede to his Motion which he had much pleasure in moving.

Mr. RYLANDS seconded the Amendment. He agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman that no Bill or arrangement could be satisfactory on this subject that did not give the officiating clergyman the discretion it was proposed to confer on him. The great and constant difficulty in the way of any alteration and improvement in the Church of England, arose from the fact of its being an Act of Parliament Church. The greater question which overrode all legislation respecting the Church was, whether it was desirable to maintain its connection with the State, or to give her that freedom of action that was enjoyed by other religious Bodies which was essential to the existence and usefulness of any religious Body. It was high time that this kind of legislation should be got rid of.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, no change in the Law with regard to the reading of Holy Scripture in the Church of England is desirable which withholds from the officiating clergyman the power of reading such portions of the Old and New Testament at Morning and Evening Prayer as to him may seem most suitable,"—(*Mr. J. D. Lewis,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. BRUCE said, he was sorry his hon. and learned Friend had moved that Amendment, because he could have raised the question in Committee without retarding the Bill in its present stage. The Bill was the result of the deliberations of those who had been intrusted with the consideration of the question, and who had come in respect to it to an unanimous conclusion. Deeply as the members of the Church were attached to the old Tables of Lessons, and hallowed as they were from their being in use from the earliest times, there was a general impression that they might be improved, and this Bill was to give effect to that feeling. He did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman represented by his Motion the wishes of the clergy or the laity on the subject, because he believed they infinitely preferred to know what particular lesson was to be read every day; and though the practice of reading through parts of the Bible once every year might be an antiquated one, it fell in very well with the habits of thousands and tens of thousands of the people. Many of them might not go to church on week days; but they regularly read the daily lessons, and on Sundays, when they attended church, the lessons supplemented that course of reading. Nothing would be more offensive to the great body of the members of the Church of England than the adoption of the Motion, and the clergy did not ask for that liberty which it was said was possessed by their Nonconformist brethren.

Mr. BUXTON said, he quite agreed in what had fallen from his right hon. Friend as to the Motion being distasteful to the clergy and laity of the Church of England; but he thought they ought not to pass this Bill without its being perfectly understood that they were not afterwards to be told there was nothing more to be done to remove those difficulties which were most seriously felt by many members of the Church. He should be prepared to vote for the Motion of his hon. Friend and Colleague (Mr. Locke King) if he proposed it—namely—

"That it is not expedient to proceed further with the Bill until the contemplated alterations in the Prayer Book are matured, and until the subject can be dealt with in a comprehensive and complete manner."

There were many lessons in the Prayer Book which caused annoyance in the minds of Churchmen. The Commission consisted of 28 men, many of whom were highly distinguished; they sat for three years, and after deep study they recommended the adoption of these lessons. There were a few other questions referred to them on which they pronounced no decision. One of them related to the power vested in the clergyman of refusing to read the Burial Service over persons who died unbaptized. Another question, and the most important of all, related to the use of the Athanasian Creed. There were many

Churchmen who approved of the Athanasian Creed. There were others who thought it decidedly objectionable. There were many men belonging to the Church of England who looked on this Creed with feelings he would hardly venture to describe, who did not believe in that portion of it which consigned to everlasting torments those who did not believe in its teaching. The dogma was looked upon as obsolete, and it was most important that clergymen should be allowed to omit it. We ought to make the Church as comprehensive as possible, and he thought the difficulty would be met by substituting in the Rubric the word "may" for the word "shall."

Mr. SPEAKER doubted whether so wide a field of subject ought to be introduced in a discussion on a Bill for a limited object.

Mr. MONK asked the hon. and learned Member for Devonport (Mr. J. D. Lewis) to withdraw his Motion, in order that the hon. Member for East Surrey (Mr. Locke King) might move his Amendment, which had already been alluded to. If his hon. and learned Friend had confined his Motion to allowing the clergy of the Church of England to use either the Lessons in the Lectionary, or those prescribed in the Act of Uniformity, he (Mr. Monk) would have supported him. For he thought it would be monstrous to make it a penal offence for a clergyman to use after January, 1873, the lessons now allowed by the Church of England. If the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Devonport were withdrawn, the hon. Member for East Surrey might take a Division on his Amendment, which otherwise he would not be able to do.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he thought it would have been more convenient if the proposal of his hon. and learned Friend had been made in Committee; but as the question had been raised and discussed he hoped it would be disposed of. With respect to the Motion itself, he really wished to call the attention of his hon. and learned Friend to the position of the Government in regard to Bills of this class, having been charged with them and responsible for them. They were not introducing measures simply concocted in their own brain, adopted to their own view, and laid before the House on their own credit and authority; and he thought the House, when they considered the general state of Public Business—that the Government were overcharged with measures of deep importance, admitted to be legitimately within the desires of the House, and also most pressing in their urgency—when they had more measures of this kind before the House than they could get through in the Session, they would see that the course they must pursue with regard to Bills of that character was of a very narrow discretion, and that they would not be justified in submitting to the House any measures unless they were simple in character, were armed with the consent of persons in authority in the Church, or expect those measures to be passed without prolonged debate. Therefore, it was impossible, on this Amendment, to go into a discussion which affected the very foundation on which the Church of England had proceeded for centuries. His hon. and learned Friend asked them to give what was not desired by the laity; for he had not said that a single layman was anxious for it. He had got one clergyman who was favourable to his Motion, and that clergyman must be a Phœnix among the body. He was only sorry so distinguished a man should have a perfect monopoly of such laudable liberality. But it should be considered that it was not so much in their own opinion that they stood as on a general concurrence—first, of the Commissioners; secondly, of the House of Lords; thirdly, of the clergy assembled together, who were certainly entitled to be heard on the matter, and in the general concurrence of the public, who saw what a great improvement it was in their power to make, and which, if they were disposed to make it, they must keep detached from those grounds which would lead to endless debate. If the several propositions of his hon. Friend, delivered in a speech of ten minutes, were to be considered, they would require ten weeks to be disposed of. He said—"Don't let us be understood that by passing this Bill we are to be committed to the principle that we have washed our hands of the whole affair." Well, there was no such pledge implied or expressed that could fasten on him, and the Government would not consider themselves pledged to support other measures which the Commission were of opinion ought to be carried, unless there was such a concurrence of opinion in their favour as would warrant the expectation of their being carried. He trusted, therefore, that the Government would be supported on that occasion in their effort—which was a very humble one.

Mr. DIXON said, that the right hon. Gentleman had misunderstood what had fallen from his hon. and learned Friend. He (Mr. Dixon) was a layman of the Church of England, and he supported the Resolution, so that the observation of the right hon. Gentleman was not justified on that point. Liberty to the clergyman to a selection of lessons was all that was desired, and if such points were brought before the House it was right that they should arrive at a decision on the subject.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that many clergymen of the Church of England agreed in the opinion as much as any man of the incongruity of deciding in the House such a question as this. He could not support the Amendment. A great objection to the Bill as it now stood was that it fettered the hands of the clergy as they had never been fettered before, and it was exceedingly hard to make it penal in a clergyman if he did not exactly carry out the Table of Lessons fixed in the Bill. He should like to see the provisions of the Bill made more elastic.

Mr. T. HUGHES said he would vote against the Amendment. He thought that the Church of England was by far the broadest Church of all. There were in that Church clergymen of many different beliefs, and the consequence was that the congregations required a lectionary, and they had a right to choose their own service, and not leave it to the discretion of the clergyman.

Mr. CANDLISH said, he did not know what Dissenters had to do with the lessons to be read in the Church of England. Neither could he understand why such a measure was introduced into the House of Commons. The Established Church ought to be disestablished and disendowed.

Mr. GATHORNE HARDY said, that the clergy of the Church of England were not the Church, and that it ought not to be left to them to decide what its services ought to be. He had heard a distinguished Nonconformist minister compare a set form of prayer to ready-made clothes, meant to fit everybody and fitting nobody; but that minister's phraseology *in extempore* prayer grated upon his ears and confirmed him in his preference for the ready-made clothes. To show the spirit in which the House of Commons dealt with the question in 1662, he quoted an entry from the Journal—

> "Whether debate shall be admitted to the Amendments made by the Convocation to the Book of Common Prayer and sent down by the Lords to this House if passed in the negative. The Question being put that the Amendments made by the Convocation and sent down by the Lords might, by order of this House, have been debated, it was resolved in the affirmative."

This showed that the House was content to assert its right to discuss, and then pass to the amended Book of Common Prayer as received from Convocation without discussion. In this case both Convocations had approved of what was proposed, and how could any right of any Dissenters be invalidated by their following the precedent of 1662, and sanctioning without discussion a change in the internal services of the Church? If he were in the place of hon. Members opposite, non-members of the Church, he should feel it to be his duty to withdraw from such a discussion as this and leave it to be settled by those who were really interested in it.

Mr. T. E. SMITH objected to the Amendment as a member of the Church of England, because he objected most strongly to putting any further power into the hands of the ministers of that Church which might be exercised in a very dangerous fashion—for instance, a case might occur where, if the parson had a quarrel with the squire about tithes, he might be continually reading lessons about Ananias and Sapphira—and because, though he thought it unfortunate that there should be the present connection between Church and State, still, so long as the connection did exist this House ought not to abrogate its functions in exercising a sufficient and salutory control in every building where the services of the Church of England were celebrated.

Mr. Alderman LUSK said, he thought the House of Commons, which was composed of believers and unbelievers, should not attempt to lay down rules as to how people were to worship God. The House of Commons was not the Church of England, and it ought not to fix the Scripture lessons to be read by that community on Sundays. Real religion could not be treated by Act of Parliament.

Mr. WHITE supported the Amendment, on the ground that as State funds had been appropriated for educational purposes, and as the teachers in the State-aided schools were allowed to select such portions of the Scriptures to be read as they choose, the same liberty ought also to be accorded to the ministers of the Church of England.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 195; Noes 41: Majority 154.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday* 4th May.

METROPOLIS WATER BILL—[Bill 40.]

(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Bruce.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. BRUCE said, that at that hour he did not propose to proceed with the second reading.

Mr. COLLINS protested against the delay which had occurred. The Bill should either be proceeded with at once or withdrawn.

Mr. HARVEY LEWIS also urged that the Bill should be proceeded with, or at once referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. BRUCE said, he was quite willing that it should be referred to a Select Committee; but he hoped there would soon be an opportunity for a short previous discussion.

Dr. LYON PLAYFAIR hoped that the Government would take this important Bill at an hour which would render discussion possible. Several nights had been spent in the discussion of the abolition of Army purchase, because the sum of £8,000,000 was large and affected some hundred officers. Well, this Bill would cost the ratepayers of London £11,000,000, and affected the health and social habits of 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 of people—of a population, in fact, as large as that of many nations. The Government might surely find an hour earlier than midnight for such an important measure.

Mr. CRAUFURD said, it was rumoured that the Bill was to be materially altered. He wished to know what the Government meant to propose?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, it was true that some alterations had been made; but the securing an adequate supply of water was still aimed at, and though the compulsory power of purchase was given up, the permissive power was retained.

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 21*st April*, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Second Reading—Committee Negatived—Third Reading*—Marine Mutiny*, and *passed.*
Report—County Property* (35).
Third Reading—Mutiny*, and *passed.*

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate—

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, to Monday next, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 21*st April*, 1871.

MINUTES.]—New Writ Issued—*For* Durham City, *v.* Right hon. John Robert Davison, deceased.
Ways and Means—*considered in Committee—Resolution* [April 20] *reported*—Match Tax.
Public Bills — *Ordered — First Reading* — Matches* [116]; Dogs* [114]; Local Government Supplemental (No. 2)* [115].
Second Reading—Public Health (Scotland) Act (1867) Amendment* [92].
Committee—Pauper Inmates Discharge and Regulation [70]—r.p.
Committee—Report—Considered as amended—Citation Amendment (Scotland) (*re-comm.*)* [89].
Third Reading — Charters (Colleges)* [97]; Anatomy Act (1832) Amendment* [110], and *passed.*

ARMY—VOLUNTEER OFFICERS.

QUESTION.

Mr. CHARLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is willing to advise Her Majesty to recognize the position of Volunteer Officers by extending to them, if otherwise eligible, the privilege of being presented at Court on promotion, at present enjoyed by officers of the Army and of the Militia?

Mr. CARDWELL said, in reply, that the privilege of presentation at the Queen's Court did not fall within his province, but depended on Her Majesty's commands expressed to the Lord Chamberlain.

ARMY—ROYAL SUSSEX MILITIA—THE SMALL POX.—QUESTION.

Major DICKSON (for Major Walker) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the case that small-pox is now prevalent in the town of Chichester; whether the Royal Sussex Militia is about to assemble there for training; whether, owing to the insufficiency of the barrack accommodation, a considerable portion of the men must be billeted in the town; and, whether it would not be better, under the circumstances, to move the Regiment to Aldershot Camp?

Mr. CARDWELL said, in reply, that he was not prepared to say that the small-pox was prevalent in Chichester, though there had been some cases; and the best mode of dealing with the Militia was now the subject of a Correspondence between the War Office and the Lord Lieutenant of that county.

NAVY—SHIPS' BOOKS AND ACCOUNTS.

QUESTION.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he will lay on the Table of the House the Report of the Committee on Ships' Books and Accounts? He also wished to know when the Navy Estimates will be brought on?

Mr. GOSCHEN, in reply, said, the Report in question was a lengthy document upon a very technical subject, and, though important to the naval profession, it would not be read by 15 or 20 Members of that House. Therefore, he did not intend to go to the expense of printing it; but any hon. Member would be afforded the opportunity of referring to it. He was not prepared at present to state when the Navy Estimates would be taken.

ARMY REGULATION BILL—THE MILITIA.—QUESTION

Mr. STACPOOLE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the event of all power over the Militia being transferred from Lieutenants of Counties to the Crown, as proposed in the Army Regulation Bill, the Crown will also bear all expenses connected with that Force now paid out of the rates of counties?

Mr. CARDWELL replied that there was no proposal to transfer to the Crown the expenses which now fell on the county rates.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT—NEW SCHOOLS.—QUESTION.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether, considering the widespread inconvenience which is being felt throughout the country by the delay on the part of the Education Department in approving plans for new schools, he proposes to avail himself of additional professional assistance in their examination?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, in reply, that they had taken powers to obtain assistance in examining plans for new schools; but he must inform the hon. Member that the delay, which was so much to be regretted, was not owing to arrears in the architect's department. He had ascertained that no delay was caused by that fact. Undoubtedly, there was delay in giving answers to many of the applicants, which he deeply regretted; but there was a much greater number of applications than there had ever been before, and the increase came at a time when all other business had increased in the same proportion. They had obtained a good deal of additional assistance, and they were working as hard as they could. They had, indeed, got—or were getting—as many persons to work as could be really employed to expedite the business. He must appeal to those interested to bear in mind that all kinds of work in that department had lately greatly increased.

ARMY — ROYAL CORNWALL RANGERS MILITIA—COLONEL EDGCUMBE.

QUESTION.

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has taken the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown on the question whether Colonel Edgcumbe is not the duly appointed Commanding Officer of the Royal Cornwall Rangers Militia; and, whether it is his intention to take any further steps with respect to that command?

Mr. CARDWELL said, in reply, that he had not thought it necessary to take the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown on the subject referred to; and with regard to taking any further steps with respect to the command of the Royal Cornwall Rangers Militia, he awaited the recommendation from the Lord Lieutenant before doing so.

NAVY—COAST GUARD.—QUESTION.

Viscount MAHON asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is his intention to inquire into the cases of the compulsory retired officers of Her Majesty's Coast Guard, in compliance with a pledge given to that effect by the late First Lord?

Mr. GOSCHEN said, in reply, that he had been anxious to find these gentlemen employment according to the pledge that they should, if possible, be employed as time and opportunity might arise. He had not been, so far in finding employment for them, successful, and he was afraid he should only be encouraging false hopes if he were to say that there was any great prospect of the Admiralty being able to avail itself of the services of these gentlemen. Should, however, the opportunity present itself, the Admiralty would embrace it with the greatest pleasure.

IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN CATTLE.

QUESTION.

Mr. CARTER asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, seeing that the Orders at present in force respecting the importation of Foreign Cattle are seriously affecting the supply of meat to the northern and midland towns, he is in a position so to modify these Orders as to give the necessary relief?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, in reply, that the Question enabled him to explain the nature of an Order in Council which would appear in *The Gazette* that night. Though fully aware of the great disadvantage to the food trade of the country arising from restrictions on the importation of cattle, the Government were not slow to impose them, when necessary. They had also felt it to be their duty to watch for any change of circumstances from time to time, so as to be ready to relax the restrictions at the very first moment it might be in their power to do so, and they now felt themselves able to relax the restrictions in two respects. In the first place, in consequence of the cattle plague following the French and German Armies, first into Germany, and then into France, and spreading to Belgium, they had thought it desirable to put the importation of German cattle under greater restrictions than before the war; but now, as they found that, owing to the admirable administrative ability of the Germans, the cattle plague had been got rid of in Germany, the cattle coming from that country were put in the same position as before the war, and on arriving in the port of London would be able to go to the Islington market. The Government, however, found it impossible to withdraw the restrictions with regard to importations from France and Belgium. Another relaxation of some importance had been made. Holland had been taken out of the scheduled countries and put in the same position as Norway and Sweden, and cattle from Holland would be allowed to come in without restriction. In Holland no case of cattle plague had occurred for the last three years; and, in addition to that, since the 1st of January this year a law had been in force prohibiting the importation of cattle into Holland. Consequently, Holland was not only safe in itself, but preserved from danger by not allowing those cattle to be imported which were especially feared from the Steppes countries, where the cattle plague prevailed. But, notwithstanding this, they had not thought it right to remove the restriction upon cattle from Holland until they were also assured by the Dutch Government that no change would be made in their restrictions without previously informing Her Majesty's Government.

ARMY—CADETS AT SANDHURST.

QUESTION.

MR. DICKINSON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Sandhurst may be shortly, and when, expected to be again open for gentlemen cadets?

MR. CARDWELL said, in reply, that Sandhurst was at present occupied by gentlemen who had passed their examination, and were waiting for commissions. The result of the experiment, so far as it was yet known to him, was in the highest degree satisfactory, and it was under consideration whether in future cadets should be appointed to Sandhurst, or whether, as was the case in Prussia, they should be appointed, first to regiments, and afterwards undergo a course at Sandhurst.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

QUESTION.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he will now fulfil the promise he made at an early period of the Session to bring in the Clauses of the Merchant Shipping Bill, which relate to the safety of life and property at sea, as a separate measure, in the event of the state of Public Business making it unlikely that there will be time for the proper discussion of the whole of that Bill?

MR. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE said, he could assure the right hon. Baronet that he had not forgotten the pledge he had given to the House on the occasion referred to; but he was still in hopes he might be enabled to proceed with the whole Bill. Certainly that period of the Session had not yet arrived which would make it necessary for him to separate the clauses relating to the safety of life and property at sea from the general Bill.

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

DECLARATION OF PARIS, 1856.

RESOLUTION.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK, in rising to call attention to "the Declaration of Paris, 1856," and to move a Resolution, said, that nearly four years had elapsed since the Declaration of Paris and the matters connected with it had been discussed in that House, but he did not believe that this was to be attributed in any way to want of interest in it, so much as to the state of quiescence as to all foreign affairs which had prevailed during the last two Sessions, and down to the time when the great European War broke out some months ago; and this statement would be sufficiently established by reference to a Petition that he had presented, and which emanated from the most important commercial centres in the kingdom. The questions involved in the Declaration of Paris were, in his estimation, of such paramount importance that he had placed on the Paper a somewhat similar Notice to the present, on the very first night of the Session, and it was only owing to accident, and no fault of his that he had not been able to bring it forward at an earlier period. He did his best to bring it on upon the 10th of March, when a stormy discussion, which ensued at an early hour, wrung from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) the opinion that this was a matter which might well stand over for some time. He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) did not agree in that opinion; but, nevertheless, he was not sorry at the delay which had occurred, because he hoped to be able to point out to the Government the means by which some of the objections made to the Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be obviated, by showing how the defence of the country might be adequately provided for without the vast expenditure which he contemplated. First, the proposition which he made consisted of two points: he asked the House to express an opinion in favour of restoring the right of privateering; and, secondly, the Right of Search, both in their full effect. The Right of Search ought more properly to be called the right of seizure, for we defined it in this way—that it was the right to seize and confiscate enemies' goods at sea. This was a right which was inherent from the state of war itself, and had never been canvassed in operations on land. The Right of Search and Seizure had been maintained by England at all times. The great statesmen of the last century—Pitt, Fox, and Grenville—maintained it in full force, and every other great man of that day did the same thing; and at the same time, he might mention many instances in which this right had availed this country in its contests, and he would mention two. The first was the celebrated case of the "Armed Neutrality" in 1870, when England was at war with France and Spain, as well as with her own Colonies. The combined forces against her maintained that enemies' goods were safe under a neutral flag; but England resisted the adoption of that principle, and by her continuing the right of seizure, that formidable combination crumbled to pieces. Again, in 1800, there was what was called "The Armed Confederacy," in which Russia, Sweden, Denmark, France, and Spain took part. England again resisted the combination, and the British Minister at Copenhagen said that the right of visiting and examining on the open sea merchant vessels was regarded by the British Government as the unquestionable right of every nation at war, founded upon the law of nations, and generally admitted and acknowledged. On the 14th February, 1801, the British Government laid a general embargo on foreign vessels, letters of marque were issued, and in six months this second formidable combination disappeared. With reference to this, he had discovered a remarkable passage, written by Lord Nelson, in a despatch dated the 4th April, 1804, after the Battle of Copenhagen. The despatch was written to Mr. Addington, and the writer made use of this expression—he said that he had had a conversation with the Crown Prince of Denmark, and expressed himself to the Prince as followed:—

> "Suppose that England, which she never will, should consent to this freedom and nonsense of navigation, the result would be ruinous to Denmark, and the Baltic would soon change its name to that of the Russian Sea."

So matters remained till 1854, when, on the outbreak of the Russian War, "this freedom and nonsense of navigation," as Nelson called it, took possession of the British Government, and an Order in Council was issued, by which it was stated that Her Majesty would waive the right of seizing enemies' property laden on board neutral vessels, except contraband of war. He did not propose to discuss the reasons of that Order in Council; but he might observe that some attributed it to the influence of the Peace party, others to the fear of what course America might take, and others said that it was issued at the special request of France. Now, in passing, he might observe, that this Motion was in no respect one of a party character, and he should expect the support of some hon. Members sitting on the Liberal side of the House; and for his purpose, it was quite sufficient that the Order in Council operated to the disadvantage of this country, because the result was that the commerce of Russia went on and was in no way seriously diminished or injured. In order to support that proposition, which had been controverted, he should cite three Gentlemen of the highest authority who at present had seats in the House. On the 20th of February, 1855, the present Attorney General, then Mr. Collier, made a Motion in that House, which was virtually a condemnation of this very policy of Her Majesty's Government, and in a very able and persuasive speech said—

> "It was said, truly, that we were not a great Military Power, and that the country had not a great standing Army, but that we had fleets which, if they could not destroy the forts and fleets of Russia, could at least blockade every port that power possessed. It was, therefore, anticipated,"

said his hon. and learned Friend, when urging his Motion, condemnatory of the policy which was afterwards embodied in the Declaration of Paris,

> "from that blockade that the commerce and wealth of Russia would be so crippled that it would be impossible for the Emperor to continue the war for any lengthened period. . . . That our efforts had not met with the desired result was certain; but, indeed, the reverse. So far from our having blockaded the principal ports, the exports from that Empire had been greater than ever."—[3 *Hansard*, cxxxvi. 1660-61.]

These remarks were seconded by his hon. Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr. Mitchell), who, in the same debate, said —"I believe there is no man acquainted with Russia, who would not be of opinion that the greatest means of coercion which could be used against Russia would be the closing of her ports and the stopping of her export trade; and that the best means of hostility against Russia at the beginning of the war would have been to take steps to stop the whole of the export trade of that country." But that was not all. There was another great Russian authority, the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Weguelin), who, on his election, said that he had waited with a deputation of 30 or 40 merchants engaged in the shipping trade with Russia upon Lord Clarendon, who stated that he was satisfied with the correctness of the reasons which the deputation had furnished, but that the Government could not possibly take on themselves to quarrel with Russia—they could not afford to go to war with Russia. Well, then, after all, the result was we went to war with Russia as a military nation. We did not injure their ships at all, and we had to make a disgraceful peace. As soon as the French were exhausted, we were compelled to close the war, with Sebastopol only half taken, and we were obliged to accept Russian assistance in the re-embarkation of our troops. The next step in this case was, that which was done at the Congress of Paris in 1856. He did not wish to dilate on the sad, perhaps dismal, page of history in which the proceedings of that Congress were written, neither would he wish for one moment to cast a stain upon the reputation of the venerable Mr. Cobden, or the reputation of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), whose absence from the House they all regretted. He regarded Mr. Cobden and the right hon. Member for Birmingham as honest men, only both of them were rather misguided; for instance, it was believed that after 1846, war was impossible, and Mr. Cobden again and again urged that policy on the Government of the day. On the subject of this Declaration of Paris, as it was called, he (Mr. C. Bentinck) would ask the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government and his Government to rescind it. He had to point out as one of the reasons for this being done that, in the opinion of the highest authorities, it had not been a legal proceeding; it was not a treaty, and it should not have been printed as a treaty; it was never ratified, and was never brought before Parliament at all. On 8th April, 1856, Count Walewski, in giving reasons for the adoption of the Declaration, proposed in the second Protocol, that the Congress should conclude its work by an arrangement which, he said, would constitute an advance on International Law, and then he enumerated four propositions, and wound up his proposal by saying that the adoption of his four propositions would be the attainment of a result to which none of them would be indifferent. Count Walewski, as a ground for adopting this Declaration, urged that the Congress of Vienna had sanctioned the abolition of the slave trade and the freedom of rivers; but the abolition of the slave trade was made under circumstances totally different, and the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government would see that there was no analogy whatever to be drawn from the precedent. He would next state to the House the opinion of the late Lord Derby when this Declaration came to be known and discussed in "another place." Lord Derby expressed himself in the strongest terms of condemnation on the subject, and said it was admitted that the Declaration was not a treaty, and that it had not the same solemnity; that it was equally a surprise to the public and the Plenipotentiaries; and one that Government had asked, in surprise—"Is England at last so weak as to consent to this?" and concluded by exclaiming that we had been trying for the last 100 years to find a British Minister to surrender this point, and had found one at last. Lord Derby was supported by no less a person than Lord Russell, by Mr. Phillimore, by Mr. Henry Drummond, the present Chief Baron Kelly, and many others; by the late Sir Charles Napier, and, more than all, by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli), and by his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. S. Walpole). All these concurred in condemning the action of the Congress and the Declaration of Paris. From that time there was no discussion for some five or six years. Indeed, he might say between 1856 and the present period there had been but three debates on the subject when the matter had been fully discussed, those of 1862, 1866, and 1867. The first and last were originated by Mr. Horsfall, and the second by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. W. H. Gregory), and their object was to extend the Declaration, and to abolish the seizure of private property at sea. The debate of 1862 lasted two nights, and was remarkable for this—that three propositions were found growing out of it, the first of which was that not a single independent Member on either side of the

House supported the Declaration, but all were for either going forward, as it was termed, or else for receding. Secondly, Sir George Lewis first rose on behalf of the Government, and he laid down the doctrine that war put an end to treaties and to engagements in the nature of treaties—a statement which was much canvassed by subsequent speakers, but was supported by the Law Officers of the Crown. The last and most important proposition maintained that the Right of Search was absolutely necessary to the power of offence and defence. They all maintained that. From that debate he passed to 1866, when the debate on this subject was originated by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Galway; Lord Palmerston had at that time unhappily passed away from this world, and as Lord Russell, who was Premier, found it would be awkward for him, considering his previous experience, to speak on the question, the brunt of the debate fell on his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Richmond, at that time Attorney General, who on that occasion represented and defended the views of the Cabinet, although he was not a Member of it. The hon. and learned Gentleman, after urging that it would not be the policy of an enemy to fight a naval battle, asked, in that case, what remained for a maritime Power to do? He then said that the practice of capturing an enemy's vessels at sea was an operation against an enemy, and that the loss thereby caused fell much more upon the public and national resources than upon individuals; and he concluded his speech with this remarkable statement—

> "If you drive an enemy's ships from the sea, you put on him a pressure of a very serious kind, and contribute greatly to the success of your belligerent operations."

That being the view of the Government of that day, of the Government of 1862, and of the Government of his right hon. Friend the Member for Buckinghamshire, he did not think any Government could consent to such a change as was proposed by Mr. Horsfall and the Member for Galway. The question was simply this—"You have a right of search and seizure; you admit its principle; will you then go back to what it was prior to the Declaration of Paris, or will you allow the matter to remain in its present unsatisfactory state?" At the end of the Session of 1867, to the surprise of everybody, no less a person than Mr. John Stuart Mill appeared in that House, as the advocate of the Right of Search to its full extent, and asked for the revocation of the Declaration of Paris. Mr. Mill referred to our insular position, and stated that the Right of Search or Seizure was our only true weapon of offence against the enemy, and that, if we wished to get rid of the bloated armaments and absurd rivalries of the military Powers, our only course was to revoke the Declaration of Paris, which he considered a national blunder, and to revert to the old system. Mr. Mill was answered by Lord Stanley and the hon. and learned Member for Richmond. He (Mr. C. Bentinck) must say he observed in their speeches a very considerable departure from the position they had assumed in former debates, for Lord Stanley admitted it would be possible for us to withdraw from the Declaration on giving ample notice to the other parties to it; and the hon. and learned Member for Richmond also admitted there might be a time when it would be expedient for England to withdraw from the Declaration. The question which he (Mr. C. Bentinck) had now to put to the Government was—Had these circumstances occurred, or had they not? From that time the matter remained in abeyance till the war broke out, when this country was seized with a species of panic—as hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway called it, he would rather term it a lucid interval—and a desire was evinced to increase our armaments. That desire grew more intense in consequence of the German successes and the prostration of France, and likewise by the general seizure of property on land, wherever it could be found, by both belligerents. The French had doubtless suffered greatly from the Germans; but they had suffered still more from their own countrymen; and if one thing had been rendered more clear than another, it was that property on land was by no means safe from the belligerents. The Government had stated their reasons for reversing their policy, and had asked for a vast expenditure for military and naval purposes. The present situation had been so recently described by the right hon. Gentleman the

First Lord of the Admiralty, the only Member of the Cabinet who attended the Banquet at the Mansion House on Easter Monday, that it might be fairly assumed that everything he said was approved by the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "The stupendous events that had lately happened in Europe had entirely absorbed the attention of the Government and the country. And what had we to do now? We had to buy back our Army, which belonged, at that moment, to the officers, and not to the nation."

After referring to the isolation in foreign policy attributed to this country, the right hon. Gentleman proceeded thus—

> "Recent events in Europe should teach us to rely not on treaties, for they were often scattered to the winds; not on alliances, for they were occasionally faithless in times of trouble; not on the words of statesmen, for Secret Treaties were produced which shook the confidence of every honest politician; but upon ourselves."

This was the very point he would urge upon Her Majesty's Government. The House, he believed, as he did, would concur in thinking with the First Lord of the Admiralty, that it was our duty to take care of ourselves, and he trusted, therefore, they would adopt the Resolution he was about to move. What objections could be brought against it? It might be maintained that the Declaration of Paris was advantageous to England, because our commerce presented so large a surface for the enemy to attack; but it had been frequently shown that the right of seizure or search, while it might be injurious to the commerce of England, would be absolutely destructive to the commerce of any other country, on account of the number of our cruisers and privateers largely exceeding that any enemy could bring against us. It was in consequence of this that England was able to resist the formidable combinations made against her at the commencement of this century. The commerce of England would be comparatively safe, because our cruisers and privateers would be much more powerful than those of our adversaries, and we should have another immense advantage in consequence of our coal supply being greater than that of any other Power. If an enemy refused to fight in the open sea and retired to his harbours, the only course open to an opponent was to blockade his ports, and compel him either to come out or to submit to the destruction of his commerce. The second objection made to the course he suggested for adoption was, that it would be contrary to the principles of humanity, progress and civilization. This he ventured to dispute, and for several reasons. In the first place, the disposition and usual course of action of different countries presented widely divergent characteristics. If an Englishman knocked an antagonist down he, with great fairness, permitted him to rise and renew the combat; but a foreigner, on the other hand, having his enemy in his power, put an end to him at once. An instance of this had been afforded in the late war, where neither party yielded in any single point to the other, until absolutely compelled to do so. Again, privateering had been described as piracy, and all sorts of hard things had been spoken in reference to its use in warfare; but he considered that belligerent Powers had to the full as much right to employ privateers as Franc-Tireurs, torpedoes, or Gardes Mobiles; and, so far as the humanity argument was concerned, the right was stronger on their side, because privateers were used for the purposes of crippling the resources of a country and not to destroy the life of its citizens. The last objection to his Motion was, that it would be inconsistent with the national honour for England to withdraw from the Declaration; but, in answer to this view, he maintained that the Declaration of Paris was illegal in its inception; and if it was said that, though illegal at first, it had become legal through lengthened recognition, he replied that it was made for the advantage of the maritime Powers—namely, the United States, France, Russia, and England; and that neither of the first three Powers could insist at the present time upon this country abiding by the Declaration; for the United States had most consistently refused to be bound by the Declaration; France was prostrate, and there was no possible means of knowing the view that might be taken by the Government of that country when she had resumed her place among the nations; and Russia could surely raise no objection, after her own recent renunciation of obligations imposed by treaty. He would ask the Prime Minister to recall the words, to which he had referred as having been used by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and reflect upon the complete isolation of this country in regard to foreign affairs. At the present England had neither a faithful ally nor a sincere friend; France was hostile, because she imagined, most unfairly, that England had deserted her in her time of need; Germany was hostile, because she thought England had refused to abrogate her neutrality laws during the late war; and the United States was hostile, because they would still have several grievances against England, even after the *Alabama* and Fisheries questions had been settled. Therefore, he thought that if England availed herself of her present opportunity to withdraw from the Declaration of Paris, she would be taking an important step towards resuming the proud position she formerly held among European nations, and would at the same time prevent the necessity for making those vast military preparations which threatened to cost the country an immense sum of money in the course of a very short time. In conclusion, he begged leave to thank the House for the patience with which it had heard him upon a complicated and not very interesting question, and to move his Resolution.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON said, he had much pleasure in seconding the Motion which had been proposed with so much ability by his hon. Friend. The question involved was one far removed from the domain of party, but no consideration of persons or of party ties ought to prevent an expression of his opinion. The Declaration of Paris, which, in 1867, in bringing the question before the House, Mr. John Stuart Mill—an authority, which he (Mr. Serjeant Simon) gave, in addition to those referred to by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. C. Bentinck) who introduced the Motion—had described as a grievous national blunder, was received with a thrill of amazement throughout the country; but no decisive steps were taken, and the only hypothesis on which he could explain the comparative apathy was that the people, having just emerged from the horrors of a dreadful war, were glad to adopt anything which could wipe out for the time the terrible recollection. This question of the Right of Search had never been properly laid before the country. In seeking to assuage the horrors of war, though the intention was benevolent, the country had gone too far, and though he would be the last to say a word against so eminent a public servant as the late Lord Clarendon, he could not help saying that if there was one circumstance to be regretted in the life of the deceased statesman it was that he had put his hand to the Declaration of Paris. England being an insular nation, the sea was her natural field of battle, for she must aim at being, if anything, a maritime Power. Suppose we had a dispute with North Germany, it would be impossible for us to contend on land with so powerful a military organization; and a blockade of two or three ports would be utterly ineffectual, while the commerce of the country could be carried on as usual only under neutral flags. He would ask those who contended that the Right of Search ought to be given up, whether they believed that civilization and humanity would be advanced by the acceptance of the principle that you might kill your enemy or blow him to atoms, only you must not be allowed to touch his property? It was very easy to talk about civilization; but one of your great means of crippling an adversary was by touching his property. There was a great deal said in these times about humanity, and much solicitude expressed for the working classes; yet you are prepared to recruit your Army from their ranks, to send them forth to bleed and to die in battle, whilst you refuse to adopt an effectual remedy of taking the property of your antagonist? For his own part, he could not admit a principle which implied that the taxation and the loss of life and limb were to fall upon one portion of the community alone, while our merchants and shipowners were to feel none of the ill effects of war, but were to prosecute their trade as usual and without any hindrance. The principle of the right of seizure of an enemy's property dated from the earliest times—from the time International Law first regulated the intercourse of nations. The first record of the right to seize an enemy's property at sea was found in the *Consulato del Mare* attributed variously to the 10th, 11th, and 13th centuries. It was distinctly there laid down that the Power at war was entitled to seize an enemy's property at sea, to take it to a port of safety, paying the freight of a vessel if found in a neutral vessel, and that the amount of the freight was to be determined by the aid of the ship's papers, and that in the absence of the papers the oath of the master was to be taken as proof. He would ask, where was the injustice of such a law? Could anything be more equitable? In time of war a neutral Power carrying on the trade of a belligerent ceased to be neutral, for what she in reality did was to promote the resources of the belligerent and so aid her in carrying on hostilities. A neutral Power that assisted a belligerent in carrying on its commerce during time of war was, in reality, contributing to the continuance of the struggle. He believed, therefore, that in acknowledging the principle of the immunity of property at sea, they were, in reality, acting contrary to the interests of civilization and humanity. The seizure of private property was a mitigation of the horrors of war; it was analogous to the civil as compared with the criminal process of law, and it was, he believed, the lesser of the two evils. No such thing was known in International Law as benevolent neutrality. In the name of humanity he said you were acting against the true principles of civilization and humanity. The tendency of the regulations of the Declarations of Paris was to prolong slaughter, and to increase devastation. But he felt, after all, that he was not bound to take the high ground of humanity and civilization. As an Englishman, he felt that it was our right and our duty to protect ourselves as far as we possibly could against the aggressions of other nations, and, where necessary, to vindicate our honour. We had no means of grappling on even terms with large military Powers, for the sea was our battlefield; and he could not help thinking that but for the abandonment of this right of capture we need not have been called upon for the excessive increase in our Army Estimates. During the Russian War we had temporarily abandoned the right, because we dreaded the consequences of some possible future collision with America; but America had refused to concur in the Declaration of Paris. He was ashamed to see England cower, for the first time, before a foreign Power. It was one thing to part with a right temporarily and another to part with it altogether. If we suffered false views of humanity to prevail, we should find ourselves crippled; for the source of our Power was our maritime strength, the greatness of which had been recognized by all nations, and which it was our duty to preserve at the proper standard. The exceptional cases in which treaties had been made by us were acknowledgments by other nations of the existence of the public law and of the justice of our claims. He protested against the abandonment of this element of our national strength, and urged that if the Government could by any means withdraw from the principle of this Declaration, it was their duty in the interest of the nation to take that step. It was said that this was a Declaration and not a treaty, yet it was just as binding, and in honour, if not by law, we must adhere to it. Had it been a treaty we should have gained some advantages corresponding to what we gave up; but there was nothing of the kind in this Declaration. We had simply given up one element of our national strength without obtaining anything in return. This Declaration was not a contract, because it had never been ratified, yet a Minister had put his signature to it as the principle by which this country should be guided. The difficulty was, in our admitting the principle that a neutral Power might carry an enemy's goods; and the more he looked into this matter the more formidable seemed to be the objections to that part of the Declaration. The subject could not remain in its present state; the country must go either backward or forward. To go backward would be to do what he thought would be proper; but to go forward would be to put an end to our maritime supremacy.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the maintenance of British maritime rights being essential to the power, prosperity, and independence of the Empire, this House is of opinion that Her Majesty's Government should forthwith withdraw from the articles of 'The Declaration of Paris, 1856,' which are numbered respectively 1 and 2, and which are expressed in the terms following:—1. Privateering is and remains abolished; 2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war,"—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. BOURKE said, he thought the House would be of opinion that this question was one of great interest and importance, because no one could deny that the position in which the question of belligerent rights at sea had been left by the Declaration of Paris might one day cause serious inconvenience to us, might cramp and cripple our naval power, might be productive of much loss and injury to our mercantile marine; and, in our anxiety to avoid that result, might involve us in serious disputes with nations which either were parties to the Declaration of Paris, or had since declared their adhesion to its principles. The Declaration of Paris consisted of four Articles. The third Article in that Declaration gave immunity to neutral goods in an enemy's ship, and that had been the principle on which England had always acted. The fourth Article abolished paper blockades, and that course we had followed for at least 100 years, for Lord Stowell had laid it down that in order to show the violation of a blockade it was necessary first to prove that a blockade actually existed. With regard, therefore, to two of its Articles, the Declaration of Paris made no alteration in the policy of this country. By the first Article privateering was abolished; and here he could not agree with the hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr. C. Bentinck), as he thought it was a species of warfare that led to the worst excesses, to serious crimes, and had a demoralizing influence on all who were concerned in it. In recent years neutral Powers had done their best to put an end to privateering, and it might be said that Mexico was now the only nation which showed any disposition to resort to it. The House, however, should remember that America had declined to abandon the practice, except on one condition—namely, that all private property at sea should be exempt from capture. This was somewhat remarkable, as she was the first Power, immediately after the Declaration of Independence, to submit this question to European Powers, with a view to obtain the general assent to the abandonment of the practice. America took that step, and until 1830 that principle seemed to be a cardinal point of her policy, as would be found from the Correspondence which passed between that country and England. About that time there was a sudden change, and ever since then America had declined to abolish privateering, except under the condition he had before stated. The policy of the first Article in the Declaration was a wise one, and he should be sorry to see it abrogated. The great change which had been made in our maritime policy was that effected by the second Article, by which we abandoned our right to capture enemy's goods in neutral vessels — a right that had always been looked upon as our right arm in war, and in giving up which he believed we had dealt a heavy blow at our naval strength. We had defended that right upon principle, upon authority, and from motives of policy and expediency; because while we recognized the right of a neutral to carry on his legitimate trade during a time of war, without interference from a belligerent, yet we had always maintained that a neutral must not carry on his trade in such a way as to derogate from the right of a belligerent. The point was put very tersely by *Vattel*, who said—

> "The belligerent does not oppose their rights, but simply asserts his own; and if the two rights are incompatible, it is the effect alone of inevitable necessity."

Again, Kent, in his *Commentaries*, used the following words on the subject:—

> "I should apprehend this belligerent right to be no longer an open question, and that the authority and usage on which the right rests in Europe, and the long, explicit, and authoritative admission of it by this country, have concluded us from making it a subject of controversy. And that we are bound in truth and justice to submit to its regular exercise in any case, and with any belligerent Power who does not freely renounce it."

In fact, this was an epitome of the opinions of all authoritative writers upon International Law. We had defended the right of capturing enemy's goods in neutral vessels on the ground of policy and expediency, because while we were weak on land, we were strong at sea, where it would be bad policy to deprive ourselves of the power of injuring our opponents as much as possible. For that reason other nations, knowing that we should exercise that right, were less anxious to go to war with us than would otherwise be the case, seeing that their commerce would be destroyed if we were to act upon it. Mr. Canning, he might add, refused in 1827 to ratify a Treaty which Sir Charles Stuart had concluded with

Brazil, and which contained a clause giving up the right of capturing enemy's goods in neutral vessels. It was curious that the treaties which had been made surrendering this right had never survived the exigencies of war. Those treaties, however, were totally different from the Declaration of Paris now under discussion, and which had arisen out of the circumstances connected with the Crimean War. They were engagements between one nation and another, and therefore, when war broke out between the parties, there was an end to the treaties. A few years, for instance, after the declaration of the Armed Neutrality in 1781, Sweden and Russia went to war, and notwithstanding that both countries were parties to that neutrality, the moment hostilities broke out the Treaty was thrown to the wind. The same thing was also done by Denmark. But the Declaration of Paris was made in favour of neutral nations, and he did not think any person would contend that the signataries to it could release themselves from the obligations attached to it. In that case, what, he would ask, would be the practical result of the waiver of her right by this country? So long as she remained a neutral Power, that waiver would, no doubt, be beneficial, because she would be able to carry on her commerce in common with other nations under a neutral flag. But matters would assume a very different aspect if we were engaged in hostilities with a nation which was powerful at sea. We should not then be able to capture our enemy's goods, and he would obtain his supplies under a neutral flag. The result, he might add, of a war with France would be, under the Declaration of Paris, that our carrying trade would pass into the hands of neutral Powers until we had destroyed our enemy's fleet; while, in the case of America, which was no party to the Declaration of Paris, and which retained the right of privateering, the result might be still more disastrous. The Declaration of Paris was made in favour of neutral nations, and supposing we were at war with America, and were to inform neutrals that, as America was not a party to the Declaration, we should not consider ourselves bound by it; they would say that made no difference; the Declaration had been made in favour of neutrals, and therefore they had a right to call upon us to give them the benefit of the Declaration. He could not, however, concur altogether in the view taken by his hon. Friend, because it would not be desirable to close by a one-sided action our arrangements on the subject with foreign Powers. That would be following the bad example set by the Emperor of Russia and Prince Gortchakoff. At the same time, it was well worthy of consideration by the Government whether they should not take some favourable opportunity of laying before the Powers who were parties to it the serious consequences which adherence to the Declaration might entail, with the view of obtaining their consent to a modification of its terms.

Sir ROUNDELL PALMER said, that though not present in the early part of the debate, he had collected that the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. C. Bentinck) appeared to be under the impression that in former debates upon this subject he (Sir Roundell Palmer) had expressed some opinion in harmony with the object of the Motion; but he took the liberty of informing him that he was in error in considering so. On two occasions—in 1862 and 1866—it was his duty to express the opinion of the then Government against the Motion of the hon. Members for Liverpool (Mr. Horsfall) and Galway (Mr. W. H. Gregory) for exempting from capture private property at sea during war. The arguments in favour of that Motion were no doubt connected with certain observations, made on consequences, which were expected to follow from the Declaration of Paris; but on the first of those occasions he emphatically stated, speaking on behalf of the Government with which he was connected, that he did not contemplate the possibility of such a thing as that England should recede from the Declaration, whatever might be its consequences, for after that Declaration was once made, assuredly it was not his opinion that it would be right in any respect for this country to depart from it. Unless it was done by the common consent of all parties to the Declaration, it would be simply repudiation on our part—it would be merely following the example set in the autumn of last year, of which we had expressed so unfavourable an opinion. And here he parted company with his hon. and learned Friend opposite (Mr. Bourke), for he could not conceive anything less becoming the dignity of the country than to make a weak complaint to the other countries to which we were bound, that England repented of the Declaration, because possibly in certain contingent circumstances it might do us harm, and that therefore we should be obliged if they would release us from it. If we entertained that opinion, and we had reason to believe it was shared in by the other parties to the Declaration, then the sensible thing would be, if they concurred in it, to ask them for their concurrence; but unless we had some ground for believing that all were likely to concur in our views, he could conceive, as he had already said, no more undignified, and therefore no more impolitic act than for us to seem afraid of the consequences of our engagement. He hoped, therefore, unless circumstances very much altered, that no such policy would be entertained by Her Majesty's Government. Now, with respect to the Declaration of Paris itself, he never was any party to it, nor had his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government any responsibility with regard to it, and therefore he was at liberty to speak freely of its effects. He never had participated in those extreme alarms which were entertained as to the effect of that Declaration, and while he thought it was a point very fairly open to doubt and controversy, whether, on the whole, it was politic at the time or not to enter into it, yet having once entered into it, he could not see what possible good there could be in making these lamentations over it. The simple fact was, that, on a balance of inconveniences, it bound us to endure one rather than the other. There could be no doubt that the right to take enemy's property out of neutral ships, although it was as well established by International Law as any other right could be, was always attended with great irritation and inconvenience to the neutrals in its exercise, and it had a tendency to draw neutrals into alliance with the enemy. Those were circumstances, so far as they went, which were strongly in favour of relinquishing such a right. On the other hand, it was true that by such waiver we should also relinquish some means of weakening the enemy during war; and what was perhaps of more consequence, we might in some degree increase the tendency of war to throw our carrying trade into the hands of neutrals. That was a question of degree; but with respect to its diminishing our means of annoying our enemies, he attributed but very little importance to it. The enemy, though he might be enabled to carry on his trade more securely than he could formerly have done, could only do so by giving up the use of his own ships, and employing means incapable of being turned to any purpose of hostility; nor had we, by relinquishing this right, conferred on neutrals the right to carry contraband of war for the enemy or to break blockades. It came to this, that to a limited extent we waived the right of taking private property at sea. He always had been, and was still, against waiving that right generally; but it was a different thing to waive this small fraction of it which was separated from anything like actual or possible connection with belligerent operations. By this Declaration it was never intended to waive the whole right, nor was any such consequence involved in what we did. As to the loss of the carrying trade, that was easily exaggerated also; for the mere fact of our being at war had always had the tendency of throwing into the hands of neutrals a considerable part of our carrying trade, and a considerable part of our merchant shipping in time of war had always found its way into the hands of neutrals. The right to take enemy's goods in neutral bottoms was subject to many difficulties and impediments in practice, on account of the contrivances and simulations which the system necessarily involved: so that even when the right was most fully established, it was still a fact that the belligerent Powers did to an immense extent send their trade by neutrals and their ships under neutral flags; and although they were sometimes taken, yet in the great majority of cases they doubtless escaped. The Declaration of Paris might, to a certain extent, and until freights rose to a certain height, exaggerate that which had always happened. There was and would be a limit now, as formerly, to those operations, depending very much on the rate of freight, insurance, and the power of convoy, and circumstances of that kind; and he hoped that, in the event of war—though he trusted that war might not happen—our merchant vessels would arm themselves to a moderate extent—a thing which seemed to be perfectly in their power to do, and which in his judgment was by far the best precaution that could be taken against any new dangers arising from this or other alterations of our maritime laws. If they did that, he did not believe that the Declaration of Paris, or anything else that happened, would place our carrying trade or our maritime power in a materially worse position. He did not participate in the alarm which appeared to prevail in some quarters. The thing had been done and done irrevocably, in his opinion, unless they were invited by a concurrence of opinion on the part of other nations to re-consider its provisions. That being so, the proper tone for this country to adopt would be to say—"We adhere in good faith to the engagement; we will not fruitlessly review its policy or complain of its possible defects; but will go on, and with good heart use all the powers that are left us for our security, if, on a future occasion, we shall unhappily have occasion for their exercise."

MR. STEPHEN CAVE said, that the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down had proved the extreme inadvisability of our having entered into the Declaration of Paris; for he had told the House that it was so far worse than a treaty that it could not be rescinded. Treaties were usually subject to reversal, on proper notice being given by one of the parties to the others; but this Declaration, hastily made they were told, there were no means of escaping from. The hon. and learned Gentleman said they were not to indulge in lamentations over things that were past and could not be undone; but, surely, there was something more than lamentation when the country was told by the highest authorities in it that to have accepted this Declaration was a suicidal action, and one which must necessarily cripple the country in any future war. The hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Bourke) made rather an unfortunate allusion when he referred to the repudiation of the Treaty of Paris by Prince Gortchakoff. He said it would be undignified, and not following a proper course if we imitated that example, and said—"We repent of what we have done, and intend to give notice of our withdrawal from it." But what course was taken when the repudiation of that Treaty was notified to us? Was it not that we accepted the repudiation? ["No, no!" "Hear, hear!"] The Government practically did so. No doubt, Earl Granville, in his despatch, said he could not accept the repudiation; but, on Russia persisting, we had to yield, and we went into the Conference without any foregone conclusion—that is to say, we accepted the repudiation of the Treaty. The hon. and learned Gentleman stated that by the Declaration we got rid of the irritation which neutrals experienced on account of the Right of Search being exercised. He quite admitted that that was a great object to secure; but he denied that it had been secured, for this reason, that contraband of war was excepted from the Declaration. Contraband of war might mean anything, and how could contraband of war be found without search? and it was the Right of Search that was objected to. The Americans objected to the Right of Search to such a degree that they would not even allow us to search vessels carrying their flag, for slaves, under the Slave Trade Treaty. They allowed us to go on board to verify the nationality; but they objected to its being carried further. The hon. and learned Gentleman had said that it was a very small fraction of the Right we had waived; but that was worse than the surrender of the whole Right, because if the right of taking merchant vessels at sea at all be given up, then he quite admitted—speaking commercially—that we should not be injured. He would not then enter into that wider question; but what, he asked, had already been the effect of the waiver of that fraction of the Right? Why this—that on the mere rumour of war we were in danger of losing the whole carrying trade of the country; and very naturally; because the first thing that happened was that insurance rose to war-risk rate, and everybody knew that the rate of insurance was one of the elements which governed freight, and therefore the carrying trade was naturally diverted into another channel. The experience of the past proved this. The fact that a second-class American vessel had obtained a cargo at Calcutta on a former occasion, when a first-rate English ship could not obtain one, even at a lower rate, had already been mentioned. Since then, during the American Civil War, the specie from California had been sent to Europe in English instead of in American vessels. America had lost nearly all her carrying trade, owing to the depredations of the *Florida* and *Alabama,* which she had not recovered to this day. The hon. and learned Gentleman proposed that we should arm our commercial vessels, and in that way be able to beat off the cruisers of the enemy. But everyone knew that in these days of heavy artillery the scantling of our merchant vessels was not able to carry guns of sufficient calibre to resist a ship of war. Neither would it be advisable that large passenger steamers—carrying, perhaps, numbers of women and children—should commit themselves on unequal terms to the attacks of the cruisers of the enemy. After one or two such disasters the feeling of the country would, he believed, be so roused that we should throw to the winds this or any other Declaration which led to such results. His own opinion was, that nothing could be worse than to bind ourselves by Declarations of that kind. They had originally put themselves into a wrong position by the Foreign Enlistment Act; and by the amended Act of last Session he was afraid they should find themselves in a still worse position. To bind themselves by an abstract Declaration was like binding the House by an abstract Resolution. It might appear a small matter at the time; but when a practical issue arose they might find themselves brought face to face with a policy which would prove most disastrous to the country.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, he wished to recall the House to the real question under consideration. The question was not whether the Right of Search should be abolished, nor whether we should abstain from the capture of private property belonging to an enemy; but whether we should repudiate the convention or agreement which we had entered into at Paris with all the other Powers of Europe. He believed all civilized nations agreed that the ordinary Right of Search for contraband of war should be maintained. The right hon. Gentleman who spoke last (Mr. S. Cave) was entirely in error in supposing that the Americans ever objected to that Right of Search. The question before the House was not whether we should abstain from capturing private goods from an enemy. He confessed that he was against such a step, and was prepared to oppose the Motion of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. W. H. Gregory), if he brought it forward, because that undoubtedly was a belligerent's right, which he should not advise this country to part with. As reference had been made to a speech which he made in 1855 upon the Russian trade, he begged to say that the object he had in view in that speech was to show that the blockade we had instituted against Russia was not effectual—that we had blockaded the mouth of the Danube, and thereby deprived this country of a large supply of grain which it might otherwise have obtained from the Danubian Principalities, and that we had not blockaded ports which ought to have been blockaded. He thought the House would see that that had nothing to do with the present question. What the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. C. Bentinck) asked the House to do was, in fact, to repudiate, he would not call it a treaty, because technically it was not a treaty, but the agreement which we entered into in Paris with all the principal Powers of Europe. He did not deny that there was strong authority for the proposition that a belligerent had a right to seize neutral goods in any ship. The origin of that rule was, he believed, as early as the Roman Empire. Rome recognized only two classes of people—her subjects and her enemies. She recognized no neutrals, and forbade all treaties between her subjects and her enemies. But with the progress of civilization the rights of neutrals had been more and more considered; and although the ancient rule of International Law was adopted by many writers, still he thought it ought to be borne in mind that it had been questioned by many modern writers of no small authority; amongst whom were De Mertens and Hautefeuille, by whom it was regarded as a relic of barbarism, which ought to be expunged from the International Law of civilized nations. This rule was announced, he believed, for the first time in a treatise, written in the 13th century, entitled *Consulato del Mare*. Grotius, he believed, did no more than quote it, without expressing any opinion about it. Although that rule was exercised by American tribunals, a very considerable European sentiment had long prevailed against it, and that sentiment was best illustrated by the number of treaties which had been entered into in which that rule was expressly abolished. From the beginning of the 17th to the end of the 18th century England had abrogated the rule by treaties with almost all the maritime Powers in Europe. There was a treaty with Portugal in the time of Cromwell establishing the rule of free ships making free goods. That treaty remained in force till 1810, or for a period of 150 years. Cromwell entered into a treaty with Louis XIV. to the same effect; and it remained in force, with the exception of a few years, until 1793. Again, between 1665 and 1796—a period of 131 years—the rule that free ships made free goods was in force by virtue of a treaty between us and Spain; and the same might be said with respect to our relations with Holland and, he believed, some other countries. Not only were such treaties concluded between us and those Powers, but also between those Powers and one another—for example, between France and Spain, between France and Holland, and so on. Therefore, it might fairly be said that the right of capturing an enemy's goods in neutral ships was opposed to the sentiment of Europe, and that the rule that free ships made free goods was recognized by many treaties—in round numbers, by more than 100—entered into between us and the principal maritime Powers of Europe, and also concluded by those Powers among themselves. That being the state of the case, they would be prepared for the statement of Lord Clarendon as to the public opinion of Europe on that point at the commencement of the Crimean War; and he thought the House would agree that Lord Clarendon was as well qualified as any man to form a judgment upon what was the state of opinion in Europe on that subject. In 1856, speaking in the House of Lords, Lord Clarendon said—

> "Every other maritime Power in the world has protested against our practice, and at the commencement of the war England was the only Power which upheld the right of seizure. If your Lordships could be aware, as I was, of the strong feeling—of the intense anxiety—of the neutral Powers, at the commencement of the war, to know whether we meant to adhere to the rule which we had hitherto maintained, you would then fully comprehend the great importance of the question. Almost daily inquiries were addressed to me by the representatives of the neutral Powers, and though I certainly cannot say that the maintenance of our former rule would have led to another 'Armed Neutrality,' it was quite plain that we should have stood alone in the world—we should have had every other maritime Power against us, and most properly so—because we should have been maintaining a law which was contrary to the public opinion of the world, which was hostile to commerce, and as unfavourable as possible to a mitigation of the evils of war. We should not only have stood alone in the world—but it was quite clear that we should have been at war not only with Russia, but with every other maritime Power in the world."—[3 *Hansard*, cxlii. 495.]

That was the view stated in 1856 by Lord Clarendon, and he was not at all sure that it expressed too strongly the general opinion of Europe on the matter, or went at all beyond the truth in saying that as far as Europe was concerned we stood alone. America was the only other country that maintained the doctrine. That concession was made to all the Powers of Europe. Referring to the Treaty cited by the hon. and learned Member for Whitehaven (Mr. C. Bentinck), he found that that Treaty was made by Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Italy, and Turkey; there was an unanimous agreement among those Powers that free ships should make free goods. We stood alone in asserting the opposite doctrine; and he could not but think that as a matter of prudence it was a fair concession to the public opinion of Europe that England made in 1856. But be that as it might, what had been said by the hon. and learned Member for Richmond (Sir Roundell Palmer) was quite conclusive on the subject. That Treaty or that agreement—and the distinction was a somewhat fine one between a treaty and an agreement—having been entered into, we could not now repudiate it without the consent of the other signataries to it. That was the short answer to the proposal of the hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. C. Bentinck). They were discussing, not a mere Declaration but an agreement, as its language would show. The hon. and learned Gentleman read the Preamble of the Instrument, as follows:—

> "Considering:
>
> "That maritime law, in time of war, has long been the subject of deplorable disputes;
>
> "That the uncertainty of the law and of the duties in such a matter gives rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents which may occasion serious difficulties and even conflicts;
>
> "That it is, consequently, advantageous to establish a uniform doctrine on so important a point;

> "That the Plenipotentiaries assembled in Congress at Paris cannot better respond to the intentions by which their Governments are animated than by seeking to introduce into international relations fixed principles in this respect;
>
> "The above mentioned Plenipotentiaries, being duly authorised, resolved to concert among themselves as to the means of attaining this object; and having come to an agreement, have adopted the following solemn Declaration:
>
> "1. Privateering is and remains, abolished;
>
> "2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war;
>
> "3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag;
>
> "4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective, that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy."

On the part of the Government, therefore, he should not like to take a distinction between an "agreement" and a treaty, as he could not admit that it made any difference whether what was done was called an agreement or a treaty; and he was not sure that they would recognize any such distinction if taken by any other Power. Having come to an agreement, had they any right to repudiate it without the consent of their co-signataries? He thought the House and the country would hesitate to sanction such a proceeding, merely because it might happen to suit our convenience to do so. It was not quite correct, as stated by the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon), that we got no *quid pro quo*. One of the provisions of the Declaration was that neutral goods under an enemy's flag, contraband of war excepted, should not be liable to capture. Now, France had before a different principle from that, and therefore we had obtained a concession in that respect from France. Having, as against France, got, to a certain extent, a *quid pro quo* for what we conceded, we were estopped from repudiating our agreement with her. It would be a breach of faith on our part to do so. He did not know whether the hon. and learned Gentleman would suggest that they should seek the consent of their co-signataries to set aside the arrangement. If they did seek it would they probably not obtain it? A solemn agreement had, however, been entered into and a Declaration signed by all the great Powers for our benefit as well as for the benefit of other neutral nations; but whether it was for our advantage or not, it appeared to him that we were now bound in honour to adhere to it. Enough, he thought, had been said in the course of the debate to induce the House not to adopt the Resolution.

Mr. DISRAELI: Sir, I think the House has hardly done justice to the motives which actuated my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. C. Bentinck), who introduced this Motion, in the view it has taken of his remarks. The House, I think, should recollect that it was on the very first day of the Session that my hon. Friend gave Notice of this Motion, and at that time the House was in a very different position from that in which it now finds itself with respect to this subject. We had then been informed that Russia had repudiated a most important provision in the Treaty of Paris — a provision, indeed, which many thought to be the essence of that arrangement. Now, at the period when the Declaration of Paris was entered into there was no small disapprobation of that policy expressed by many public men, and entertained by considerable parties in both House of Parliament; and I have no doubt that my hon. and learned Friend, hearing it announced that a Conference was to be held in London to consider, with no foregone conclusion, the claim of Russia to free herself from the solemn engagement she had entered into by the Treaty of Paris with this country and others, thought it a proper opportunity for the Conference also to consider the principle of policy which had been disapproved by persons of authority at the time, and of which he himself did not approve, and which he felt that the Conference offered a fit and appropriate occasion to modify, and, if necessary, even to abrogate. The course of Business has prevented my hon. and learned Friend bringing forward that proposal in time, for the House, had it sanctioned the policy which he recommended, would have influenced the decisions of the Conference. But, having given Notice of it, he has still deemed it his duty to bring the subject under the consideration of the House. Sir, I agree with my hon. and learned Friend that, if Her Majesty's Government had thought proper, that was a legitimate occasion on which they might have brought the Declaration of Paris before the representatives of the Great Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, for them to consider the expediency of modifying or even abrogating that declaration. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Richmond says that neither he nor the Prime Minister was responsible for the Declaration of Paris, and can therefore consider it impartially. I also, Sir, have no share of responsibility in respect to the Declaration of Paris. But I must express the opinion, which I gave at the time, that I believe it to have been a most impolitic step, calculated to cripple the powers of this country, and the evil effects of which hereafter are at present incalculable, and may be of a nature which all of us will deplore. I never could bring myself to attach importance to the representation of Lord Clarendon referred to by the learned Attorney General a few minutes ago, because it amounted to nothing more than that the exercise of this power was vexatious to the neutral Powers on whom it was exercised. There is no doubt about that. I am afraid that the exercise of power at all times is not agreeable to those who experience its force and influence. As for supposing that under the then circumstances, there was any probability of the maritime Powers of the world entering into an alliance of armed neutrality against England, I think that a moment's reflection must dissipate the idea as an idle supposition. Even if a possibility, I could not admit it as a sufficient answer to those who objected to give up an ancient policy of our country, and one which Lord Clarendon himself admitted to be our right—our long-enjoyed and possessed right. Who were the maritime Powers whose alliance we could fear, and whose armed neutrality was to curb and control our power? Why, the great maritime Powers were Russia, France, and the United States. Well, with Russia we were at war; France was our ally; and the United States were so opposed to the policy, that when it was embodied in the Declaration of Paris, they declined to accede to it. Therefore nothing could be more flimsy than the view which Lord Clarendon took with respect to the possibility of an armed neutrality opposed to England. But although no one objected more than I did at the time to the policy of the Declaration of Paris, and although subsequent events have to no extent induced me to modify my opinion, I never at any time treated that declaration as an idle document, from the engagements of which we could disembarrass ourselves with levity, and as a matter of course. It is a solemn thing when a Power such as England enters into an engagement, especially under the circumstances of the Conference of Paris; and even though that engagement may not take the form of a treaty, and may not be ratified by the Sovereign, still an engagement signed by the English Minister at such a Conference, which has not been challenged or rejected by Parliament, is a document which ought to have, upon this country at least, the moral effect of a treaty; and we cannot divest ourselves of such an engagement except in the most formal and satisfactory manner not merely with respect to ourselves, but to all concerned. I maintain that opportunity was given us by the Conference held lately in London; but although I entirely approve the policy of my hon. and learned Friend, who was quite justified in bringing this question before the House, and has dealt with it in a speech of great clearness and ability, I cannot agree that we should forthwith withdraw from the Articles of the Declaration of Paris, because we have not the power of doing so without first taking some preliminary steps not contemplated by my hon. and learned Friend. I by no means regret—indeed, I am glad—that my hon. and learned Friend has brought the question before the House, as it was brought three or four years ago by a distinguished man no longer a Member of this House, because I am quite certain that, sooner or later, it is impossible that this Declaration of Paris can be upheld; but the mode of releasing ourselves from its engagements suggested by my hon. and learned Friend is too abrupt; we must emancipate ourselves from its fatal trammels in a regular manner, and in a manner which will be approved by the public law and morality of Europe. I regret very much that the opportunity—the golden opportunity offered by the recent Conference on the Treaty of Paris of 1856—has been lost, and that it was not taken advantage of by the Government to achieve the object my hon. and learned Friend had in view. I regret that Conference was held. I have expressed my opinion that it is to be lamented we ever agreed to calling it; but having agreed to its assembling, we should have at least obtained some advantage from a circumstance in itself so calamitous. In the course of its proceedings we have registered the disgrace and recorded the humiliation of this country; but if we could, by its means, have released ourselves from the fatal engagements of the Declaration of Paris, it would have thrown one gleam of light upon what I shall ever consider a dark page in the history of England.

MR. GLADSTONE: After the speech of my hon. and learned Friend behind me the Member for Richmond, and of the Attorney General, it is not at all necessary to enter upon any portion of the general argument. The question has been considerably narrowed, and by admissions which entirely exclude the possibility of the Motion of the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. C. Bentinck) being adopted. On the one hand there is no denial, either by the hon. and learned Member for Richmond, or the Attorney General, that upon the merits of the case, as well as upon the ancient law of Europe, there was very much to be said; but, upon the other hand, as regards the binding force of the instrument, whereby we have committed ourselves to a certain course with regard to this matter, there is an almost equally general admission, beginning with the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon), who seconded the Motion, on this side of the House, and ending with the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, to the effect that the Declaration into which we entered in the year 1856, and in which, perhaps, scarcely any leading Member of this House at the present time was originally concerned, has, under all those circumstances, in its actual form, full binding force at the present moment, and that we cannot entertain the question as practically submitted to us. The right hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for Buckinghamshire — very loyally to his political Friend—has vindicated the conduct of the hon. and learned Member for Whitehaven as regards the time chosen for submitting this Motion, and his vindication is this—That there was a very good opportunity for proposing this Motion at the time the Conference was sitting, and that, on that account, the hon. and learned Member cannot be open to adverse criticism for proposing it now that the Conference has ceased to sit. I must say that, although the hon. and learned Gentleman could not be reproached for raising a question of so much general interest on any occasion, there is not much force in the special plea by which the right hon. Gentleman seeks to justify his having introduced it to-night. The right hon. Gentleman, however, has performed another duty appertaining very much to his place; he has shown, or endeavoured to show, that the Government was wrong in omitting to take advantage of the occasion offered in his opinion by the recent Conference for undoing this Declaration, or raising the question as to its existence. He has censured in very strong terms the original proceeding, and he has gone a good deal out of his way to give an opinion, quite conformable to what, on a proper occasion, I should have been prepared to expect from him, upon the result of the recent Conference. Now, in the first place, he and I are in the same predicament; we are both entirely free from the responsibility of having adopted this Declaration; but, at the same time, while never having had any occasion to form a positive opinion upon the subject, I must say that to describe as "flimsy" the consideration offered by Lord Clarendon, and by the Government of Lord Palmerston, for arriving at that Declaration is hardly a line of observation that meets the justice of the case. The right hon. Gentleman says there was no prospect of an armed neutrality, if we had persevered in the course we had adopted for a considerable number of years; and his reason is, that the only three maritime Powers in the world worth taking into account were, from the special circumstances of the case, quite outside the calculation. But the right hon. Gentleman must have entirely forgotten the nature of the policy of the declaration of the United States upon the subject. It is true the United States refused to agree to the proceeding, but why? Because, in their opinion, it was insufficient and did not go far enough; because the United States were in favour of the surrender of a principle the British Government were not prepared to abandon—namely, the right of capture of private property at sea. The fact is, therefore, unfortunately, the reverse of what has been stated by the right hon. Gentleman, and, therefore, the American Government were perfectly ready to lead the opposition to our policy even at that very moment, had they thought fit, and if this country had persevered in maintaining the right of capture of enemies' goods in neutral vessels. I may remind the House that these armed neutralities do not depend for their efficacy upon the action of the first-rate maritime Powers. There are various other Powers without maritime force, such as Holland, Italy, Austria, Spain, Denmark, and North Germany, which have begun to aspire in that direction, and the combination of these Powers may be very formidable, even though no one of them alone is capable of exercising a material influence upon the fortunes of war. But it is also right to recollect that those who met upon the occasion of the Conference of Paris of 1856, and those who advised the proceeding, the temporary proceeding of 1854 for which I, for one, was responsible, had in view not merely the circumstances of the moment, but were likewise bound to consider that which was likely hereafter to happen. The state of the case was this—England was totally isolated from the actual living sentiment of the civilized world upon this subject. I do not enter into the argument whether that was a sufficient reason for the concession. But I, who took part in the temporary concession, am in no condition to censure severely those who made the permanent concession; and I hold that to describe as flimsy — as a thing entirely irrational and without the fair range of discussion —the policy adopted by the Government of Lord Palmerston in 1856 is going very much beyond what any candid consideration of the case will permit. But, says the right hon. Gentleman—in perfect consistency with the acknowledgment he had made as to the binding character of the Declaration of Paris—however binding that Declaration may be, it was perfectly open to the Government of Her Majesty, if they had thought fit, to use the recent Conference on the neutralization of the Black Sea as an occasion for re-opening this question. Naturally, from his point of view, therefore, he censures the Government for having failed to avail themselves of the opportunity. Now, I wish to say a word in defence of the Government upon that subject. When the Conference met upon the neutralization of the Black Sea, I very greatly doubt — indeed, I do more than doubt, I firmly deny—that it would have been a wise policy on the part of the British Government to extend the issue then raised. The question raised grew out of a claim by Russia to be released from certain stipulations. If Russia was to be released from certain stipulations, the question also naturally arose, what other concessions, having direct reference to the subject of these stipulations, ought to be made, if any. But it was never contended, and never conceived by those who were parties to the Conference, that the whole question of the Treaty of 1856 should be thrown open for discussion. Would it have been wise, would the right hon. Gentleman say it would have been wise, in us to have invited or encouraged, or, I may say, even forced Europe to re-open the whole of the Treaty, deal with it as undone, and commence *de novo* the construction of a system of international obligations with reference to the East? Such a course would have been most unwise; and I do not believe that, as a positive proposition, however practicable it may be to propound a doctrine of that sort in the course of a conversation like the present, it would have been possible seriously to maintain such a policy in this House. But the proposal involves a great deal more than that. It would have been necessary not only to undo all that was done in 1856 with reference to the Eastern Question—for I admit that, at any rate, it would have been more or less germane to the matter in hand—namely, the neutralization of the Black Sea; but the right hon. Gentleman goes a great deal further, and says, that because a question has been raised as to the neutralization of the Black Sea, you should therefore have both undone the Treaty of 1856, by subjecting the whole of it to re-consideration, and likewise have proceeded to do that which had no connection whatever with the neutralization of the Black Sea and the Eastern Question—namely, invite Europe to re-open another chapter, a chapter of matters dealt with by the Conference of 1856, because that represented Europe sitting in solemn assembly, and having, in that character, nothing to do with the subject of peace or war there settled. Now, the right hon. Gentleman has entirely forgotten that the Conference of Paris of 1856 did not meet for one purpose alone; but having met for the purpose of making the arrangements immediately connected with the peace and the settlement of the Eastern Question, it then went on, upon the invitation of Count Walewski, the President of the Conference sitting in Paris, to discuss other matters bearing on International Law, which, it was thought, would contribute to the prospect of good relations among the civilized countries of Europe. I wish to prove this, and I think I can show that we should have had no title whatever, no *locus standi*, no presumption on our part, if we had attempted to drag into the Conference of three months ago the subject of maritime International Law. When Count Walewski proposed to the Conference of 1856, that it should proceed without delay to consider certain questions of International Law, he found the Conference positively unable so to do, for it was not, by their instructions, within the powers which many members of the Conference had received. Count Buol for one, on the part of Austria, said that as regarded the principles of Maritime Law, he appreciated their spirit and bearing; but that, not being authorized by his instructions to express an opinion upon a matter of such importance, he must confine himself to the statement that he was prepared to await the orders of his Sovereign. Baron Manteuffel said he had no instructions on the subject of these questions of International Law. They were, therefore, matters entirely separate from the subject of the Conference. They had no connection whatever with the Eastern Question; and if we had, on the occasion of the present Conference — supposing we shared the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, as to the policy of the Declaration of Paris—attempted to re-open the whole of these subjects, it is hardly too much to say that not only would our proposal have been rejected, but we should have been subjected to the serious reproach of the right hon. Gentleman, that our arguments for dragging it in, head and shoulders, before such an assembly were "flimsy" arguments, and we should have placed ourselves in a position little short of ridiculous. I must say one word more. The right hon. Gentleman has expressed, in very strong language, his opinion that the work of the Conference of London has subjected this country to "disgrace and humiliation." I think those were the words comprised in the brief but emphatic declaration of the right hon. Gentleman upon the effect of the Conference; and his late Colleague (Mr. S. Cave), who sits near him, said that Prince Gortchakoff had repudiated the Treaty of 1856, and England had accepted that repudiation. Now, the best reply to such a criticism is to read the words which Prince Gortchakoff, by the hand of Count Brunnow, has accepted. At the end of October, Prince Gortchakoff did, on the part of the Emperor of Russia, declare himself to be liberated from certain engagements of a treaty signed by him; and on the 17th of January, by the hand of Count Brunnow, Prince Gortchakoff signed a document declaring that—

> "He recognized it as an essential principle of the law of nations, that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting Powers, by means of an amicable arrangement."

I will not ask what language is adequate to describe such a transaction; but I do say that a Government which obtained the signature of such a declaration, in complete contradiction and utter annihilation of the whole doctrine contained in the Circular of Prince Gortchakoff, is not liable to the charge of being parties to the disgrace and humiliation of this country. Of course, I am perfectly aware that this is entirely different matter from the question of the neutralization of the Black Sea. The value of that engagement, and the possibility of maintaining it, are points upon which I will not touch, for they are wholly irrelevant to the question raised by the hon. and learned Member (Mr. C. Bentinck). Without censuring the hon. and learned Member for raising the question, I cannot help thinking there was immense force in what fell from my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Richmond (Sir Roundell Palmer), upon the impolicy of complaining of these concessions under circumstances in which it is admitted on almost all hands that we have no power to do—what this Motion asks us to do—that is to recede from them. Many think they were proper and just concessions; and at least they have the advantage of placing us in sympathy with the rest of the civilized world. But there is great force in the argument of my hon. and learned Friend that, if we have not the power to alter the position we voluntarily assumed, we are pursuing a course not likely to attract either sympathy or respect from other nations. I trust that the hon. and learned Gentleman, after the discussion which has taken place upon the question, will not trouble the House to divide.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, his object was satisfied by the discussion which had arisen, and would withdraw the Motion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE CHARITY COMMISSION — EXEMPTION OF ENDOWED CHARITIES FROM INCOME TAX.—RESOLUTION.

MR. A. JOHNSTON, in calling attention to the fact that the expressed desire of the House to have the Charity Commission made self-supporting had not been carried out, and to move a Resolution, said, he need not take up much of the time of the House by pointing out the reason why the Charity Commission and the Inclosure Commission ought to pay their own expenses, while other commissions were properly charged on the Consolidated Fund. It was broadly because both those Commissions were pecuniarly beneficial to the classes of property with which they dealt, and saved them large expense. With regard to the Inclosure Commission, a system of making it self-supporting had already been set on foot, and if it was not yet quite perfect that was an administrative defect which the Government were pledged to set right. With the Charity Commission the case was different, and it would be necessary to state briefly the history of the question. Nineteen years ago clauses were inserted into a Charitable Trusts Bill, introduced by the Government of the day, providing that the expenses of the Charity Commission should be paid by an income tax of 2*d.* in the pound on all endowed charities. That Bill did not pass; and in the following year those clauses were not inserted in the Bill which passed into law. Then came the memorable debate of 1863, on the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) to extend the income tax to charities, to which he would presently refer. In 1866, in answer to the right hon. Gentleman now Chief Commissioner of Works, the Government promised their attention to the matter. In the following year, 1867, the hon. Member for Chippenham (Mr. Goldney), whose services in reference to that subject could not be too warmly acknowledged, called attention to it in the House, but without any result; but in 1868, when his hon. Friend having moved an Amendment on Committee of Supply—

> "That, in the opinion of this House the expenses of the Copyhold, Inclosure, and Tithe Commission, Inclosure and Drainage Acts, and Charity Commission, ought not to be borne by the public,"

carried it against the Government by a majority of 1. But what had been the result? In 1869 his hon. Friend returned to the charge, and questioned the Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted in his answer that nothing but an income tax on the endowed charities would meet the case; and yet in the Charitable Trusts Act passed in that year the Government—who appear to have been still hankering after the exploded notion of a scale of fees—introduced a section (sec. 16) directing such a scale to be prepared. Of course nothing had come of it. The idea was rotten from the beginning. It would amount to taxing heavily those charities which desired reform, while letting off scot free those which preferred to fester on in sloth and corruption, or rather would have the effect of causing all charities, good and bad, to avoid the offices of the Commissioners as they would poison. He now came to last year, when he briefly stated the case in Committee on the Civil Service Estimates, and was gratified to find that the Government had abandoned the idea of a "scale of fees," and "considered the financial proposals of the Commissioners totally inadequate to the necessities of the case." He assumed that there were very few hon. Members who did not know something of the character of the "charities" with which the Commission had to deal. The well-known words of Lord Eldon continue to be strictly true, and their truth after 40 years of reform and progress was a far greater disgrace to us than in his time—

> "The charity estates all over the kingdom are dealt with in a manner most grossly improvident, and of a direct breach of trust."

But that was not all. There was a view of the case which probably hardly occurred to Lord Eldon, but was almost universally accepted by thoughtful men in these days—namely, that a vast number of these endowed charities, even where managed with the most scrupulous honesty and care, did almost unmixed harm to the community by pauperizing the recipients. In fact, it might be argued that less harm to the community was done by the trustees who eat, drank, or pocketed the funds than by those who scrupulously applied them in accordance with what were miscalled "founders' intentions." He proposed briefly to mention to the House a few cases that had come under his notice, and hon. Gentlemen would easily decide for themselves to which of the two categories each belonged. He would first refer to the Canterbury case, full particulars of which were given by the Commissioners in their last Report; but he would add that a list of the recipients of the Canterbury charities was made some years ago at the instance of the Commissioners, and found to include, among other "deserving objects," 132 mechanics, labourers, and tradesmen; 55 persons in good employment; 109 paupers and occasional paupers; 46 drunkards and bad characters; and 6 women who were keepers of brothels. That was not the only abuse which flourished like a green bay tree under the shadow of Canterbury Cathedral. Two hospitals founded, one for the sick and the other for lepers, were, or were recently found to be, turned into superannuation asylums for the servants and dependents of the trustees and their friends. A somewhat similar case was that of a charity called "The Mill and Meadow Money," at Bewdley, of which the Inspector said—

> "The application of it furnishes, perhaps, the grossest instance on record of indiscriminate expenditure. When the municipal trustees have resolved upon the sum to be distributed (in 1857 it amounted to £90) the money is handed over to Benjamin Jefferies, the beadle of the town, who issues the following notice:—When the names are given in Mr. Jefferies makes out a scale varying with the sum at his disposal. No person who applies in time is refused. Many tradesmen receive it; some paying £100 a-year rent have it. No recommendation or testimonial is required. Bad characters would not be refused. The distribution is altogether indiscriminate. The hall is crowded on the occasion."

He (Mr. A. Johnston) resided at one time in the parish of Walton-on-Thames, and had abundant evidence of the directly pauperizing effect of the endowed charities; but one of those in the neighbouring parish of West Moulsey quite eclipsed anything they could boast of, and was so astounding that he would venture to quote again from the Inspector's Report—

> "Loaves and a barrel of beer are distributed yearly on November 13. The distribution takes place at daybreak. The baker's cart drives across a field within the manor and the loaves are thrown out and picked up, in fact scrambled for by 70 or 80 people, usually persons going to Kingston fair. . . . . . The beer is not given quite so indiscriminately, about 30 or 40 persons connected with the place form a string, and as they pass by the barrel hand the drinking horn from one to the other till the cask is empty."

At Chester—

> "Owen Jones's charity has an income of £2,150 per annum, and 24 trade companies, totally unconnected, so far as I can learn, with the trades whose names they bear, are kept up for the sole purpose of dividing this income among themselves."

He would trouble the House with one more instance—the case of Lord Crewe's Trust. In 1863 when the inquiry took place the income of that charity was £9,600 per annum. On the estate was Bamburgh Castle, which the Inspector describes as "a splendid pile of buildings."

> "When approached from the Belford Road, it presents an appearance of almost royal magnificence. The keep is reserved for the trustees and their families. Fourteen beds are made up in it, including six for servants. It contains several good reception rooms; £100 per annum is spent on the library, which is of no use to the middle and lower classes. Adjacent to the keep are spacious stables and coachhouses. The trustees during the summer and early autumn take it by turns to reside at the castle. They bring their families and receive their friends. No specific duties are prescribed for the resident trustees, and no diary is kept of their proceedings. The following servants are kept at the castle throughout the year:—Gardener, groom, castleman, cook, and housemaid."

The trustees have a farm (for which, however, they pay rent), and

> "The farm horses run well in double harness and are used to draw a carriage kept at the castle for the use of the trustees. They are driven by the castle groom or porter, whose livery is paid for out of the trust funds."

It made one's mouth water!—

"A flag is hoisted to give notice when there is a trustee in residence. The cost of these flags in 10 years amounted to £126. The solicitors' bills for 10 years average £340 per annum."

The observations of the Inspector commence—"The management has been neither judicious nor economical." And they conclude by giving details of the expenses of beating the bounds of the Blanchard Estate in 1839, which include "flagbearers," "musicians," "ponies," and "tavern bills," and amount to the almost incredible sum of £305 17*s.* 6*d.* One word as to the charities of the City of London, to which, as some of his hon. Friends knew, he devoted special attention during last Session. In fact, he introduced a Bill embodying a scheme of reform, which was carefully prepared in concert with those who best understood the subject. That Bill failed on the Standing Orders, and without presuming to question the wisdom of those rules, it might be asked whether they were intended to apply to Bills brought in from purely public motives, and in which the promoters had no personal interest whatever. It might be objected that the trustees of these charities had power to reform themselves. But who was to do it? The population, rich and poor, was gone. Many of those parishes covered a space of from three to six acres each, and he found that the income of the charities in 24 of them was £37,000 per annum in 1865, and had increased to £51,000 per annum in 1870. But the very cause of this enormous increase also resulted in a rapid diminution of population. He regretted that the results of the late Census were not yet available, but he could give the House the figures in one parish, not picked out for the purpose, but mentioned to him casually last year by the rector, who had taken a private Census on his own account, and found that in the nine years which had elapsed since the Census of 1861 the resident population of his parish had decreased from 1,300 to 200. What in the world then became of the money? Well, he had spent a good deal of time over the accounts—it went in dinners, in relief of rates (in other words, into the pockets of the rich merchants), and in an elaborate system of pauperizing. Of course in many of those parishes there were absolutely no poor. How could there be at the rents which were charged? Hon. Members thought they paid high ground rents in Grosvenor Place and Park Lane. Let them ask his hon. Friend the Member for Shaftesbury (Mr. Glyn) what ground rents were in the parish of St. Edmund the King and Martyr. Now, he had some difficulty last year in investigating the accounts of this parish, as they had rendered none for four years; but he was bound to say when he did get them they were very creditably made out. The income was very nearly £1,500, and rather more than half was given to the "poor," who, as he had said, did not exist. He was told that the way it was got rid of was this—The beadle, or the bellman, or some such official, took a cab and went down into the suburbs hunting up the descendants of those who were once the poor of the parish. One person received £92 per annum, another £59, another £58, and so on. He did not blame anyone for all this—he did not attack anyone—but he did presume to blame our system of granting £50,000 per annum of public money in aid of the monstrous waste he had endeavoured to describe—for excusing income tax was a grant of public money. It would be said that these were not fair samples, that a vast majority of the endowed charities were doing a great deal of good. Granted. But why not discriminate? He was opposed to State grants without State control; but if they persisted in making a State grant, why give it to good and bad alike? Then, besides the remission of income tax, they escaped legacy or succession duty, which other property paid from five to six times in each century; and besides those two large grants in the form of exemptions, the State kept up the Charity Commission for them at an expense nominally of £18,000 per annum; but if they reckoned superannuation allowances and interest on the £500,000 spent on inquiries of from £40,000 to £50,000 per annum. He could well anticipate the answer of Her Majesty's Government. His right hon. Friend would probably remind him of what took place eight years ago, and would say that he was not specially partial to hornets' nests. But he fearlessly asserted that since that time there had been a great change in public opinion. On that occasion no less than 19 hon. Members opposed his right hon. Friend's proposal, while the single supporter of it was one of his Colleagues, now Secretary of State for War. He (Mr. A. Johnston) took part in the agitation out-of-doors. He confessed it with shame himself, but it was through ignorance. Since that he had looked into the subject and altered his opinion; but he took part in it in the interest of one of those noble charities which were the pride and blessing of the country, and as he said, they might discriminate between these and those which were mere festering heaps of abuse. He would ask the Government to consider, as a proof of a change in public opinion, the carrying of the Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. Goldney) in 1868, and the fact that even the opponents of that Motion did not contest the principle of it; and he would ask them not to play with this question any longer, but to give their support to the Amendment which he had the honour of moving.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "discontinuing the exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax is the only method of carrying out the decision of this House against the payment of the expenses of the Charity Commission out of public funds,"—(*Mr. Andrew Johnston,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Sir FRANCIS GOLDSMID said, the logical conclusion of the exposure of abuses to which they had listened was that there ought to be investigation with a view to redressing them, and there did not seem to be any legitimate connection between the interesting particulars adduced and the Motion of the hon. Member for South Essex (Mr. A. Johnston) to tax all charities at the rate of 4*d.* or 5*d.* in the pound. As it was admitted that 2*d.* on their income would suffice to pay the expense of the Charity Commission, the proposal should be confined to that amount. He believed the charges made did not apply to many hospitals and other charities that were doing a great deal of good.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, the hon. Member for South Essex was in some degree liable to the criticism of the hon. Baronet (Sir Francis Goldsmid), because he had undertaken to prove what he was, perhaps, not obliged to prove. The hon. Member had undertaken a work of supererogation; because the question was not under what circumstances ought taxes to be paid, but under what circumstances ought the country to be called upon to make certain contributions. In order to demand a tax from a man, it was not necessary to impugn his character, or to say that he should violate any of the Ten Commandments or any moral duty. He said to his fellow-subject—"You get the advantages of settled government, and you are bound to contribute your share to its support." The taxes, like rain, fell on the just and on the unjust. Apply this to charities, of which some were exempt from taxation, which meant that poor working men, small tradesmen, and hard working professional men were made contributors of the amount from the payment of which the charities were exempted. Be it observed that these charitable corporations were more indebted to the law than any other part of the community. The law protected the lives and property of others; it did not create us or call us into being; but the law made these charities; these corporations were creatures of the law; they existed only by its creation; therefore they owed a double debt to the law, which not only protected them in the enjoyment of their funds, but which called them into existence, and gave them, contrary to the ordinary laws of nature, perpetual succession, while freeing them from income tax and probate and legacy duty. Was it not unfair that these creatures of the law should be exempted from contributing towards the maintenance of the law and of the institutions of the country? Not only had these institutions their income tax paid for them at the expense of the community, but they derived special benefits without paying anything for them, because £18,000 a-year was placed in the Estimates to maintain an establishment specially instituted to enable them to obtain law and justice more easily, and on cheaper terms than others; who, if they had wrongs to get redressed, were compelled to go into the Chancery Court. The hon. Member had completely made out his case, even without going into particular instances of misconduct, which showed that this class of property was not deserving of special favour. And it was natural it must be so, because it was nobody's interest to prevent abuse, as it was in a private establishment. Under these circumstances, he had no difficulty in assenting to the substance of the Motion; but instead of saying that discontinuance from exemption to the income tax was the "only mode" of carrying out the decision of the House, which was not strictly true, because these institutions might be made to pay probate, legacy, and succession duties, he would suggest the substitution of "most suitable" or the best mode of carrying out the decision of the House.

Sir FRANCIS GOLDSMID repeated his suggestion that the only object should be the payment of the expenses of the Charity Commission.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, it would not be a less suitable mode of meeting the the expenses of the Charity Commission, because, besides that, the money did something more which was also appropriate.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "discontinuing the exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax is a suitable method of carrying out the decision of this House against the payment of the expenses of the Charity Commission out of public funds,"

—instead thereof.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question," put, and *negatived.*

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That discontinuing the exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax is a suitable method of carrying out the decision of this House against the payment of the expenses of the Charity Commission out of public funds.

Mr. BAILLIE COCHRANE, who had given Notice of his intention to move, as an Amendment to the Motion for going into Committee of Supply, the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the working of the Colonial Governors' Pensions Act, rose to address the House.

Mr. SPEAKER said, the agreeing to the Amendment superseded the Motion that he should leave the Chair.

Mr. BAILLIE COCHRANE rose to Order, and, appealing to the Speaker, remarked, that he thought that decision had been overruled, and that he could move the adjournment of the House if necessary. He urged the hardship upon private Members at this period of the Session of the adoption of an Amendment on the Order to go into Supply, if that were to prevent the discussion of other Resolutions put down as Amendments to that Motion. He also appealed to the head of the Government, to say whether it was not possible and desirable to obviate this inconvenience, proceeding from an amicable arrangement made between the Treasury Bench and an hon. Member?

Mr. GLADSTONE pointed out that, after a single question, brought forward by way of Amendment to the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair, had been carried, those hon. Gentlemen who had Notices on the Paper were precluded from bringing forward their Motions. His hon. Friend, however, wished to be again put in a position to put his Motion. If his hon. Friend only desired to discuss the subject, and not to divide the House, he should offer no objection; though he could not admit, as a matter of principle, that he had a right to bring forward his Motion.

Mr. BAILLIE COCHRANE said, he had no intention of dividing the House.

Mr. GLADSTONE thereupon moved that the House should immediately resolve itself into Committee of Supply.

SUPPLY.

Resolved, That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Mr. SPEAKER: As the House has constituted me the guardian of its Orders I think it right to explain to the House exactly what is the effect of the last Motion. The Motion that the House resolve itself into Committee of Supply was superseded by an Amendment which was agreed to; but the Government has thought fit—and it has been done on previous occasions—to revive the Motion for going into Committee of Supply. What I wish to explain is, that the Motion so revived is revived in its entirety; and that the hon. Member who proposes the next Amendment stands in exactly the same position as if he had proposed his Amendment at the commencement of the evening, when the Motion that I now leave the Chair was first made.

COLONIAL GOVERNORS' PENSIONS ACT.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. BAILLIE COCHRANE, in rising to move for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the working of the Colonial Governors' Pension Act, said, that as the hon. Member for Leith (Mr. Macfie) intended shortly to bring the whole question of the relations of the mother country and the Colonies before the House he should not go into the general question, and in acknowledgment of the courtesy which had been shown him by the Prime Minister his remarks on his own specific Motion should be brief, so as not to delay the Government going into Supply. The House might not be aware—for he was sorry to say that it did not take much interest in colonial questions—that the only link which now remained to remind the Colonies of their connection with the mother country, since the withdrawal of the troops, consisted in the power of the Imperial Government to appoint the Governors, who, strange as it might seem, had no pensions up to the year 1865. In that year he introduced a Bill for the purpose of giving pensions to retiring Governors, which Bill was taken out of his hands by the right hon. Gentleman, now Secretary of State for War, and passed in such a form that he scarcely recognized it when it had became an Act of Parliament. Still, though not entirely adequate to the occasion, the Act was a great boon to the Colonies, for though the House generally took but little interest in the matter, the Colonial Secretaries and Under Secretaries had always, so far as he knew, shown the greatest interest in all questions appertaining to their Department. The appointment of colonial Governors had been made most impartially. The late Government had the good fortune to secure the services, as colonial Governors, of such men as Sir James Fergusson, Mr. Du Cane, and Lord Belmore; while the present Government, in appointing the Marquess of Normanby, who, in addition to his other qualifications, had the advantage of Parliamentary experience, had taken a course which must commend itself to all persons who took an interest in the Colonies. But in order to induce men of position to accept colonial Governorships they must be treated fairly, and an interest shown in them and their position. It would scarcely be credited that of more than 70 Governors, only eight or nine had benefited by the Act of 1865, the amount of their retiring pensions being £7,070 a-year. There was a list of 62 colonial Governors who had served 17 years, and did not receive a sixpence of the money of the country. Formerly nearly every colonial Governor was a half-pay officer, who, when his period of service expired, fell back upon his half-pay; but, at the present time, the offices were filled by civilians, who, unless they possessed private fortunes, had absolutely nothing to live upon when they returned from the Colonies, on the expiration of their term of office, at a time of life when it was too late for them to enter any other profession, a fact which would deter good men from accepting appointments. By the Act of 1865 no Governor could receive a pension until he was 60 years of age. A Return, for which he had moved, gave a list of 51 ex-Governors residing in this country who received no pension at all. It would hardly be believed that Sir George Grey had served in South Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape for 25 years and seven months, but because he was not actually 60 years of age he was not now receiving one penny of public money. The case of Lieutenant General Sir J. G. Le Marchant was still stronger. He had served in Nova Scotia and Malta for 17 years and three months, but because he had not completed 18 years he could receive no pension. The case of Mr. Norman Macdonald was also a hard one. There was a clause in the Act by which, if a person had served 12 years in a civil capacity and eight years as Governor, he should receive a pension of £500 a-year. Mr. N. Macdonald had served as Governor of Sierra Leone for six years and nine months, and a further period of 12 years in a civil capacity; but although he had served 18 years and nine months he did not receive a pension of £500, but only £200, to which he was entitled for civil service. The Return kept out of view that he was not Colonial Secretary, but Governor of

Sierra Leone, when he retired. Another most distinguished man was Sir Philip Wodehouse, who had served 18 years in Honduras, British Guiana, and the Cape. He received no pension because he was not 60. He wondered the limit was not fixed at 70, for then there would be no demand for pensions at all. The case of Sir E. D. Hay, who had served 22 years, was also of a similar character. Mr. Dundas again, who had been a Member of that House, neither got an appointment nor a pension. What he desired was a Select Committee, in order that the working of the Act might be fairly known, and that justice might be done to eminent public servants. His idea was that every man who had served six years as Governor of a Colony should have a kind of half-pay, or retaining fee, of about £300 a-year. He did not wish this to be regarded as a profession in which a man was to receive promotion by being removed from one Colony to another, for it was ridiculous to carry out such a system with regard to the qualities of the Governor, or the requirements of the Colony; but it was desirable he should not fall into penury when he returned home, and the retaining fee would not preclude him from obtaining employment, if he were thought to be the best man to fill a particular vacancy. It would enable them to maintain their status as gentlemen, and would add little to the expense of the country. He was almost ashamed to state the small amount the retired Governors would receive, if his suggestion were adopted. Taking six years of service as entitling them to an allowance of £300, there were only 33 ex-Governors who would receive it, and the whole amount would not exceed £9,900. If the term of service were prolonged to nine years, there would be only 18 who could claim the retaining fee, and the total amount would not exceed £5,400. Even the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not, he thought, refuse to do justice to these servants of the Crown at so small an expenditure. At one time our colonial Governorships were regarded as a refuge for the destitute. Recent Governments had of late tried to elevate them, and the appointments were now excellent. The Governors were the only link between the mother country and the Colony, and he confidently hoped that the Under Secretary for the Colonies would entertain his proposal. The way in which they were treated seemed to indicate a perfect indifference to the interests of the Colonies. He was sure the Government could not do better than entertain his proposal; and he felt confident that if he were not precluded by the rules of the House from dividing on the Motion, the majority of hon. Members present would accompany him into the Lobby. He should not press his Motion to a Division; but would move *pro formâ* that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working of the Colonial Governors' Pensions Act.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working of the Colonial Governors' Pensions Act,"—(*Mr. Baillie Cochrane,*)

—instead thereof.

MR. KNATCHBULL - HUGESSEN said, he was quite ready to admit that whatever praise could be bestowed upon the Act of 1865 was due to the action of the hon. Member for the Isle of Wight (Mr. Baillie Cochrane.) The measure was a child of the hon. Gentleman's; but he seemed to suspect that it had been changed at nurse. For his own part, he should have said the Act was working as well as could have been expected; but his hon. Friend, like an unnatural parent, wished to place it out at nurse and commit it to the tender mercies of a Select Committee. He feared that the result of a reference to a Committee, in the terms proposed, would not necessarily be in accordance with the views and wishes of the hon. Member. The ease with which the Act was passed might be attributed to the indifference of the House to colonial subjects, of which the hon. Gentleman complained. The Bill was not introduced without the serious consideration of two Departments; one of which was charged with the conduct of colonial affairs, and the other with the protection of the Revenue from unfair charges. It was pointed out at the time, that they would by the Act draw more closely the administrative connection between the Colonies and the mother country, just at the period when they had begun to recognize, and Colonies to appreciate, the advantages of self-reliance and self-government. It was also remarked that there had been no difficulty without the inducement of a pension in obtaining proper persons for these appointments. Moreover, it was said—as he thought justly—that the introduction of the measure would have a tendency to make the service continuous, and to give Governors a claim to gradual promotion irrespective of merit, instead of leaving those who were responsible for appointments to find the best man for each Colony. If the Act was now referred to a Select Committee, not only would the improvements suggested by the hon. Member be discussed, but the principle of the measure, and all the considerations he had mentioned would be taken into account, and it was possible that instead of improving the position of those whom the hon. Gentleman sought to benefit, the result of the inquiry would be to their disadvantage. The Government were willing to admit that the Governor should not be regarded as merely a servant of the Colony, but should be considered as a link between the Colony and the mother country. He had no wish to disturb existing arrangements. The hon. Member thought the age of 60 was too advanced an age to be fixed as the limit at which a Governor could receive a pension; but there was a provision in the Act, under which a person suffering from disease or infirmity, incurred in the administration of his Government, would, irrespective of age, be entitled to a pension. By giving a man under 60 years of age, in the full vigour of his life, a claim to a pension, a considerable additional charge would be entailed upon the public Revenue, and he did not think it was called for by the necessities of the case. He could not go into the details of all the cases mentioned by the hon. Gentleman; but he would point out one or two errors which he had committed with regard to General Sir J. G. Le Marchant and Sir Philip Wodehouse. The time had not arrived when they could claim a pension when the return was drawn up, but both had now done so and their claims had been admitted. [Mr. BAILLIE COCHRANE: Yes, within the last two months.] No doubt the allowances had only been made recently. The Act might, however, be improved in one respect. At present a Governor who had served 18 years received the full rate of pension, and a Governor who had served 12 years might have a reduced rate of two-thirds; but a gentleman having served up to 17 years was still not entitled to claim more than that reduced amount. Some alteration in the shape of a gradually increasing rate in proportion to the term of service was desirable. The question was under consideration, and if an arrangement of that kind could be made without involving an increased charge upon the Revenue it should be done. In that way, cases of hardship which did exist would be met. He hoped the hon. Member would allow his Motion to be negatived, and leave the matter in the hands of the Colonial Office, with the assurance that they would be the first to redress any wrong which could be removed without causing a still greater evil.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question," put, and *agreed to.*

SCOTLAND—DEFENCES OF THE FIRTH OF FORTH.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. MACFIE, who had given Notice to call attention to the defenceless state of the Firth of Forth, and to move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, Her Majesty's Government should take into their immediate consideration the present defenceless state of the Firth of Forth, with a view to erecting such defensive works as appear necessary,"

said, the question was of great importance; indeed, he might truly say that it was of great national importance. He was happy to say, however, that it was by no means a party question, and he might further observe that it was not a local question.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present—

MR. MACFIE resumed: It did not seem to him a question which admitted of long delay. The question was, "Ought or ought not the Firth of Forth to be put into a complete state of defence?" Now, if he was able to prove—and he was sure he could—that at present the estuary was undefended, and that the best kind of defence was stone fortifications, it must be obvious to all—and he had the highest authority to back his statement—that years must elapse before the works were sufficiently completed to admit of being supplied with guns for proper action. Again, it was in times of peace such as those they now happily enjoyed, that works of this kind were best done. They were then executed with leisure, the masonry was solidified more, and no offence was given to foreign Powers, and no alarms were created abroad in consequence of a suspicion that we were disposed to take some action unfavourable to the maintenance of peace. He would not then enter upon the general question of the defence of the country; but he would confine himself to the question of the Firth of Forth. At the same time, he should not do justice to the special branch of the subject which he brought before the House, if he did not present briefly the views of a most eminent naval authority. He had been favoured with a copy of a recent publication by Mr. Reed—a name which carried the greatest weight in that House—and from his work he would make some very brief extracts. That great authority said—

> "I will tell you frankly at the outset that, in my opinion, the naval defences of the coast, and more especially the defences of the great commercial ports, are in a very unsatisfactory state—a condition wholly unworthy of us as the first maritime Power of the world. I lay down two propositions—first, that those commercial ports would be found to a great extent defenceless should a war break out; and, secondly, that they nevertheless possess in themselves enormous defensive resources, which are practically—I may say entirely—neglected."

Again, Mr. Reed said—

> "It would be criminal, in view of these facts, to place all our reliance on our sea-going Navy alone, and to leave any longer our great commercial emporiums without local defence. Now, that is, in point of fact, their present condition. They are entirely undefended; and not only is that the case, but there really are no vessels at the great naval ports adapted for their defence."

Towards the end of his pamphlet Mr. Reed remarked—

> "Our present condition is discreditable, and would be more than dangerous should a serious war overtake us. Our great maritime towns, though teeming with men and materials available for their defence, lie open to insult and to robbery. While they do so, we are exposed to all kinds of panic, folly, and extravagant expenditure."

The hon. Member then proceeded to read the report of Captain Moncrieff, the inventor of the system of gun-carriages, who had been invited by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh to visit and inspect the district, and report what works were necessary to place the Firth of Forth in a state of defence. Captain Moncrieff, in his report, pointed out the great importance of the Firth, as a military position as well in respect of its large trade and shipping, as its being a favourable base for an attack by an enemy upon the South of Britain and upon the great emporiums on the Clyde; yet it was, he said, at present without any defence. The key of the position for the defence of the Firth was the island of Inchkeith. It presented favourable points for the erection of batteries, which would bear upon all the channels; it possessed precipitous sides and few landing places, a good supply of water, and convenient spots for hutting the troops. By scarping the hills in some places, by emplacements for field guns and Gatlings to enfilade the landing places, it could be made very strong at a comparatively small outlay. Captain Moncrieff added that upon being asked by the Government to do so, he was ready to prepare plans and furnish estimates for putting the whole place in a state of defence. The hon. Member also read extracts from local newspapers and writers, urging the extreme importance in a national point of view of fortifying the estuary. The depth of water, one writer said, would permit iron-clads to come within easy range of Leith and Granton, and cover the landing of troops from transports; and that from its 40 piers and tidal harbours, and its long sandy beaches so well adapted for the landing of troops, the Firth of Forth was marked out by nature as the most suitable base of operations for an enemy landing in Great Britain. And now he (Mr. Macfie) would put this question—What would a Scottish Parliament have decided if this question were raised there? Surely he was entitled to ask this question. It never was thought, when Scotland was united to the larger country of England, that she was to forego the advantages to which she was entitled by the necessities of her position. Well, in a Scottish Parliament it would be at once determined to do what was absolutely necessary for the defence of her ancient capital. He did not speak from mere supposition. He could appeal to facts. Three hundred years ago this island of Inchkeith was fortified, and another island higher up in the estuary was fortified after the battle of Flodden. Then the fortifications were fortifications against England; but now they had England on their side to join in doing the work, and they were determined none the less to maintain their privileges in our union. He trusted that all they did might be worthy of the great United Empire. He would now draw attention to the great change which steam had made in naval warfare. By means of steam it was possible to fix beforehand the exact point to which a fleet or a single ship should be directed, and to reach a certain point at a prescribed time in company, and almost without any danger of being intercepted, and without any risk of adverse winds preventing or retarding the operation. It was their business to make themselves safe, so that they might negotiate any treaty, and be free from submitting to indignity from any Power, whatever that Power might be. It was quite clear that the eastern coast of Great Britain was now much more exposed than the southern part of the island. Captain Sherard Osborne had called attention to the want of naval positions on our eastern coast. Not only did the first Bonaparte consider the possibility of landing troops in the Firth of Forth, but not many years ago there was a belief in many burghs that a considerable hostile force was about to be landed there. Was there, in point of fact, anything to prevent a hostile force from being landed there at the present moment. Literally there was nothing whatever. The estuary was large enough to hold almost the whole commercial navy of Great Britain. He would not suppose the arrival of a hostile fleet; but suppose this country were engaged in war, there was nothing whatever to prevent an enemy from coming up and burning the city of Edinburgh. It was an attractive place—the seat of banks where large sums of money were kept; and furthermore, it was the capital of an ancient country, a place of great renown; and if a young commander of a ship or a piratical commander wanted to get *éclat*, nothing would be more promising or certain than to attack the great city of Edinburgh. That city was situated as near the sea-shore at Leith as Kensington Palace or the Palace of Westminster was to Hyde Park Corner. Leith was in itself a place of sufficient importance to entitle it to a claim to be put in a proper state of defence. But besides Leith, there were a great many other places of considerable importance not far from the estuary, all of which at present were anything but adequately provided against any foreign attack that might be made upon them. At this present moment the shipowners whose vessels made use of Leith were in negotiation with the Board of Trade on the subject, and the importance of the shipping interests of that part of the kingdom had, he took it for granted, been brought under the attention of the Government. An idea of the extent of the trade of Leith might be gathered from the fact that six or seven of the shipowners there represented 60,000 tons of shipping; and it was not its shipping alone which made Leith a place which should be properly defended. Leith was also the centre of two important railway sytems, which brought to it a large amount of trade. Then, also, there were very considerable warehouses which required protection. He would at present, however, confine himself to the necessity of protecting the shipping. It must be borne in mind that the shipping of this part of the coast was of interest—not merely to England and Scotland alone—the whole Empire was interested in it. Much of this shipping had a close and intimate connection with our Colonies. Surely our Colonies had a right to expect that the ports to which their ships traded should possess proper defences, and that they incurred no risk in trading to our shores. Therefore, on Imperial grounds, he contended that it was the duty of the Government of this country to see that all necessary coast defences should be provided. He might be asked what he thought should be done. It was not for him to say. He felt that he performed his duty by drawing the attention of the Government to the matter. It was for them to consider the matter, and devise the best means of carrying out what was needed. He did not believe that the cost of the necessary defences of the particular part of the coast to which he alluded would be much. If he might be permitted to throw out a hint, he would suggest that stonework defences would be better than floating defences for the Firth of Forth. The stonework would be the more economical of the two, and the advantages of stonework defences, he thought, would be generally allowed. There was, for instance, but little chance of decay in the stonework, and it would always be found sufficient for its purpose, provided that it was once placed in a state of proper efficiency. He trusted, therefore, that the Government would give his proposition a favourable reception and a careful consideration. There was, as all must know, a great want of a naval arsenal to the north of London. The estuary of the Firth of Forth afforded, in his opinion, the very best place for such an arsenal that could be hit upon. Now the Government, he believed, were so sufficiently alive to the importance and the necessity of the question, that they intended some day or other to carry out the very work which he had been suggesting as of pressing moment. What the Government system of defence should be, it was not for him to anticipate. He had no doubt that it would include torpedoes. Torpedoes, were no doubt, destructive instruments of great value under certain circumstances; but he doubted that they would be very efficient in a broad estuary like the Firth of Forth, if there were not proper defensive works on land also. He had been allowed an opportunity of seeing the plans of the Government respecting the coast defences to be executed when the proper time came. As far as a civilian like himself could judge, they would prove sufficient for the purpose. The question he had at present in hand must not be treated as one affecting the Firth of Forth alone. It was one affecting the great interest involved in the trade of Leith and Edinburgh, and the protection of a very important part of the coast of the kingdom. In this light he wished to put it, and in that light he desired it to be considered. The existing defences were hardly worthy of the name, and as defences of any value they were not worthy of consideration. It was not a question of cost, because he did not think that would be considerable. At present the fortifications they had were not properly defended, and the state of our coasts positively invited danger. The hon. Member was about to move his Resolution, when—

Mr. SPEAKER said, that the House having already agreed to the Motion, "That I do now leave the Chair," it was not competent to the hon. Member to do so.

Mr. SINCLAIR AYTOUN said, he quite concurred in the arguments of the hon. Member for Leith, regarding, as he did, the protection of the entrance to the Firth of Forth as a work of the greatest importance in a national point of view as a place of refuge for our ships. He had not much hope, he might add, that we should make much progress in the establishment of an efficient Army, and he was all the more anxious therefore that the question of our naval defences should occupy the serious attention of the House, and that some assurance should be given by the Government that not only the Firth of Forth, but important positions like Liverpool, should be adequately protected.

Sir HENRY STORKS said, he was glad to be able to inform the hon. Member that the question of the defence of the Firth of Forth had occupied the serious attention of the Government, in common with the other coasts of the kingdom. The Defence Committee, of which he was a member, had examined the subject carefully, and had submitted a plan of defence which, if carried out, would render the Firth of Forth completely secure. That plan his hon. Friend the Member for Leith (Mr. Macfie) had seen, and had in private expressed his approval of it. With the details of the plan he would not trouble the House, although he had all the materials for doing so by him. The estimated cost of carrying it into execution he might, however, observe, was £135,000. The Government, of course, had not lost sight of the question of the defence of other commercial ports also; but looking at the vast amount of the expenditure for the purposes of military defence this year, they had not deemed it desirable—indeed, it would be scarcely possible—to ask the House to vote a sum of money for the special defence of our commercial harbours. A matter so important would not, however, be passed over, and he felt sure his right hon. Friends near him, when the proper time arrived, would not hesitate to propose such an outlay as would put those places in a proper state of defence. He could not, he might add, agree with his hon. Friend as to the strategical importance of the Firth of Forth, for he believed no European Power intending to invade this country—when the difficulties of equipping, embarking, and disembarking an Army for the purpose were taken into account—would select it as a base of operations.

Mr. HERMON, while admitting that the defence of our commercial ports was a question of the greatest importance, held that their security could best be provided for by an adequate supply of gunboats. If once stone defences were commenced, no one could see when there would be an end of the expenditure, as the example of the Channel Islands would show.

Mr. M'LAREN said, the right hon. and gallant Member (Sir Henry Storks) had told them that there was a plan on paper for fortifications on the Firth of Forth; but that plan might remain on paper for a generation to come. The right hon. and gallant Member had assumed that this was an ordinary case of a commercial harbour. The fact was not really so. An enemy's vessel could not go up to Glasgow without a pilot, and only at certain states of the tide, and the same remark might be applied to Hull, Liverpool, Bristol, and other places; but in the case of Edinburgh, there was nothing to prevent a man-of-war from sailing at any time within three miles of the city, to bombard it, or exact a ransom as the price of forbearance. The funds of all the Scotch banks were kept at Edinburgh; in fact, there was always from £3,000,000 to £4,000,000 of gold in their coffers. The rental of the city was £1,250,000 a-year, being equal to that of 20 of the smaller boroughs in England and Ireland which returned Members to this House. The power which an enemy would have, in such circumstances, of exacting a ransom gave Edinburgh a special claim to protection, and if half the sum proposed to be expended were laid out on the defences it would be quite sufficient. In the South of England the money was swallowed up in laying the foundations of the defences on sandbanks under water; but at Edinburgh Nature herself had laid the foundations. There was an island which commanded the approaches, and little more was wanted than a few heavy guns of long range and a sufficient number of gunners. He thought the Government were bound to show a special interest in this case, and to do something speedily, irrespective of the question of fortifying mercantile harbours generally. The success which had attended the attempts of Paul Jones in former times without the advantage of steam should not be forgotten.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," by leave, *withdrawn.*

Committee *deferred* till Monday next.

WAYS AND MEANS.—REPORT.

Resolution [April 20] *reported.*

"That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged and paid for and upon every box or other enclosure of Lucifer Matches, Fusees, or other Matches prepared so as to be capable of being ignited by friction or otherwise than by the application of actual fire or heat (hereinafter called 'Matches'), whether manufactured in or imported into the United Kingdom, which shall be sold, or exposed to sale, or be offered or kept ready for sale, in the United Kingdom, on or after the 10th day of May 1871, a Duty of Excise as follows (that is to say):

	£	s.	d.
Where the box or other enclosure contains Matches which, independently of the substance for ignition, are composed wholly of wood—			
If the number of Matches therein contained does not exceed 100	0	0	0½
If the number of Matches therein contained exceeds 100, then for every 100, and also for any fractional part of 100, of such number . . .	0	0	0½
Where the box or other enclosure contains Matches which, independently of the substance for ignition, are composed wholly or partially of a material other than wood—			
If the number of Matches therein contained does not exceed 50	0	0	0½
If the number of Matches therein contained exceeds 50, then for every 50, and also for any fractional part of 50, of such number . . .	0	0	0½

And the Duties upon boxes or other enclosures of Matches shall be denoted by, and collected by means of, Labels to be affixed upon such boxes or other enclosures."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Resolution be now read a second time."

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE called attention to the Resolution on which was to be based the new tax on matches. The hon. Baronet said, there were in the House, at this moment, a considerable number of hon. Members who last night had not an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon this tax. Nor did those hon. Gentlemen owe any apology for their absence last night when the Resolution passed; because he believed it had not hitherto been customary for an opposed Resolution to be taken on the night on which the Budget was introduced. Now, the tax in question possessed all the elements which could render a tax objectionable. It was a tax on a necessary of life. One of the greatest masters of taxation, Dumont, said that, when you apply direct taxation to luxuries, any person can pay as much of that taxation as he pleased; but the case was "widely different when you apply indirect taxation as regards the poor to the necessaries of life." This tax was one of those which Dumont and his translator, Sir J. Bowring, had in view when they used the words which he had quoted. It was a tax upon a necessary of life; it was a tax upon a manufacture; and upon one which gave remunerative employment to a great number of poor children. Then, as was shown last night, this tax was likely to throw the manufacture of the article into the hands of a few great capitalists. In short, the tax was shown to have all the evils of a direct and indirect tax, and to be one which it would be exceedingly easy to evade. It had been defended as something more than a tax; as something in the nature of a fine upon the abuse, the careless and wanton waste of matches, which was productive of a certain amount of destruction of property and life. But anyone who knew the homes of the poor must be aware that it was not so much in their houses as in the houses of the rich that this reckless abuse of matches, and the consequent destruction of life and property, occurred. It was those who obtained matches without paying for them—it was the servants of the rich—who were wasteful and reckless, and exercised an amount of carelessness in the use of matches which could hardly be described. The poor were singularly thrifty and careful in regard to them. There was one fact stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer which deserved some investigation. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that 605,000,000 boxes of matches, including wax-lights and fusees, were manufactured yearly in England. Anyone who compared these figures with the statistics of the population must see that anything like the whole of that number could not be consumed in this country. A very large proportion, therefore, was exported—indeed, there were figures to show that the export trade was very large. It was as clear as anything connected with taxation could be that, if this tax were imposed, one of two things must happen—either the export trade would be destroyed, or the tax would be levied under conditions which would make it singularly easy of evasion. The only thing that could be said for the tax—the only reason which could enable the House to contemplate it with equanimity, was this—that it would bring home to every cottage in the land the profligacy of Estimates, which had been prepared in view of circumstances which had now ceased to exist. He should strongly oppose the imposition of such a tax.

Mr. DIXON said, he thought the debate should be adjourned. He wondered that the Government should pass with so much haste an opposed Resolution, involving a large amount of taxation upon the community, and, what was more serious, inflicting a tax upon a very important progressive industry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer last night stated that the number of boxes of matches manufactured yearly in this country was about 605,000,000. A tax of a halfpenny and a penny upon those boxes would amount to considerably more than £1,000,000. He understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the amount of that tax at only £500,000. That proved that, in the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the imposition of the tax would reduce the match trade to considerably less than a half. When such uncertain figures as those of the right hon. Gentleman were laid before the House, combined with the novelty of the tax, it was but fair that the country should have an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon the proposal. Otherwise, there would be excited throughout the country a feeling of great apprehension that what had been done in the case of matches might be repeated with reference to other and perhaps more important matters. He moved the Adjournment of the Debate.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: The hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Dixon), who moved the Adjournment of the Debate, I think, is scarcely aware of the nature of the proceedings. This Resolution commits the House and the country to nothing. It is merely a necessary Parliamentary preliminary, for the introduction of a separate Bill on this particular subject, which the hon. Gentleman will have an opportunity, if so minded, of opposing in all its stages like any other Bill. Of course, it is quite right that the country should have the most ample opportunity of expressing an opinion on this subject; but it is not necessary for that purpose that this debate should be adjourned. I think the hon. Gentleman will agree with me, that if this proposition is to become law, it is better that its passing into law should be delayed as little as possible; and, for that purpose, as I pointed out last night, every day is of value. The hon. Gentleman, if he wishes to have an opportunity of expressing his opinion, can do so on the introduction of the Bill, on the second reading, in Committee, and on the third reading. I wish to explain to the House how matters stand with regard to the Division of last night, because there is a peculiarity about that Division. According to the practice of the House, I had no right to press on them the adoption of the Resolution last night. Nothing but the courtesy of the House enabled me to pass the Resolution. I asked the House to allow me to do so, because time is very essential in this matter, and nobody objected. If delay had been requested it would have been my duty at once to have acceded to such request; but no one objected. [Mr. Dixon: I announced my intention to divide upon it, before the Division was taken.] I never heard any intimation of opposition until after the Question was put. I regret that a Division was taken, because it gave me the appearance of trying to press the Resolution upon an unwilling House, though I cannot regret the result. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham has put a question to me which I shall be very happy to answer. The fact is, there are 560,000,000 boxes of wood matches manufactured in this country. In addition to that there are 45,000,000 boxes of wax-lights and fusees, making in all 605,000,000: 135,000,000 boxes are exported, and I think 35,000,000 are imported. I took the Estimate of £550,000 for these matches not because I thought it was the full amount, but because I foresaw that during the delay which may occur before the Bill becomes law if the House shall adopt it, there would necessarily be a very large manufacture which for some time would be forestalled, and also, because I foresaw that if you increased the price of the article there would be some diminution in the quantity manufactured. I do not wish to be held very closely to my estimate, because I have been unable to procure all the information on the subject which I could have wished to obtain. I admit that I cannot raise the sum required for the public service without doing mischief to somebody; but I think that a tax which would be so minutely distributed would be attended with less annoyance than any other which could be imagined, because it would be very fairly distributed over all classes of the community, rich as well as poor. If any hon. Gentleman will point out another tax by which the same sum can be raised with less suffering I shall be quite prepared to adopt it.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he believed that there was a strong public feeling against the proposed tax, and thought that more time ought to be given for its consideration. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had cited America as an example; but he well knew that the American system of finance had long been exploded in this country, and it was, therefore, no recommendation of the tax that it had been imported from America. On the contrary, he looked with suspicion at any mode of raising money which was adopted by the American Government. The present proposal would entail great suffering on the industrial classes of society. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the great danger arising from the use of lucifer matches. No doubt there was considerable danger, and if he had proposed any measure for lessening that danger there would have been some reason in his proposition; but the present measure was not at all calculated to lessen the danger of using these matches. He opposed the tax on the broad principles of political economy, and considered that the Government were now taking a retrograde step in imposing a tax on industry, which would unduly raise the price of the commodity. A very considerable quantity of foreign matches was introduced into this country which would have to pass through the Custom House; in addition to which there would have to be a drawback, and a variety of vexatious interferences with that branch of industry. Again, the police or the Excise officers would have to be employed to check petty frauds on the Revenue by miserable creatures who should try to sell a box of matches without a Government stamp on it. He was prepared to do all he could to prevent the passing of a measure which would have such a prejudicial effect on the poorer classes, and which he considered not only ill-advised, but inconsistent with the course of recent legislation.

MR. MUNDELLA observed, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had intimated that he had taken a leaf out of the American book; but he wished to remind the right hon. Gentleman that it was a leaf of which all intelligent Americans were ashamed. The leading minds of that country were advocating the principle of free trade, and were anxious to abolish all restrictive duties on manufacture. Towards the close of the Civil War in America a heavy tax was put on lucifer matches, and its effect had been to deteriorate the quality of the matches there manufactured. A very bad article was produced, in order that it might be sold at as near to the old price as possible; and precisely the same thing would occur if such a tax were levied in this country. The people would still get a box for a penny, but of a far worse and more dangerous kind than before. In America fire insurance rates had been steadily on the increase during the last three or four years, the premiums on marble stores of the best description being quite double those of the ordinary brick-built stores of this country. He regretted the step taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We, who had been in advance of all other nations in regard to free trade, were taking a retrograde course, and setting a very bad example to our American friends, who were now endeavouring to emancipate themselves from the vicious system of duties on manufactures. Instead of imposing a tax of twice the value of the article affected, and which, while it must be so costly in collection, would fall heavily and almost exclusively on the humbler classes, why had not the right hon. Gentleman the boldness to come down and propose a sixpenny income tax? He should like to know how the old women of the country would be able to calculate a decimal 2·2 system. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman intended to propose a compulsory education in decimals; but he did not think that at present there were 5 per cent of the population who would be able to calculate what they were able to pay under the decimal system. He considered the present Budget and the present expenditure most vicious, and that if bad began, worse remained behind.

MR. LOPES said, he was decidedly opposed to that novel and trumpery tax upon matches, and he thought it would have been much more manly and straightforward if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had demanded a sixpenny income tax, which would have fallen on those who could best afford it; not on those who could afford it least, and who had the smallest share of modern inventions and discoveries. It was not his desire to embarrass the Government, or to offer any obstruction to what they asked the House to pass that night, provided the House would not be committed to the principle of the proposal, and would be free to oppose it—as he desired to do—at all his future stages. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER assented to this reservation.] The proposal was most objectionable in itself and distasteful to the country, and he had really heard nothing in its favour, excepting that the right hon. Gentleman said it was "*ex luce lucellum.*"

MR. D. DALRYMPLE wished to contradict what the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) had said as to the effect of the duty on matches in America. It was not necessary that a tax should be laid on an article in America in order that that article should be deteriorated in quality. He was not aware that there was any tax in America on wooden nutmegs or on paste-board shoes. There were few articles in that country which were not adulterated; and, quite irrespective of whether it was taxed or not, it was the natural tendency of the American mind to make as much as it possibly could out of any article. With respect to fire insurance, within the last few years there had been a very considerable rise in the rate of agricultural insurances in this country, as much as from 3*s.* to 5*s.* per cent, owing in a great degree to the reckless use of lucifer matches. He denied that the poor were the most careful in the use of matches. In the agricultural districts, when a poor woman had little food to give her children to keep them quiet she would frequently give them four or five matches to play with, and in that way a wheat or a hay stack was often set on fire. He believed that by a moderate tax on matches the manufacture of the most dangerous as well as most deleterious kind of lucifers would be discouraged, and he should support the Government in their proposal.

Sir HENRY HOARE said, he had voted with the Government last night, and supported them in what he thought was a just apportionment as between direct and indirect taxation; but he now appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to withdraw that tax after the expression of opinion they had had from the House. He did not, however, think the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been sufficiently taken into account. On account of the loud demand for the abolition of purchase, and other reasons, he had a considerable deficit to make good—["No, no!" *and* "Hear, hear!"]—amounting to £2,800,000. Now, public opinion had insisted on the abrogation of the purchase system, and nobody had been more prominent than the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett) as a denouncer of it; no one had howled, he might say, more violently for its abolition; but, if this were effected, proper compensation must be given. [*Cheers.*] On the other hand, it had been decided, notwithstanding the roars of the pacific ocean behind them, that the Army should be increased. To comply with these demands the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to find £2,750,000, and having had recourse on the one hand to the succession duty and income tax, as affecting the upper classes, to supply £2,250,000, it was not unreasonable in him to go to the lower classes for their proportion of the remaining £500,000. That sum, levied on the whole community, might not seem very large; but, considering the general opposition with which this proposal had been met, it would be a graceful act on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to withdraw it. He would not vote against the Government; but he hoped he should not be placed in the position of voting against what he considered to be the express opinion of those who returned him to Parliament.

Mr. CLAY said, that the tax upon matches would be of no small consequence to the poor, to whom the farthing was a material coin. In poor neighbourhoods things were ticketed at 1¾*d.* just as in better shops 19*s.* 6*d.* was resorted to instead of the pound. The tax would, therefore, be felt by the poor, whom he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would consider as a matter of importance. The proposal relative to the income tax, too, would not only puzzle all the old women in the country, but also necessitate the employment of additional clerks in various establishments. Referring to the astonishing story of the hon. Member for Bath (Mr. D. Dalrymple), he advised him to suggest to the mothers who gave their children matches to play with, that the matches should be those which ignited only on their own boxes, and very seldom on them.

Sir JAMES LAWRENCE said, he found from inquiries he had made, that upon every £10 worth of matches the new tax would amount to nearly £50, or a duty of 500 per cent on the cost. He did not think that hon. Members knew the amount of the tax which they were asked to impose. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer knew that this tax would be unpopular throughout the country, he (Sir James Lawrence) thought the right hon. Gentleman would at once withdraw this proposition. He had noticed that yesterday many hon. Members on the other side of the House supported this measure. By thus acting they were serving their own party, for he believed that no measure introduced by the present Government had tended to make them so unpopular as this tax upon lucifer matches. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were therefore wise in encouraging the Chancellor of the Exchequer to persevere in his course, as it was calculated to increase the unpopularity of the Government.

Mr. CORRANCE said, he would call attention to the fact that, although the discussion had been confined to the subject of taxing matches, the principle involved was a much larger one, and of the first importance. During the past three years £8,500,000 of taxation had been remitted, nearly all of which was in the shape of indirect taxation. As he desired to see the principle of indirect taxation once more recognized, he trusted the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not give way to the appeal made to him, because by doing so he would be surrendering a principle admitting graver debate than had characterized the discussion of the subject in hand.

MR. ANDERSON stated, that according to the figures quoted by the hon. Member for Lambeth (Sir James Lawrence) 168 boxes of matches were made for 1*s.*, a proportion which was almost incredible. He purposed voting with the Government because he believed the tax to be perfectly legitimate. Admitting, as the hon. Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands) so strongly argued, that it was improper to tax industry as a rule, he urged that every good rule had its exception, and instanced the tax upon spirits and malt as a tax upon industry—a tax on industry which that hon. Member would probably be the last man in the House to be willing to abolish or reduce. The ground for maintaining that tax, however, was to check abuse of the article, and in like manner he held the abuse of matches was deleterious, and might possibly be checked by the tax.

MR. HOLMS said, that by far the larger portion of the lucifer matches were sold in boxes for 2*s.* 6*d.* per gross, so that 100 gross would be £12 10*s.* A duty of a halfpenny per box would amount to exactly 6*s.* per gross, or £30. Therefore there would be a tax of 240 per cent upon the manufactured article. Now, the manufacturers were not for the most part men of large capital, and for every gross of boxes would require a capital of 8*s.* 6*d.*, instead of 2*s.* 6*d.* Such an increase would extinguish many of these people. Again, in his part of London, a great number of families received auxiliary aid from the making of match-boxes; and if you half killed the trade —and that was the contemplated effect of the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman—you took away half the employment of these poor people. The right hon. Gentleman said—"Waste shall end" in the consumption of matches; but the match-makers were like the mustard-makers, who said—"We live more by what is wasted than by what is consumed." This was not the occasion on which to enter upon the Budget generally; but he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not force the House to another Division, in support of a tax which would prove one of the most unpopular ever proposed. If the right hon. Gentleman pressed this tax, the appropriate device for these match-boxes, instead of the Noah's Ark, might, perhaps, be a strong-minded boy setting fire to the Cabinet.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Dixon.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 50; Noes 116: Majority 66.

Original Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 113; Noes 51: Majority 62.

Resolution read a second time, and *agreed to*.

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DODSON, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Mr. BAXTER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 116.]

PAUPER INMATES (DISCHARGE AND REGULATION) BILL (*Lords*)—[BILL 70.]

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee)

On Question, "That the Preamble be postponed,"

MR. J. FIELDEN, in moving that the Chairman do now leave the Chair, said, this appeared to be a Bill of a very novel character. It was called a Discharge and Regulation Bill; but he found it was in reality proposed to enact a new law by which poor people could be detained in, rather than discharged from the workhouse. The principle of the Bill was a great invasion of the liberty of the subject. If the Bill passed, powers would be given to the Guardians that were now possessed only by Judges and magistrates—namely, the power of imprisonment. The Bill was framed also with a view to prevent vagrancy, but in practice it would have a contrary effect. The Guardians of any Union may, if this Bill becomes law, detain the inmates of workhouses, under certain circumstances, for times specified in the Bill. He was at a loss to understand why paupers were to be prevented from leaving the workhouse to earn their livelihood, instead of getting rid of them out of the workhouse as soon as possible. But the Bill did not merely deal with the ordinary inmates of a workhouse. By the 5th clause it was proposed to give power to the Guardians to detain casuals—which was the new name for vagrants—in casual wards for as long a time as three days, if they had applied for food and lodging on more than two occasions in one month. The effect of the clause would be precisely the opposite of what was intended, and would certainly tend to increase rather than to diminish the vagabond class, who would take good care not to apply to the same workhouse more than twice in one month, and who would wander about from one Union workhouse to another. The fear of imprisonment, for this was nothing less, would, therefore, drive poor people to become vagrants. The measure introduced a new principle in the administration of justice in this country; and if the administration of justice was to be committed to Boards of Guardians it was important to consider whether they would be competent to discharge such a responsibility. He did not approve of making a prison of the workhouse. It ought to be used for the case of the sick, aged, and infirm poor. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 gave to the Poor Law Commissioners, who were now represented by the Poor Law Board, the power to make orders which had the force of law, and which ordered the separation, in the workhouse, of man and wife and parents and children. The House would scarcely credit the arbitrary and cruel orders and directions issued by these "Three Kings of Somerset House," as the Commissioners were called. He should like to quote a passage from an "instructional letter issued to Boards of Guardians on their formation," dated "Somerset House, 31 January, 1837," and signed "Edwin Chadwick, Secretary," and which would be found at p. 86, in the Third Annual Report of the Commissioners—

> "Where the pauper is the head of a family and he declares he has no work, and proves satisfactorily that he can obtain none, either in his own or in any of the parishes within a reasonable distance, he may be offered temporary relief within the workhouse until he can get some kind of work, relief wholly or chiefly in kind being given in the interval to the family, to prevent the immediate necessity of selling off their goods and breaking up the cottage establishment. The pauper should distinctly be told that such an arrangement can only be temporary, in order that his wife and family may seek work for him; and that the strict workhouse principle require that all the members of a family claiming relief should enter the house and give up their property for the benefit of the parish."

The effects of these orders and regulations had been foreseen by Cobbett, Walters, Wakley, and by his own father, who for many years represented the borough of Oldham in that House, and they had been most graphically described by Dr. Southwood Smith, in the 42nd Report of the London Fever Hospital made in 1844—

> "A large proportion of the subjects of fever received into the hospital during the past year were agricultural labourers and provincial mechanics who had been induced to leave their native counties in search of work, and who, either on their road to the metropolis, or soon after their arrival in it, were seized with the disease. The causes assigned for their illness, by these poor creatures themselves, were various, some stating that it was owing to sleeping by the side of hedges, others to want of clothing—many being without stockings, shirts, shoes, or any apparel capable of defending them from the inclemency of the weather—while others—and these constituted a very large proportion of the number—attributed it to want of food, being driven by their intense hunger to eat raw vegetables, turnips, and rotten apples; and certainly their appearance in many instances fully corroborated the truth of their representations."

The result of this harsh and cruel treatment of the poor had been to increase enormously the amount of poor rates, and, in a still greater degree, the cost of the police force, who had been increased to deal with the vast army of vagrants who were swarming all over the country. He had extracted the following figures from a little book called *Statistical Abstracts,* and which was published by authority:—

Population of England and Wales.

		Increase.	per cent.
1840 ...	15,731,815	——	—
1869 ...	21,869,607 ...	6,137,792	40

Total amount expended under the head of "Relief to the Poor," and other purposes, in England and Wales.

		Increase.	per cent.
1840 ...	£6,067,426	——	—
1869 ...	£11,115,530 ...	5,048,104	83

Amount expended in "Actual Relief to the Poor," in England and Wales.

		Increase.	per cent.
1840 ...	£4,576,965	——	—
1869 ...	£7,673,100 ...	3,096,135	67

Amount expended for "Other purposes, County and Police Rates, &c.," in England and Wales.

		Increase.	per cent.
1840 ...	£1,490,461	——	—
1869 ...	£4,100,899 ...	2,610,438	175

Emigration (United Kingdom).

		Increase.	per cent.
1840 ...	90,743 ...	——	—
1869 ...	258,027 ...	167,284	183

These figures showed most irresistibly that the amount of vagrancy and crime, within the period specified, had enormously increased, and he maintained that it was the result of the present law. Other facts pointed in the same direction. The distress and poverty in the metropolis were almost incredible, as Lord Lawrence had recently pointed out, and as the operations of the Charity Organization Society also showed. The hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), had laid it down that there was no right to relief, but that there was a right to charity. But could there be a right without a corresponding duty? The poor had as much right to relief as the rich had to their estates, and if the right to relief were once denied the time would come when the estates of the rich would be in jeopardy. The right to live had been recognized by all the jurists from the earliest times, and as the Poor Law was enacted in Elizabeth's time, all lawyers, since that, have acknowledged the right to relief from the State. Some years ago he was chairman of the Todmorden Board of Guardians, and he had always taken great interest in the state of the poor in his own neighbourhood. To show the House to what lengths the Poor Law Board were prepared to go to carry out the crotchets of its Presidents, Secretaries, and Inspectors, he would state to the House what had occurred. In the Todmorden Union there was no Union workhouse. The Guardians gave out-door relief to the poor, and the ratepayers were satisfied, and the poor were satisfied. But the Poor Law Board were determined to put a stop to that state of things. They asked the Guardians to build a Union workhouse and the Guardians refused; but the Poor Law Board threatened them that they could compel the adoption of a Union workhouse, by altering the extent of existing Unions, and amalgamating the portions of Union with those of Halifax and Rochdale. The consequence was, that the Guardians had agreed to build a Union workhouse. The ground upon which they were called upon to build was to provide better accommodation for the sick, the aged, and the infirm poor. His brothers and himself knowing the fearful misery that would be created in the Todmorden Union by a Union workhouse or "Bastile," as it was called, had, in order to prevent such a calamity, offered to build three cottage hospitals, at a cost of £3,000, but the Union workhouse was insisted on. The difference between the Act of 1834 and the present Bill was that the Act said the Guardians "might" build; the Bill said they "should" build. The Poor Law Board were centralizing in their hands the power which ought to exist in local bodies. If they persisted in this course, vagrancy and pauperism would continue to increase to such an extent, that they would defy the power of the police and the Army, and would eventually attack property itself. He moved that the Chairman leave the Chair.

MR. STANSFELD said, no one could doubt the sincerity of the opinions or the liberality which had distinguished some of the family of the hon. Member in their dealings with the poor. The question was, whether the Committee should proceed with the discussion of the Bill now before them. The 4th clause of the Bill dealt with the habitual pauper; the 5th and subsequent clauses with vagrants. When the Committee came to each their provisions could be discussed. His hon. Friend dealt with the 4th clause as if it were to give a power of imprisonment to the Poor Law Guardians. He (Mr. Stansfeld) should object to the clause if he believed that such would be its operation. There were two views in which it might be regarded —first, that the clause was necessary for the discipline of the workhouse, and to deter paupers from resorting to it; the other was the idea that instead of that power of discipline, the paupers of the vagrant class should be treated almost as criminals. He was not prepared to treat any paupers as presumable criminals. The power sought was only a reasonable regulation for the maintenance of discipline.

MR. BROMLEY-DAVENPORT said, he thought the Bill in a great sense excellent, and he was convinced that with certain changes, it would do a vast amount of good. He held that a certain amount of steady penal treatment was necessary for those predatory vagrants who victimized the community to the detriment of the deserving poor. It was a mistake for the Guardians to force men into the workhouse to escape outdoor relief, because it was much more costly.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he questioned the expediency of the proposed new power being given to the Guardians, and suggested whether it would not be an improvement to make the frequent discharge of paupers at their own wish an offence, with the view of having them treated as rogues and vagabonds.

Mr. WHALLEY said, the experience he had had in several counties led him to the conclusion that there was only one way of effectually treating vagrancy, and that was to enforce the law as it stood.

Sir MASSEY LOPES said, he founded his objection to the Bill upon the fact that it increased the charge upon the ratepayers, whereas vagrants ought to be charged upon the community at large. The Government, he thought, should provide one-half of the expenses incurred by Unions in the erection of casual wards, and he submitted that it was not worth while to attempt to frighten the Guardians by the threat of depriving them of the £180,000 or £200,000 which the Treasury gave them towards the total expenditure of £7,500,000. He should oppose the Bill because, like several other measures introduced this Session, it imposed a new charge upon one description of property.

Mr. NEWDEGATE: The right hon. Gentleman who represents the Poor Law Board has exhibited considerable dexterity in trying to give the go-by to the powerful statement which has been made by the hon. Member who so well represents the Eastern Division of the West Riding in this House. Now, there is no hon. Member in the House who has, either personally or hereditarily, a better right to speak on this question than that hon. Member. It appears to me, that on many subjects the politics of this House are something like a railway engine. It will run smoothly upon a certain tram; but if by any unforeseen accident some hon. Member taking a wider view of circumstances, proposes to the House the general consideration of a subject, particularly if that subject is connected with the labouring classes, or with their welfare, immediately he is treated as if he had got off the line; and the most remarkable circumstance is this —that hon. Members who profess peculiarly the popular creed on the other side of the House, and who were in former days the foremost advocates of everything that might tend to the welfare of the labouring classes, are now, of all the Members of this House, the most averse to the consideration of such subjects. How is it that it has devolved upon the hon. Member who has made this Motion, and on my hon. Colleague and myself, miserable, bigoted Tories that we are; how is it that it has devolved upon us to appear before the House as the advocates of the rights of the labouring classes and of the poor? How is it? Surely it is not becoming in those who have claimed to be the peculiar representatives of the great body of the people to leave this task to us. But I wish to advert very shortly to what has fallen from the hon. Member for the Eastern Division of the West Riding. In this Union, and in this neighbourhood, his family have maintained the system of the old Poor Law before it was changed—the system of a well-administered out-door relief. Now there is no family—and I hope the hon. Member will forgive me for this allusion—which is more distinguished either for its wealth or for its philanthropy. I assisted the father of the hon. Member in passing the Ten Hours' Bill through this House, and I firmly believe, after now, no short experience in this House, that no measure that has been passed within my memory has tended so much to the preservation of the peace and the maintenance of a good understanding between all classes. It has been, indeed, a prolific measure, for we have seen the House proceed upon the same principle, and extending that principle to workshops and to the various trades and industries of the country, and always with advantage. I say, therefore, that the statements of the hon. Member ought to have a weight with this House which can attach to the statement of very few Members within it in reference to every subject which is connected with the labouring classes and with the poor. Now what are the objections which the hon. Member raises to this Bill? Why, that it is a mere palliative, and that a faulty palliative, for evils which have resulted from the general policy of this country with respect to the poor. I do not attribute the increase of vagrancy and the unsettled state of too large a portion of the labouring classes entirely to the operation of the Poor Law. No doubt, by breaking up their homes, particularly during the earlier and severer period of its administration, it did tend to unsettle the population; but that has been followed up by a course of commercial policy which has tended to bring about an actual collision between labour and capital; and the maxims of modern political economy have been carried out until this House has become case-hardened to the difficulties entailed on the labouring classes by the necessity of shifting from one locality to another for the purpose of procuring work. I happen to know—and were it necessary I could prove—that not only is this continued shifting of the labouring population from locality to locality an actual necessity, under the present system of free trade, but that it tends to demoralize the people of this country more than almost any other circumstance; because when the honest poor man, from the failure of employment in one locality, is obliged to travel to another, he seldom removes until he is in distress. This being the case, he finds himself compelled to frequent the lowest class of lodging-house, where he has to associate with vagrants of the worst character, and where his family reaps contamination; and I know of no such prolific source either of criminality or of disease as the necessity which has been entailed upon the labouring classes of constantly shifting their homes. The result is this—that they aggregate in the great towns, and help to swell the numbers of their poor. They come there on the chance of getting employment, and, I am sorry to say, relying upon the hope of receiving that charity to the acceptance of which they ought never to have been driven. And I cordially agree with the hon. Member when he said that nothing could be more dangerous than to shake the confidence of the people of this country in the idea that every man has a right to relief from the State, when his condition without that relief must drive him to the commission of crime. Why, Sir, it is this principle to which we owe that which has been the superior morality of our population; and I object to this Bill because I am certain of this, that if you render a resort to the union-house more disgraceful and more distasteful to the labouring population of this country whom you have compelled to travel, you will find them resorting the more to those dens, I am sorry to call them, of vice and pollution—the lodging-houses by the way. Depend upon it that there is a feeling of honest pride in the poor man, and that if you once break that down, it will tend to produce a class in England analogous to the Communists of Paris. At this moment you have before you just across the water an illustration of what that class may become, and of the power that they may eventually exercise. I know hon. Members seem to think that because we have a police and an Army, the security of property in this country and of its peace is for ever assured and certain. There was the same feeling of confidence in France under a far more centralized despotism than you have ever seen in England. How has that confidence been realized? You have the example before your eyes, and yet hon. Members are so unwilling to extend their view beyond the narrow compass of their own prejudices, that we find the subject treated with something like ridicule by those who have always proclaimed themselves the special representatives of the people. Now, my firm belief is this, that this Bill is vicious, because it tends to confuse the vagrant with the honest poor man, by associating him in the same house with the casual poor. I hold that its tendency is further to degrade men who are driven by the necessities of their employment to travel from place to place in search of work. I hold, therefore, that the Bill is vicious in principle. But this is not the only shape in which I hold it to be vicious in principle. It is all very well to say that one of the clauses is simply a regulation for the detention of the poor man in the union-house for 24 hours. But what is this other than imprisonment? I say, then, that it is ridiculous to state that this is not a penal measure. I quite agree with my hon. Friend the President of the Poor Law Board (Mr. Stansfeld) that we ought to increase the stringency of our vagrant laws, and I am prepared to vote for such a measure; but not until you have established an adequate tribunal to discriminate the vagrant from the casual poor, and no such tribunal is provided in this Bill. There is no attempt in the Bill to establish a distinction which is so essential to the justice of its action, and to preserve that respect for the unfortunate poor man, as distinguished from the criminal vagrant, upon which depends so much of the self-respect of the labouring classes. For these reasons I can, without scruple, vote with my hon. Friend the Member for the Eastern Division of the West Riding.

MR. RICHARD said, he feared that the Bill would largely encourage vagrancy, and that the plan of getting the police to give relief to vagrants had answered where it had been tried.

MR. LIDDELL said, he thought there would be great objections to handing the vagrants over to the supervision of the police, because it would require an increase in the police force. He was in favour of some provisions like those proposed to distinguish the vagrants from the ordinary casual poor. He should support the Bill.

MR. FOTHERGILL said, that at Merthyr good results had been effected by requiring the police to proceed to arrest vagrants under the Vagrancy Act.

COLONEL BARTTELOT said, he should support the Motion for going into Committee, because the Bill was an attempt to separate vagrants in their treatment from the casual poor.

MR. COLLINS said, he would support the Bill, because it dealt with a crying evil, but he thought it would be better dealt with by being referred to a Committee.

MR. CORRANCE said, he thought the Bill was capable of being amended in Committee.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair." —(*Mr. Joshua Fielden.*)

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 11; Noes 79: Majority 68.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Tuesday* next.

DOGS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. WINTERBOTHAM, Bill to provide further protection against Dogs, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WINTERBOTHAM and Mr. Secretary BRUCE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 114.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SUPPLEMENTAL (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. WINTERBOTHAM, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders under "The Local Government Act, 1858," relating to the districts of Dawlish, Kingston upon Hull, Morley, Nelson, Sheerness, Skipton (two), Todmorden, West Derby, Willenhall, and York; and for other purposes relative to certain districts under the said Act, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WINTERBOTHAM and Mr. Secretary BRUCE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 115.]

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock, till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 24*th April*, 1871.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Charters (Colleges)* (73); Anatomy Act (1832) Amendment* (74).

Second Reading — Bankruptcy Disqualification (65); Promissory Oaths (64).

Referred to Select Committee—Incorporation of Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland* (41); Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society of Ireland Regulation* (42).

Royal Assent — Poor Law (Loans) [34 *Vict.* c. 11]; Mutiny [34 *Vict.* c. 9]; Marine Mutiny [34 *Vict.* c. 10].

IRELAND—WESTMEATH, &c. (UNLAWFUL COMBINATIONS.)

NOTICE OF BILL.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I wish to take the opportunity, before the Public Business of the House commences, of stating that it is my intention on behalf of the Government to present on Thursday next a Bill founded upon the evidence taken before the Committee of the House of Commons on the state of Westmeath. The Bill will have for its object the repression, within certain local limits, of the crimes and outrages which, as shown by the evidence, are perpetrated by secret societies. I observe that a noble Friend of mine (the Marquess of Clanricarde) has given notice that he will move to-morrow for the communication to this House of the Report of the Committee of the other House. As, however, my noble Friend who leads the Government in this House (Earl Granville) has already stated that there is no objection to those Papers being communicated, and as the House will no doubt wish to have them as soon as possible, I hope that, without any discourtesy to the noble Marquess, I may to-night move for the Papers. I propose, if agreeable to your Lordships, to fix an early day after Thursday for the second reading of the Bill.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND: May I ask the noble Earl when the Papers relating to the Westmeath Committee will be printed and in the hands of noble Lords? We ought to have them as soon as possible, before being asked to discuss a measure founded on them.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, it was because they ought to be presented as soon as possible, and in order to enable their Lordships to discuss the measure founded on them, that he had ventured to anticipate the Motion of the noble Marquess for their production. He would at once move that a Message be sent to the House of Commons, requesting them to communicate the evidence taken before the Westmeath Committee.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I should be sorry to evince the slightest unwillingness to legislate in this matter; but I hope it will not become a precedent. I protest against the principle that one House should do the inquiry and that another should do legislation. It would have been more convenient, had the Government intended that this House should initiate legislation on the subject, they should have entrusted us with the inquiry. As a matter of convenience I will offer no objection to this Motion; but I hope it will not be made a precedent.

EARL GRANVILLE: I hope it will be a precedent for the noble Marquess not to be always lecturing the Government for not initiating measures in this House.

Motion *agreed to.*

Message to the Commons for the Report of and Evidence taken before the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of Westmeath and certain parts adjoining of Meath and King's County, the nature, extent, and effect of a certain unlawful combination and confederacy existing therein, and the best means of suppressing the same.

EMANUEL CHARITY, WESTMINSTER—THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSIONERS.—OBSERVATIONS.

EARL GRANVILLE appealed to the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) who had given Notice "To draw attention to the proposals of the Endowed Schools Commissioners in respect to the Emanuel Charity" with reference to the opportuneness of the discussion which he proposed to raise on this subject. Under the Endowed Schools Act ample care was taken that nothing should be done in altering the constitution of such charities without full inquiry and without due consideration for the interests of all parties concerned. The Commissioners under that Act had prepared a scheme with respect to Emanuel Hospital, which had been laid before the Committee of Council for Education for approval; but, of the two months allowed to the trustees to appeal, six weeks were still unexpired. At the expiration of that term, in the event of there being no appeal or of its being rejected, the scheme would be submitted to Parliament, and unless within 40 days either House voted an Address against it it would become valid. At present the scheme was not before their Lordships; and although the Privy Council in case of an appeal would only have to decide legal questions, it would be inconvenient for his noble Friend (Viscount Halifax), who was acting for the President of the Council, to have to discuss now a matter which might come before him hereafter judicially.

LORD CAIRNS remarked that the action of the Privy Council Committee was not confined to legal questions, but extended to matters of discretion, expediency, and policy. This raised a further difficulty as regarded a discussion at this moment, for the arguments on the general question might afterwards have to be considered by the Committee.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY declined to postpone the question. Before the new scheme for Emanuel Hospital had been decided upon by the Privy Council he had placed his Notice of Motion on the Paper in order to discuss it on the earliest opportunity open to him; but the Government had taken advantage of the intervening Easter Recess, and of the impossibility of discussing the matter, to approve the scheme, notwithstanding his Notice inviting discussion upon it. He did not know whether this was considered consistent with the courtesy due from the Executive Government to this House; but, at all events, it absolved him from the necessity of observing any extravagant courtesy towards the Executive Government on the subject. As the Government had chosen to take advantage of the Recess to withdraw the matter from discussion, their Lordships had a right to fall back on their general right to review the actions of the Executive, and to inquire whether the Government had acted wisely or foolishly in approving of the principles contained in this scheme of the Endowed Schools Commissioners. If this had merely been an isolated case he might have consented to wait until the scheme was laid upon the Table in ordinary course; but it was not an isolated case—it was the first and most capital instance of the application of a pernicious principle of public policy applied not to one, but to numerous schools in this country, and which the Commissioners were endeavouring to carry out systematically, and it was necessary that attention should be drawn to it in order to obtain an expression of feeling from those interested. It was not the treatment of a particular school, but the inauguration of a principle of public policy to which he wished to direct their Lordships' attention. When the Endowed Schools Act was passed it was believed that it would remedy, in the most effective form, sundry abuses discovered by the Commissioners who had been appointed to inquire into Endowed Schools. No doubt these Commissioners, though they were too ready to evoke and listen to all the village gossip they could, detected some real abuses; and it was to remedy these that the Endowed Schools Act was passed. He would show their Lordships what were the expectations held out by the Government as to the course which the Endowed Schools Commissioners would take. A deputation of the trustees of the Bristol charities had an interview with Mr. Forster on the subject. Mr. Forster stated that the Bill was introduced to remedy defects which had been found to exist, and that it was not intended to interfere with good schools, but only with misapplied, obsolete, or ill-administered foundation, and that the Bristol school had nothing to fear. But he (the Marquess of Salisbury) was prepared to show that schools against which not a word could be urged had been interfered with. The Commissioners, indeed, seemed to imagine that instead of remedying what was corrupt or obsolete their duty was to act like a philanthrophic gentleman, who having just come into an enormous fortune, thought he was at liberty to dispose of it as he pleased for the education of the country; and they accordingly acted in entire independence of the will of Parliament, and in disregard and contempt for the wills of founders and the interest of the classes for whose benefit the foundations were intended. The case of the Emanuel School was this—In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Lady Ann Dacre, widow of Lord Dacre, and sister of Elizabeth's Minister, Lord Buckhurst, founded this Hospital; and for its maintenance purchased the site on which the Hospital now stood, in Great James Street, Westminster, and endowed it with the manor of Brandesburton, in Yorkshire. The object of the foundation, as expressed by the Foundress, was "for the relief of aged people, and the bringing up of children in virtue, and good and laudable arts, in the same Hospital, whereby they might the better live in time to come by their honest labour," and after the death of Lady Dacre, the charity received a charter of incorporation, by which, after the death of the Lady Dacre's executors, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London were declared Governors of the Hospital. The last executor died in 1623; since which time the interests of the foundation, both as regards its material interests, and its character of a religious and charitable institution, had been assiduously cared for by the City authorities. If the Governing Body was corrupt, if it had shown itself inefficient, if it had committed any great errors, if its constitution was such that it could not properly perform its duties, there might have been some reason for interference on the part of the Commissioners. But they were restrained by no such considerations. In more than one instance they had destroyed Governing Bodies against whom no accusation had been made, and whose administration was unimpeachable, merely because they did not happen to fall within a preconceived theory. A more flagrant instance of this could not be imagined than that of Emanuel School under the management of the Corporation of London. The Corporation was an elective body; its actions were constantly subjected to public view; everything that it did was the subject of public comment; and it was impossible that anything of a corrupt, or even of a neglectful character, could be adopted, checked as their proceedings were by constant publicity. Again, they were a body essentially accustomed to governing; they had been for centuries accustomed to the management of great estates; they had large administrative traditions, and employed officers of great character and experience. Of all public bodies it was the most exposed to public and Parliamentary control. Its reform, though often suggested, had never yet been found advisable, but might be undertaken at any time. Yet, in spite of these eminent qualifications, the Endowed Schools Commissioners proposed to supersede them. And what did they propose to substitute for them? They proposed to substitute a new body, renewed by the most objectionable of all forms, that of self-election or "co-optation"—a principle strongly condemned by the Commissioners of Inquiry, as having the effect, in the course of time, of rendering predominant and stereotyping, as it were, personal influences. It was a close corporation. The public were effectually excluded from their deliberations, and there was no practical responsibility. The Commissioners had directed that there should be 20 governors, three of whom were to be so *ex officio*—namely, the Dean of Westminster, and the two Members for Westminster, who had plenty of other duties, and, like the *ex officio* Poor Law Guardians, were not likely to take much part in the management; seven governors to be named by various persons or bodies, of whom three only were to be nominated by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, termed co-optative governors; and ten named in the scheme, who were to be renewed on vacancies by election by the whole body. The practical result would be that the ten nominated by the Commissioners would be the majority of the Board trust. Those named in the scheme were no doubt at present resident in Westminster; but not being *adscripti glebæ* might reside anywhere else to-morrow. Thus the Commissioners would dethrone a body, the efficiency of which no one could doubt, and appoint another whose efficiency was very doubtful. He thought this was a matter which deserved the very grave consideration of their Lordships. The Commissioners had, with similar arbitrary power, displaced the Governing Body of the Graycoat Charity, and had nominated five ladies, of whose efficiency, seeing that they had hitherto had no opportunity of displaying their ability, the Commissioners must have judged by intuition. The real gravamen of the case could not be better stated than in the following resolution which was adopted at a recent meeting at the Mansion House:—

> "That the threatened confiscation of the property of Emanuel Hospital, and the extinction of that and other endowed school charities, upon the principle announced by the Endowed School Commissioners, 'that there shall be no gratuitous education except as the reward of merit,' is a measure which this meeting emphatically condemns, not only as a violation of the rights of property, but as tending to obstruct the working of the great scheme of national education, and is, in the opinion of this meeting, at once untenable and pernicious."

The assertion of the Commissioners, that "there shall be no gratuitous education except as the reward of merit," was a kind of jargon too much in use at the present day. The property was left for the benefit of the poor; but the Endowed School Commissioners had determined that it should not be given for the benefit of the poor, but to those who succeeded in a competitive examination between the ages of 7 and 13. Now, a competitive examination implied leisure and instruction, and leisure was much more likely to be possessed by the rich than by the poor. Applied to boys between 12 and 13—contrary to the recommendations of the Inquiry Commissioners—competitive examinations would be the greatest of shams, signifying that those who had money would succeed, and those who had not would fail. A working man, whose son did not gain an exhibition, would not be able to pay £26 a-year, and as the funds, which were likely to increase in value, were to be applied to rewarding the masters and raising the standard of education, the higher middle class, with their command of money and leisure, would doubtless do their best to get hold of the exhibitions, so that what was bequeathed for the poor would be absorbed by the richer class. The funds provided by Lady Dacre were derived from estates which had already increased forty-fold in value, and which were likely to increase still further, and there would in all probability be a considerable pressure on the part of the higher middle class to get access to these schools. They would apply their leisure to this purpose, and the consequence would be that all the money left by Lady Dacre for the benefit of the poorer classes of the community would be absorbed by persons of higher standing. In thus depriving the City of London of the administration of a Charity, which they had administered well for 300 years—for it is a fact beyond dispute, that not one word of fault has been found by any Commissioners, body, or person, with the administration of their stewardship of this foundation—they are acting in direct defiance of the Report of their own Inquiry Commissioners. These Gentlemen say—

> "Some schools are not under the government of special boards of their own, but under that of municipal corporations, city companies, or colleges at the Universities. Among these the municipal corporations, as we have seen, are the best administrators."

Let him now call their Lordships' attention to what the City of London had actually done in their administration of their trust. Lady Dacre's executors had leased the Brandesburton Estates for 100 years at a rental of £100, by which fund, under the charter 20 poor people were maintained, and 20 poor children educated. It was not until 1732 that by the increase in the rents the Corporation found themselves enabled to establish a separate and distinct school for the children. In 1794, the rents had so much increased that the Corporation found themselves in a position to give a great extension to the charitable intentions of the Foundress. They therefore obtained an Act of Parliament, which authorized them to increase the number of children to be educated according to the resources of the Charity; and under this power there were at present 64 children clothed, fed, and educated within the Hospital—half boys and half girls—of whom 32 were taken from Westminster, 3 from Chelsea, 3 from Hayes, 20 from the City of London, and 6 from Brandesburton. That the Corporation were not insensible to the call for education was shown by the fact that whereas the foundation seemed to be equally apportioned to the alms people and the children, now two-thirds of the income was spent upon education and one-third upon the alms people. In another respect they were in advance of the times, for they had long seen the advantages of female education, and the Court of Aldermen were among the few—the very few—trustees of schools in this country who have not forgotten the girls, for in the administration of their fund they have cared equally for both sexes. There was another point which he wished to impress on their Lordships. The Corporation of London had been exceedingly good landlords at Brandesburton, where the estates were situated. They had long since felt it their duty to provide for the primary education of the parish; and flourishing schools for boys, girls, and infants, accommodating altogether 200, have been built, solely at the expense of the Hospital, and maintained principally from its resources. The condition of the tenants and labourers on the estates have been improved, good cottages built, and though the rental had increased from £360 in 1742 to £4,000 at the present day, the tenantry were prosperous and contented. And yet the whole charge of administering the funds of the trust was—exclusive of the land agent—£50 a-year for the salary of a clerk. Yet, in spite of the immense improvement of the value of the estates and the probability of further increase, the Commissioners had inserted a clause providing that the lands might be sold, and all prospect of any future increase of the funds of the Charity might be thus paralyzed. But this was not an isolated case. The determination expressed by the Commissioners was to be applied to all schools whatever. The declaration that "there shall be no gratuitous education, except as the reward of merit," would spread a sort of plague over many parts of the country, and he had received complaints from Bristol, Leicester, and several other places, that this principle was to be applied to them, and that various bodies who had hitherto governed without reproach were to be superseded. He hoped that the noble Lord who represented the Commissioners would give some explanation of the principle on which they were acting—for he considered the statement in their circular that—

> "There was no principle more objectionable than to give gratuitous education except as the reward of merit, and that this was the principle uniformly adopted by the most eminent persons connected with the cause of education,"

to be absolutely without any foundation in fact. On the contrary, the correspondence and evidence published by the Commissioners showed that many of the most eminent educationalists of the day were opposed to it. The Dean of Norwich stated that he regarded gratuitous education given to some scholars as an immense boon—Professor Maurice preferred the exclusion of paying pupils to the conversion of funds for the education of a number of boys into prizes to stimulate the ambition of a few; and the Bishop of St. David's said that the only ground on which it seemed to him expedient or right to take away the privilege of free education was that it was generally injurious to the school, or impaired the quality of the education given. Sir J. Kaye Shuttleworth gave strong evidence in favour of gratuitous education, and stated that the utmost jealousy ought to be exercised in the matter, and that endowments should not be withdrawn from the poor and the apathetic. He (the Marquess of Salisbury) considered that the Commissioners had stated their case in a most reckless way, seeing that it was in the face of the contrary testimony of the eminent men whose names he had mentioned. He wished to urge one other argument in support of his statement, and that was, that by the barrier of competitive examination, the Commissioners were taking away the inheritance of the poor. It was the peculiar duty of their Lordships to guard the rights of property, and they always denounced confiscation as the most dangerous principle that could be introduced into legislation. There was no property which ought to be held more sacred than that of those who were unable to help themselves, and there could not be a more dangerous and more wicked confiscation than the confiscation of the property and inheritance of the poor.

Viscount HALIFAX regretted that the noble Marquess had not adopted his noble Friend's suggestion, as an appeal might in this case be made to the Privy Council on grounds wider than merely legal ones, and it was inconvenient, to say the least of it, that members of that body should discuss in the House questions which they might have afterwards to decide in a judicial capacity. The principle on which the Commissioners were acting, in dealing with Governing Bodies and founders' wills, was not, as the noble Marquess seemed to think, a principle which they had laid down for themselves, it was the principle of the Act of 1869, which was passed unanimously by both Houses, and if these arrangements were not to be interfered with the Act would be a dead letter, and the labour of the Inquiry Commissioners would be utterly useless. In the discussion on the measure it was distinctly avowed that the main object was to provide for the education of the middle class, with a fair and full opportunity to people of a lower position to avail themselves of such education. Without troubling their Lordships with many quotations in proof of this, he would only refer to the speech of a noble Earl (Earl Nelson), who usually sat opposite, and who supported the Bill, as "likely to give an improved education to the children of the middle classes, and at the same time to admit a portion of the children of the working classes to its benefits." The Act was designed, indeed, to render available, for the education mainly of the middle class, funds originally left for them, and to fill up the existing chasm between primary schools and the public schools and Universities, and it was not unreasonable to suppose that the founders, if now alive, would wish the endowments to be adapted to the requirements and necessities of the present age. In this case, by removing the government of Emanuel Hospital from the Corporation of London, the will of the Foundress was not set aside, for the Corporation of London were intrusted with the management, not by the will of the Foundress, but by an Act of Queen Elizabeth, and as regarded the almshouses the Governing Body were to remain intact. With regard to means of education the district was amply provided for, there being, of the higher class, Westminster school, while under the recent Act primary education would be adequately furnished in the district. There were also ample means for providing such education as was contemplated under the Endowed Schools Act. There were in the district no less than six endowed schools — the Bluecoat, which, being well managed, it was not proposed to interfere with; the Graycoat, which it was intended to devote altogether to the education of girls, and that was the reason for appointing some ladies amongst the governors. There were, besides these two, the Greencoat School, Emanuel Hospital, Palmer's Hospital, and Emery Hill's Hospital. These last four it was proposed to consolidate. The Governing Body of Emanuel Hospital was the Corporation of London, and the three other foundations had separate bodies of trustees. A single Governing Body would obviously be more efficient and economical than four bodies. It was proposed to constitute a single Governing Body partly of persons either sitting *ex officio* or named by those who necessarily took an interest in education in Westminster, 3 named by the Corporation of London, and 10 gentlemen named in the Bill. Vacancies in the latter body were to be filled up by co-optation. The 10 nominated trustees were all at present trustees of one or other of the charities, and they had been selected after communication with the existing Governing Bodies. He did not dispute that the Corporation of London were admirable landlords; but it was another question whether they were as well qualified to manage schools, and it should be remembered that the Inquiry Commissioners came to the conclusion "that schools required Boards of their own, and could not be so well managed by bodies associated for some other purpose." The noble Marquess had dwelt at great length on the hardship of putting an end to the gratuitous education and maintenance of a number of poor children, and it had been one of the main topics made use of in the agitation which had been got up against the scheme, that it was benefiting a richer class by depriving the poor of what was called their patrimony. The question of the best mode of applying funds to the greatest advantage in the education of the poor had been discussed at great length by the Commissioners of Inquiry, and nothing could be stronger than the opinion expressed by them as to the mischief produced by indiscriminate gratuitous education. They said—

> "Indiscriminate gratuitous instruction, on which at present a very large proportion of the income of endowment is wasted, has been demonstrated to be as invariably mischievous as indiscriminate almsgiving, and a desire to retain the one must be ascribed to the same inconsiderate benevolence as that which keeps up the other. On this point there is an extraordinary concurrence in the opinions expressed by the weightiest authorities. Mr. Adderley, Dr. Angus, Professor Bernard, Canon Blakesley, Mr. Sotheron Estcourt, the Dean of Salisbury, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Peterborough, Mr. Lake, Sir J. G. Shaw Lefevre, Rev. J. Martineau, Mr. Miall, Mr. J. Stuart Mill, Mr. Morley, Lord Redesdale, all with more or less force agree in the belief that to give indiscriminate gratuitous education is an unwise use of endowments. Several of these gentlemen condemn it in the most decisive language; almost all would substitute some mode of selection by merit for the present system. With this judgment our Assistant Commissioners concur, and the facts which we have put together in our second chapter show with all the force of demonstration that no other conclusion is possible."

Again, the Commissioners said—

> "It is rarely a good thing to relieve the parents entirely of the burden of maintaining their children; to aid them in bearing it is a real charity, to bear it for them is generally a blunder."

As to the endowments for feeding and clothing they said—

> "There are not a few schools in which tolerably large endowments are spent on clothing or boarding a small number of boys. It is impossible not to see that in many of these cases a rather questionable benefit is bestowed on a few with funds that are very much wanted for the use of many. A boarding-school of 20 boys will sometimes be the result of an endowment of £800 a-year, an endowment that would maintain in great efficiency a school of several hundreds."

He must also call their Lordships' attention to the amount of the instruction given under the present system, and under that which it was proposed to substitute for it. How many children did their Lordships suppose were educated at these four schools? 147, of whom 92 were also maintained and clothed; while the revenue was £4,000 per annum. The proposed scheme gave two day schools for 300 boys in each, a boarding school for 150 boys, to be hereafter increased to 300—and, indeed, if the plan succeeded, a larger number than the 900 thus provided for might be attained. It was not true that under the new scheme the children were elected by competition. They were to be admitted in the order of application, if qualified; the test being an examination of a very ordinary description. There were to be exhibitions, which might be gained by boys entering from the primary schools in the parishes of St. Margaret's and St. John's, or children of parents resident in them, by competition, and by boys already in the school by talent and character combined. The boys attaining these exhibitions would be exempt from paying half or the whole of the tuition fees. Those totally exempt might amount to one-sixth, and those totally or partially exempt to one-third of the whole number of scholars. Exhibitions in the boarding school would entitle the holders to non-payment of tuition fees, and to be boarded free of expense. Boys might also obtain scholarships, which would enable them to continue their education at schools of a still higher class. One-third of the exhibitions were reserved for those who came from primary elementary schools in the two parishes, one-third for orphans, and one-third were free. Thus a boy from the primary schools might, by industry and talent, provide for his own education through all the schools of this foundation—through, perhaps, the great school of Westminster, and one of our Universities. In this manner children, unable to provide for themselves, would be educated upon grounds far more advantageous to themselves than the indiscriminate gratuitous education which the Corporation of London proposed to continue. In point of fact, however, it was not true that the children now educated in these schools were, generally speaking, the children of poor parents; and therefore the scheme did not take away the means of education from the poor, and transfer it to the richer classes. Mr. Fearon, the Assistant Commissioner who inquired into these Westminster schools, reported that there was a certain class of persons who could always make pretty sure of getting their children in — such as messengers in the House of Commons and House of Lords, or persons in the employ of the governors. A statement as to the parents of children now at the school, taken at random from the list, did not bear out the opinion that they were persons whose children it was a charity to educate gratuitously. In one case the father was a messenger in the House of Lords; in another a master printer; another kept a refreshment bar; in a third the father was a master hairdresser; in a fourth a master silversmith; another master in the City, police superintendent, working silversmith, and so on; and the parents of the children brought from Brandesburton were above the class of labourers. It was only, he might add, in his opinion, due to the Commissioners to say that the course they had taken was in strict accordance with the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry, and he hoped their Lordships would not deem it necessary to interfere with their action under the Act of Parliament.

Lord BUCKHURST said, that being hereditarily interested in this foundation, he desired to be permitted to refer for a few moments to the subject. The object of the Endowed Schools Act, which, on the whole, he regarded as a good measure, was declared in the Preamble to be to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners that various changes should be made in the government, management, and studies of endowed schools, and in the application of educational endowments, with the object of promoting their greater efficiency, and of carrying into effect the main design of the founders thereof, by putting a liberal education within the reach of children of all classes. There was, however, a great difference between the words of the Act and the maxim laid down by the Commissioners who were appointed to give effect to its provisions —that there should be no gratuitous education except as the reward of merit. How had that axiom been observed in the present case? The intention of the Act of 1869 clearly was to amend our educational charities, not to subvert them; to increase their efficiency, not to confiscate their property. The recourse to a competitive examination, however, would result in the virtual exclusion of the children of the poor from the advantages of the endowments in question; inasmuch as that intellectual merit which was meant by the Commissioners could only be acquired by previous preparation, which poor children would not be in a position to obtain. The express intention of the Foundress was on record —it was—

> "The relief of aged people and bringing up of children in virtue and good and laudable arts, in the same Hospital, whereby they might the better live in time to come by their honest labour."

It was clearly meant, therefore, that an education should be provided at the Hospital for those poor children who could not educate themselves sufficiently to gain a livelihood. Now, interested as he was in the Charity, he had always rejoiced that it was under the management of the Corporation of London, who were so well fitted to administer its funds, and who had, he believed, always endeavoured to promote the objects for which it was set on foot to the best of their ability. In 1732, finding their income sufficient to extend the benefits intended by the Foundress, they had established a separate and distinct school for the education of the children; and in 1794, finding that their income continued to augment, they obtained an

Act of Parliament by which they were authorized to extend the educational trust of the foundation in proportion to the increase of their means. From that time to the present the school had been an excellent one. He believed that the Corporation had carried out faithfully the spirit of the intentions of the Foundress. The school was never intended to come within the category of grammar schools—it was intended expressly for the education of the children of the poor, "so that they might better live in time to come by their honest labour." It seemed to him that the Commissioners were bound to respect, as far as possible, the intentions of the founders of charities with which they dealt, and to carry them out in the spirit if not in the letter. He thought that in the present instance that principle had been entirely neglected. One point more. The whole of this Charity was administered at an expense of only £50 per annum, and therefore all the funds were devoted to its benefit. Lastly, he wished to say that there had been no public inquiry into the institution—at all events, no fault had been found with it by any public body or Commissioners, and he believed he was not wrong in saying that the Corporation of London courted the fullest inquiry into their management of the estates and the way in which the funds had been administered, and that they naturally felt aggrieved at the manner in which they had been treated.

Lord LYTTELTON said, he desired, as one of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, to state that, on consideration of the very invidious duties the Commission would have to perform, it had been very wisely determined that they should not be directly responsible to Parliament. The schemes of the Commissioners were to be submitted to Government, who might, on deliberation, adopt them, after which they were out of the hands of the Commission, and the Government became responsible. When, therefore, the noble Marquess expressed a hope that Her Majesty's Government would not adopt this scheme he was under a mistake, for they had already sanctioned it. When the noble Lord (Lord Buckhurst) had said that there was no public inquiry, that was true only in a certain sense, for the Commissioners were to make only such inquiry as satisfied themselves of the facts and conditions of any foundation school, and thereon to frame a scheme; but they were not bound to base their action upon any formal public inquiry. It was a matter for their own discretion. The Corporation of London had circulated a very interesting document, which entered into a great many points as to which the Corporation complained of the course adopted by the Commissioners. He should be very much tempted to go through those statements paragraph by paragraph, only that it would take too much time. He would, for the present, content himself with saying that he hoped the Commissioners would be allowed by the Government to give a complete denial of those statements, for there was hardly a single paragraph in them but what conveyed great inaccuracies. The Commissioners had a specific authority to guide them — an authority which to them was without appeal—he meant the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, to which they were bound to give general effect. The Act, which he held in his hand, recited that Report, and said that the object recommended in it could not be attained without the authority of Parliament, and the Commissioners were bound to carry out that object in a certain way prescribed by the Act. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) had said that it could not have been supposed that such sweeping effect would be given to the provisions of the Endowed Schools Act. But he would answer that by asking whether it was possible that there could be a stronger, more stringent, or more sweeping Act—or one more indicative of the sense of Parliament of the enormous evils with which the Commission would have to deal, and he would point especially to the 9th and 10th clauses. The noble Marquess said that the object of the Act was simply to deal with proved abuses. But, according to the 9th clause, the Commissioners were to have power to act in such a manner as to render any educational endowments most conducive—not to assist the poor, not to carry out the will of the founder—but to the education of boys and girls. And for that purpose even the power of consolidation was included. Then the next clause enabled them to do away with the control of any Governing Body, and establish a new one in its stead; and the steps they took to carry out the powers conferred upon them were subject only to the approval or disapproval of Parliament. He did not speak as impeaching any of the Governing Bodies; but the Commissioners were to look to what was most conducive to education. For himself, he did not believe that it would be possible, in dealing with these cases, to hold to the principle of adhering to the will of the founders; but the question of the will of the founders did not arise very much in this case, because there was no separate school until 1732, and none worth talking of until 1794. The Act said nothing about adhering to the will of the founders, but merely that the Commissioners should put education within the reach of all classes. The noble Marquess said that in the Report of the Inquiry Commissioners they stated that the municipal corporations had proved themselves the best administrators. But that was not correct. What the Commissioners stated in their Report was that of three bodies, all defective—namely, municipal corporations, City companies, and Colleges at Universities—the municipal corporations were the least bad administrators. But then in the very next paragraph the municipal corporations are condemned, and in lieu of these bodies the Commissioners advise the introduction of three elements which should, if possible, form a combination representing the interests of parents, the interests of education, and those best qualified for the management of schools. The Commissioners attached very great importance to these principles, and until they were restrained by higher authority they were determined that in the case of every endowed school the Governing Body should be elected on these three principles. They meant to have a certain number of *ex officio* members, who would give stability and dignity to the school. They proposed to secure the representation of the interests of parents by introducing in every case a strong infusion of the representative element. The third element to which the Commissioners attached equal importance was the introduction of what were called co-optative members. He believed that the principles thus laid down had obtained the very general approval of existing trustees and of other persons interested in the subject. The Commissioners hoped, in many cases, to provide education for girls, and therefore it was important that ladies should be on the committees of management. With regard to the complaint of want of notice alleged by the noble Lord (Lord Buckhurst) on behalf of the Corporation of London, he could only say that the Commissioners gave them full notice of their intentions, and offered to hear them by counsel or in any other way. The Corporation, however, said the principle in dispute was one which must be decided by Parliament. In that they were perfectly reasonable; but they were unreasonable in stating now that they had been taken by surprise. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) alluded to the important question of gratuitous education, and mixed it up with the question of rich and poor; but he (Lord Lyttelton) did not very well see how that arose in connection with this matter. His noble Friend (Viscount Halifax) read the first 10 names of the parents of children in the school, and he might have read the whole and arrived at the same result—namely, that the scholars did not belong to what was commonly called the labouring class. The Commissioners would, in relation to these endowed schools, have regard to merit and not to nomination, supposed poverty, or any other consideration. They proposed to give free admission after competitive examination; but that examination would be on the simplest subjects—as, for instance, hand-writing, and the first two rules of arithmetic. The noble Marquess said that at present 147 children were educated at this school; but under the elastic scheme proposed by the Commissioners they would be able to educate 900, many of whom would be children of poor parents. When discussing these ancient deeds they must take into account the change of circumstances since they were made. He believed the education of children of the poor had received more attention and been made more easy of attainment by them than by any other class—even before the passing of the Elementary Education Act last year. He did not approve of the whole of that Act, but accepting it as the law of the land, they found that it provided that sufficient education should be put within easy reach of the children of the labouring class of the country. And while the children of the upper class derived great benefit from certain wealthy endowments, and while the children of the lowest class got education at one-third of its cost by means of grants from the Government, and commanded great resources from benevolent persons, nothing of any consequence had yet been done from public funds for the education of the children of the great middle class. Therefore, he admitted it would be the effect of the work of the Commission to give the lion's share and the chief advantage of the endowments under their control, taken as a whole, to the middle class rather than to the highest or the lowest class. Facilities would be given for the entrance among that class of the children of the lower class, and he believed that the intention of the founders would be best promoted, by drawing together the best talent and the best industry of the country, and by educating the children in the way to make them useful citizens. He hoped the Corporation of London would remain in the possession of the property which it possessed in the parish (Brandesburton) alluded to by the noble Marquess. As to the rest the Commissioners had taken the course which they felt bound to take under the Act of Parliament; and they would unquestionably adhere to the principle they had adopted until it was set aside by higher authority.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, he had not intended to take part in this debate; but he could not refrain from making a few remarks on some points which had been raised in the discussion. The noble Lord who had just spoken (Lord Lyttelton) said that the object of the Endowed Schools Act was almost exclusively to appropriate the endowments of those schools to the benefit of the middle class, who should have "the lion's share" of them. The noble Lord, of course, so understood the intent of the Act of Parliament, for he was not the man to advocate so unjust a policy; and, no doubt, a very large number of the schools coming under the Endowed Schools Act were foundations the benefits of which might be justly given to the middle class; but it seemed to him that where, as in the particular case before them, the founder had expressly specified that the endowments were to be for the benefit of a special class, and that, too, the poorest class in the country, they had no right whatever, morally or technically, to assume that the Act gave them power to override a distinct intention of that kind. The exclusion of the poorest class seemed to be as unwarranted by anything that had passed in either House of Parliament as it was on the commonest principles of justice. It had been urged that if the founders of those institutions had lived in our times they would doubtless have acted in accordance with the enlightened spirit of this age, and, instead of confining their endowments to the poor, would have given them to the middle class. All this was matter of conjecture; they might or might not have so acted on that supposition; but what had to be considered was the fact that the founders, having lived in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and having a great variety of classes before their eyes, had distinctly made choice of the poorer class as the persons whom they desired to benefit. In this instance the words of the charter mentioned the poor as the class for whom the endowments were intended. The noble Marquess who opened the debate (the Marquess of Salisbury), had not contended for the principle that gratuitous education should be given indiscriminately, but he had protested against the doctrine laid down by the Commissioners that the education in question should be given to the exclusion of the poor except by competitive examination, although the founder had contemplated no such limitation of his bounty towards them. It had not once in the course of this discussion been alleged that the management of this charity had been bad, but he thought he might boldly say that up to the present moment it had been good. They had been told that the total expenses amounted to about £4,000, and, considering that the number of boys educated and boarded was 147, and that that gave an expenditure of about £27 10*s.* per head, he did not think the expenditure was very extravagant. The noble Lord who spoke last (Lord Lyttelton) said, indeed, that instead of educating 147 boys the scheme of the Commissioners would educate 900; but, if he understood him rightly, the noble Lord was speaking of the consolidated revenue of those schools; and, of course, if the endowments of three other large schools were added to the Emanuel Hospital they could easily educate a larger number of boys. The noble Viscount (Viscount Halifax) stated that even under the original charter and arrangements of that institution the principle of merit was recognized because prizes and exhibitions were to be awarded to the best scholars. Surely, however, there was a vast difference between making merit the one single standard of admission for the boys in the first instance, and offering them exhibitions to be competed for in the later stages of their education. There was really no connection between the two propositions. Of course, the holding out of such inducements to those who should most distinguish themselves in the school was not only perfectly fair, but most salutary, and very desirable for the good of the school itself. Upon the list of 12 boys whose names the noble Viscount had read to the House no argument could be founded; but if any inference was to be drawn therefrom it would rather be against his speech than for it, for it showed that of those 12 many were orphans, and some, at least, belonged to the poorest class. But the object of the noble Marquess was not so much to find out whether certain boys came within defined limits of poverty as to protest against the action of the Commissioners in laying down the principle that they were not to recognize the claims of poverty in any degree. In that protest he concurred, because he considered it unfair to override the intentions of the founder of a charity, where no abuse had been mentioned; where no maladministration had even been hinted at; for if any persons deserved consideration at the hands of the Legislature it was the poor, and that especially in the matter of education. Though he had heard but little of this case before, and was unfamiliar with many of its details, he had to thank the noble Marquess for bringing it before the House, and he hoped that his noble Friend would follow out by action the arguments which he had laid before the House.

THE EARL OF HARROWBY said, there was a general impression abroad that all the small endowments which afforded gratuitous education to children principally because of the poverty of their parents were to be taken away. If it was the intention of the Commissioners to say that hereafter poverty should not be considered, their scheme ought to be denounced most absolutely. The competitive principle might cause a widow's children to be deprived of their education, and how could the future capabilities of a child of seven years old be ascertained? The horse that could win a race was not the best for all purposes, and a precocious child would not make the best man. All who were concerned in administering small endowments ought to know on what principle the Commissioners were proceeding, and whether they meant to enact that poverty should of itself be no claim to a share in an endowment.

THE BISHOP OF EXETER said, that having been a member of the Endowed Schools Inquiry Commission, he hoped he might be allowed to say a few words on the subject of gratuitous education. The Commissioners had not decided upon the question whether a gratuitous education should be given without going into it with the utmost care and taking all the evidence that could be obtained. Whatever might be said with regard to individual cases, he did not think it possible for any man to come to any other conclusion than that at which the Commissioners had arrived—namely, that in the interests of the poor themselves the wisest use of the endowments was to devote them to the encouragement of merit, especially in the form of a higher education. Had the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) himself been a member of the Commission, and had he examined the question from many different sides, and heard the subject argued for and against for three consecutive years, he must have ended by agreeing with the Commissioners that that was the only principle they could act upon. The 11th clause of the Act under which the Commissioners were appointed required them, in interfering with any privilege or educational advantage to which particular persons or classes were entitled, to have a due regard to the educational interests of such class only—they were not permitted to have regard to any pecuniary interests whatever; and therefore any argument which travelled out of that line only amounted to a plea for the repeal of the Act. Confining himself, therefore, to educational interests only, he asserted that it was a very great misrepresentation to speak of the action of the Commissioners as if they were taking away the endowments of the poor and handing them over to the middle classes. The case was this. The benefit was to be given to the poor. He would assume for a moment that the best benefit that could be given to the poor was the means of higher education. For that purpose it was necessary to establish schools in which those who were selected should receive higher education. When these schools were established, and when they were schools for more advanced education, then they were of great use to the middle classes, if the middle classes were permitted to attend them and pay fees; and in that case it was in no sense a transference of the endowment to the middle classes. It was necessary there should be such schools if the benefit of which he had spoken was to be given to the poor; and if the schools were there, there was no reason in the world why the middle classes should not obtain the benefit to be derived from them. These classes, however, paid fees, and to refuse them the use of these schools under such circumstances was very like playing the part of the dog in the manger. If these schools existed, there was no reason why the children of the middle classes should not be admitted to them on the payment of fees, nor why the admission to them should be confined exclusively to competitive examination—those who were willing to pay fees ought to be admitted on passing an ordinary entrance examination, irrespective of competitive examination or competition. He asked their Lordships to consider how great a boon was often given by such endowments to many who desired an education such as their Lordships had themselves received, and who had found in the schools to which they went the means of getting a higher education than they could have otherwise obtained. There was really no greater blessing that could be given to any class, and none greater than opening to the children of the poorer class a higher education than they could have commanded had it not been for these endowments. He spoke with some feeling on this point, because when he was at school, it had been a constant stimulus to him to have the hope of some day or other winning the means of going to the University, and he knew that, unless he could win the means, he had no chance of going to the University at all. He saw others reaping the same benefit also; he knew what it did for him and others; and such a stimulus and reward were the very things that were now wanted in the schools of the poor. An Act had been passed which was to supply the country with schools. That Act required that the means of elementary education should be placed within the reach of every poor child. But there it stopped. If there were children who felt a desire to learn more than the elementary schools taught—if there were children who felt a strong impulse to learn more—and there were such children—there was no benefit that could be compared to giving them the chance of obtaining such exhibitions as carried himself and others to the Universities, to continue their education there to the highest point. Now, it had to be considered that in all such cases there must be selection. A certain number of children had to be selected. Take the case of the Emanuel Hospital. Lady Dacre had left property which was charged with the duty of educating 20 poor children. There were a great many poor children; how were they to be chosen? It was obvious that if out of the boys chosen there were some who were desirous of further education, and you selected these boys, you were still within the limits marked out by the benefactors. You were still benefiting the poor, enabling them to rise in the social scale, and to use their natural powers for the purposes of that advancement. The rates did not give the children of the poor the means of so advancing themselves; but these endowments seemed intended for that very purpose. It was a far higher benefit than an ordinary charity, because there was no charity which could for a moment compete with one which enabled the receiver to rise higher than he was. If the original founders of such endowments were living at this time, and if they could see the great blessing which these endowments were capable of conferring, they would consent to such a scheme as was proposed by the Endowed Schools Commissioners. But that was not all that could be stated—because if a few children were taken out and educated on the score of poverty the benefit stopped there, and nothing was done to confer benefit on the children all round; whereas if education was given in the way the Endowed School Commissioners proposed, it was not only a benefit to the receivers—it was a benefit to the whole school; it was a benefit in every way; it stimulated scholars, because they saw the prospects which might be obtained; it stimulated parents, because they began to think that after all there was something to be got out of the school; and it stimulated the teachers almost more than anything else because they were constantly encouraged by the reflection that they were helping the boys to win the means of future advancement. Having been a teacher himself, he could say how much the teacher was stimulated by knowing that he was able to help those who really desired to carry their education further by enabling them to win the means of doing so. For his own part, he should not have felt sorry if the whole of these endowments had been converted into exhibitions for the benefit of the children in the primary schools. Such a use of these endowments was, he believed, as distinctly within the meaning of the founders as was possible after this lapse of time. There was this difficulty; the schools to which these children wished to go did not exist, and therefore the schools must be created, and the children must be given the means of going. He did not think that those who had much experience of other modes of selection would, on comparing them with this one, long hesitate in the choice between the two. He was once in a parish which had a presentation to Christ's Hospital, which was given by the votes of the parishioners; and he could but remember the solicitation and the hypocrisy on the part of the applicants—how very much there was in the statements of the parents which put him in mind of the degradation of the begging-letter writer, and how plain it was that these solicitations were doing harm to those who were soliciting—how distinctly it was lowering and damaging to their character, and he could not but come to the conviction that any mode of selection was better than that. The proper mode was to go upon a broad principle, looking to the educational interests of the whole community, and picking out children whose education would be a benefit not only to themselves, but to the schools from which they came. Returning now to the subject of Emanuel Hospital. In the scheme proposed at Emanuel Hospital one-third of the exhibitions were to be restricted to the primary schools. To this extent, therefore, the children of the poor—those who attended the primary schools—would alone benefit. If this scheme were adopted, he believed that more distinctively poor children would attend the school than attended it under the present system. At present, the children were described as being of a class who could well afford to pay a fee of £4 a-year. Such children could hardly be said to belong to the very poor. The fact was, that the school had already been transferred from the class for whose benefit it was intended, and the scheme of the Commissioners really proposed to make it more a school for the poor than it now was. He did not blame the Corporation for what had happened; but they now required that the children should come of "respectable parents and householders," and such children could not exactly be said to belong to the poor class. That mode of selection was by no means so much in the interest of the poor as the mode of selection which would prevail under the scheme proposed. He had no doubt, he might add, that in conjunction with the Inspectors the governors of those schools would be able to lay down such rules as would diminish, if they did not entirely remove, any evils which might be expected to flow from the adoption of a pure competitive system. Regard might be had to the previous conduct of the scholars in the schools, their diligence, and general fitness. In that way he thought many of the objections of the noble Marquess might be obviated. In defending the principle on which the Endowed Schools Commissioners were acting, he did not yield to the noble Marquess opposite, or to any man, in a genuine desire to promote the interests of the poor, and he might point to Doncaster School, where, under the auspices of the present Master of the Temple, precisely the same plan as that which he was now advocating was adopted, and was found to give a great stimulus to all the schools in the locality, as an illustration of the wisdom of following a similar course in the instance under discussion. He had only, in conclusion, to express a hope that the Commissioners would persevere in acting upon the principle to which he referred, and to state that he felt quite sure the longer the matter was discussed the more clearly it would appear that the question was not one of robbing the poor, but of making a good instead of a bad selection, so that, as he had repeatedly seen, many who began by opposing the principle would, in the end, admit that a better could not be substituted for it.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, in reply, said, he found it very difficult to reconcile many statements that had been made in opposition to his view of the case. He could not admit that the present governors had not given the benefits of the school to the poor, because one of the conditions was that they should be given to respectable persons. This was the first time he had ever heard that the poor were not respectable, and he was rather surprised at the quarter from which the remark had come. The advocates of the Endowed Schools Commissioners gave different versions of the principle on which these schools were dealt with; but no doubt by the next time this subject was brought up, they would have arranged their case better. His own objection to the scheme of the Commissioners remained unshaken — that instead of selecting from among the poor, it took the foundation entirely away from the poor, and handed it over to the rich by the system of competitive examination proposed. Nor could he admit that competitive examination in the case of children of the ages prescribed could be at all regarded as a test of merit.

EARL GRANVILLE was very glad that the debate had arisen, although he must observe that it was one of the most irregular of which he had any recollection, the discussion turning as it did on a Paper which was not before the House; and the noble Marquess who had just sat down having made two speeches, when there was absolutely no Motion before their Lordships.

BANKRUPTCY DISQUALIFICATION BILL.

(The Lord Chancellor.)

(NO. 65.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, he should not have brought it on at a period of the evening when the attendance of Peers was not usually so numerous as at an earlier hour had he not ascertained that no opposition would be offered to its principle. The object of the measure needed but brief explanation. It was founded simply on the consideration that whereas by recent legislation Members of their Lordships' House had been made amenable to the laws of bankruptcy, and had been adjudicated bankrupts, it was desirable that that Assembly should not show itself less mindful of its dignity than the House of Commons had shown itself with regard to their branch of the Legislature. In the year 1812 an Act was passed—the 52 *Geo.* III. c. 144—which recited that it was highly necessary, for the preservation of the dignity and independence of Parliament, that Members of the House of Commons who became bankrupts and did not pay their debts in full should not retain their seats as Members of that House, and it was enacted that whenever a commission of bankruptcy should be awarded against any Member, such Member should for the space of 12 months be and remain utterly incapable of sitting or voting in the House of Commons, unless within that time the commission should be superseded, or unless he should have paid his creditors in full; in default of which, after the expiry of the 12 months, the election became void, and the Speaker was authorized to issue a new writ. Notwithstanding, however, the vacation of his seat, he was capable of being re-elected by his constituents, who were thus placed in a position to say whether they regarded him as fit or unfit to be returned to the Legislature. In the case of their Lordships' House, however, he believed it would be the opinion of almost every noble Lord that it would not be consistent with its dignity that one of its Members who had been adjudged bankrupt should continue to retain his right to sit and vote while his debts remained unsatisfied. The respect in which the House of Lords was held in this country was due to a variety of causes, some affecting portions of its Members and some others. There was the effect produced by long hereditary descent from distinguished ancestors, and the transmission of those qualities to those who succeeded them—a title to respect of which he was far from wishing to deny the validity, as, indeed, few could be who recollected that celebrated speech of Chief Justice Crewe in the De Vere peerage case in the time of James I. Again, the possession of large landed estates by so many of its Members gave to the House of Lords additional dignity and stability. Those remarks applied, however, to only a portion of its Members, for in every generation men were admitted within its walls who had no long line of historic ancestors and no large landed estates, but who owed the honours conferred upon them to services which they had rendered the State. But all the Members of the House of Lords, whatever their position might be, were, he was sure, equally anxious that it should enjoy the respect of the country; and in order to do that it was necessary that a high principle of honour should be maintained; and they could hardly hope to obtain respect due to honourable conduct if they were to look lightly on the circumstance of large debts being contracted without the means of paying them, or if they allowed it to be said that there were persons occupying seats in the highest House of Legislature, and taking part in the making of laws, who were unable to satisfy their ordinary debts and obligations. There might be cases in which the adjudication of bankruptcy might be reversed, and there might be others in which the bankruptcy might arise from injustice or error, or from misfortunes which could not be foreseen or were unavoidable; but one could not distinguish nicely in such matters. He apprehended their Lordships would not do ill to say that it was required by the dignity of that House that some protection should be thrown round the character of its Members, such as the Commons had thought fit in 1812 to throw round the Members of their Assembly. The present measure would simply give effect to these views. It was provided by the Bill that every Peer who becomes bankrupt shall be disqualified from sitting or voting in the House of Lords; or, being a Peer of Scotland or Ireland, shall be disqualified from being elected to sit and vote in the House of Lords. A Peer who had become bankrupt would be restored to all his qualifications when, in the event of his bankruptcy being determined, either by the adjudication being annulled on the ground that such Peer ought never to have been adjudged bankrupt, or on its being proved to the satisfaction of the House of Lords that such bankrupt has been duly discharged from all debts and liabilities to which he was subject at the date of his bankruptcy. The penalty for a disqualified Peer sitting or voting was that he should be deemed guilty of a breach of privilege, and be dealt with as the House of Lords may direct. No writ of summons was to be issued to any Peer for the time disqualified from sitting or voting in the House, and no Irish or Scotch Peer was capable of being returned a representative Peer under the same circumstances. The same disqualifications were extended to any person who, having been adjudged bankrupt, should succeed to a peerage before his bankruptcy has been determined. The disqualification did not extend beyond the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, and therefore no bankrupt Peer would, under this Act, be deprived of any privileges to which he might be entitled in right of his peerage; nor would he be qualified to be elected to sit and vote in the House of Commons, in case he would not have been qualified had this Act not been passed. A question had arisen in his own mind, as well as in that of some others, as to how far the action of the Bill should extend—whether the full payment of the debts should be required or the discharge of the bankrupt should be sufficient to enable him to sit and vote in that House. By the Act of 1812 a Member of the House of Commons was required to make full payment or "satisfaction." Of course "satisfaction" might be made by the creditors agreeing to take less than the full payment. But the difference between the case of a bankrupt Member of that House and a bankrupt Member of the House of Commons was that the latter could be afterwards re-elected by his constituents if they thought fit; but in the case of a Peer, supposing him to satisfy his creditors in the sense which the Act of 1869 required, on his paying 10*s.* in the pound, or obtaining a release by general consent, if their Lordships were to say that would not be sufficient they would enable three or four creditors who had not been satisfied to say they would accept nothing short of a full payment, and he would or would not act as a Peer according to their arbitrament. He, and some noble and learned Lords whom he had consulted, thought, on the whole, that to leave such a power to a few creditors would not be desirable. Such were the main provisions of the Bill—as to the details there would be full opportunity for discussing them on Thursday, when the House would go into Committee.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

The Duke of RICHMOND said, it must be the unanimous feeling of their Lordships that it was essentially necessary, after the legislation of 1869, that some such measure as that now before the House should be passed. In a tribunal like the House of Lords it would be very prejudicial to their power and reputation in the country if they were to attempt to shelter bankrupt Members under their wing, and enable them to take part in the proceedings of the House in a way that would not be tolerated by the other House as regarded Members of the House of Commons. He concurred with the noble and learned Lord as to the period at which the bankruptcy should cease, and also as to the inadvisability of enabling a few creditors unwilling to accept 10*s.* in the pound to stand out and prevent a Peer from sitting in that House. He would not trespass on their Lordships' time any further, but wished to take that opportunity of expressing his cordial concurrence with the principle of the Bill.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

PROMISSORY OATHS BILL—(No. 64).

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

SECOND READING.

The LORD CHANCELLOR, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, its object was simply to repeal a variety of Acts which were rendered entirely useless by the Act passed in 1868 with respect to the administration of oaths. A great many oaths, for which another oath had been substituted in the Act to which he referred, were required to be taken by Acts of Parliament, and these Acts had not been repealed.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

The Lord Chancellor

INCORPORATION OF TRUSTEES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF IRELAND BILL [H.L.], &

PRIMITIVE WESLEYAN METHODIST SOCIETY OF IRELAND REGULATION BILL [H.L.]

Bills *referred* to a Select Committee: The Lords following were named of the Committee:

E. Airlie.
E. Powis.
E. Morley.
E. Dartrey.
V. Lifford.
L. Brodrick.
L. Clandeboye.

The petition presented this day, praying to be heard by counsel in favour of the Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society of Ireland Regulation Bill [H.L.], *referred* to the Committee, with leave to the petitioner to be heard as desired: The Committee to meet on *Monday* next, at Eleven o'clock, and to appoint their own chairman.—(*The Lord Cairns.*)

House adjourned at half past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 24th April, 1871.

MINUTES.] — Select Committee — *Report* — Public Petitions.

Ways and Means—*considered in Committee*—Committee R.P.

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Ewelme Rectory* [96]; Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation* [101].

Committee—Report—Bath City Prison* [100].

Third Reading—Citation Amendment (Scotland)* [89], and *passed.*

IRELAND—WESTMEATH, &c. (UNLAWFUL COMBINATIONS).—OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I may take this opportunity of stating the intention of the Government with reference to the Report of the Committee on the state of Westmeath. I have had a communication from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford on this subject, and I have to state that my noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies will to-day move in the House of Lords for the communication of the evidence taken before the Committee on Westmeath to that branch of the Legislature, and will also give notice of his intention to present a Bill for more effectually securing—I do not now give the technical description of the Bill, but its object will be to give more effectual security to life and property within certain local limits in connection with crimes and secret societies.

ARMY REGULATION BILL—COMPENSATION TO GENERAL OFFICERS.

QUESTION.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the event of purchase being done away with, Government is prepared to pay those Colonels who have become General Officers under the present system the sums expended by them in the purchase of their commissions; will any compensation be given to General Officers who have purchased their half-pay, so as to place them on an equal footing with Colonels who will obtain the rank of Major General after the passing of this Act without such purchase; and if the honorary Colonelcies are abolished, what pecuniary compensation will be awarded to those General Officers who in the natural course of events under the present system would have obtained such honorary colonelcies?

MR. CARDWELL said, in reply, that the Army Regulation Bill did not affect colonels who had become generals under the present system, and provided no compensation for them with regard to the honorary colonelcies, and he had already stated that when this subject was dealt with the interests of the honorary colonels would have to be considered.

ARMY—CHAPLAINS IN CAMP.

QUESTION.

MAJOR WALKER (for Lord EUSTACE CECIL) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there is any intention of carrying out at Aldershot, and other Camps, the recommendation contained in the Second Report of the Royal Commissioners on Military Education to the effect—

> "That in all barracks, where circumstances permit, a room with suitable furniture, and supplied with the necessary fuel and light, should be appropriated for the use of the Chaplains in their intercourse with the soldiers, and for other religious purposes?"

MR. CARDWELL, in reply, said, there was every disposition to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners on this subject; but there was considerable difficulty in finding the requisite accommodation. Probably the school-room would be best appropriated for the purpose.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION—BUILDING GRANTS.—QUESTION.

MR. SIMONDS asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, If he can state the time when the parishes of Headbourn Worthy, Otterbourne, and Colden Common, in the county of Southampton, may expect to receive a reply to their applications for Building Grants, made to the Council some four months since?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, in reply, that in the third parish mentioned by the hon. Gentleman, Colden Common, the application was made before the very great pressure of applications had set in, on the 18th of October, 1870; the reply was sent on the 27th of October, and the officers were still corresponding with the promoters of the school to obtain the necessary information. With regard to the other two schools, the applications had been made, one on the 6th of December, and the other on the 9th of December. Nearly 2,000 applications had been received before these two; and, for the reason he had frequently stated, with the utmost endeavour to get through the work, he could not state the precise time when they would be replied to.

INDIA—COST OF EUROPEAN RECRUITS.

QUESTION.

COLONEL SYKES asked, Whether the Under Secretary of State for India having declared that there is not any error in the Report of the Commission to inquire and report into the cost of drilling European recruits for India, which stated that 24,783 recruits were sent to India from the East India Company's depôt at Warley from 1850 to 1859, at an average cost of £19 14*s.* 10½*d.* per recruit, but that the War Office, for 15,376 recruits sent to India from 1861-2 to 1867-8, charged the Government of India £205 per recruit, and in the year 1862-3 £376 per recruit, and that for the future £136 13*s.* 11*d.* for a Cavalry, and £63 8*s.* 5*d.* for an Infantry recruit is to be charged, the Secretary of State for India in Council will take measures to protect the taxpayers of India from these extraordinarily increased charges for recruiting the European Troops in India, and whether the depôt at Warley cannot be re-established on the same economical footing as under the East India Company?

MR. GRANT DUFF: No change, Sir, in the existing arrangements is at present contemplated by the Secretary of State for India in Council. With regard to the Warley depôt, all matters connected with recruiting belong to the department of the Secretary of State for War; but I may say that I do not see how, even if the Warley depôt were re-established, it could be re-established on the same economical footing as formerly, seeing that the article supplied to India by the War Office is a more costly article than that supplied in old times.

THE NEW FOREST—FELLING TIMBER.

QUESTION.

MR. FAWCETT asked the Secretary of the Treasury, Whether he will promise that the felling of timber, which he stated on Tuesday last was contemplated in the New Forest, shall not be permitted until the House has had an opportunity of considering the New Forest Bill now before Parliament?

MR. BAXTER: Sir, if the state of Public Business afforded a reasonable prospect of the New Forest Bill being discussed at an early date, such a promise as that desired by my hon. Friend might possibly be given; but, in present circumstances, I think it would not be wise to prevent the cutting down of the very small quantity of timber contemplated. At the same time, I assure my hon. Friend that nothing shall be done which may have the slightest tendency to prejudge questions hereafter to be decided by Parliament.

MR. FAWCETT said, in consequence of the answer he had just received, he should take the earliest available opportunity of asking the House to affirm the inexpediency of allowing any timber to be felled in the New Forest.

ORDNANCE SURVEY—NORTH WALES.

QUESTION.

MR. WILLIAMS WYNN asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is intended to complete the survey of North Wales (other than the mineral districts), upon any larger scale than the existing one-inch survey; and, if not, whether he can hold out any hope of the re-verification of the roads, &c., as laid down in that survey, parts of which contain errors of more than thirty years' standing?

MR. AYRTON, in reply, said, he could not give a precise answer, because he had not yet received replies to inquiries which he directed to be made some time ago as to the mode in which the survey was being conducted. If it were to go on at the rate at which it had progressed hitherto, it would be several years before the survey of the part of Wales referred to by the hon. Member would be completed; it was desirable to complete promptly the survey of the mineral districts.

ARMY—OFFICERS OF THE COMMISSARIAT, &c., DEPARTMENTS.

QUESTION.

VISCOUNT MAHON asked the Secretary of State for War, What is the alternative provided for the Officers of the Commissariat, Store, Barrack, and Purveyors' Departments who may object to receive their new commissions under the Control Warrant; and whether, if they retired, they would be entitled to any sum or pension beyond the regulation allowance for the losses sustained by the introduction of the said Warrant, as was allowed to clerks of the War Office, &c., retired under recent changes?

SIR HENRY STORKS said, in reply, that officers of the Commissariat, Store, Barrack, and Purveyors' Departments, cannot object to receive commissions under the Control Warrant, but they may elect to retain the pay of their rank in their departments until they were promoted in the Control Department, and that officers who retired, except such as were displaced by amalgamations, would not be entitled to any sum or pension, and could be dealt with only under existing regulations.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

NATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

RESOLUTION.

Mr. WHITE, in rising to move an Amendment, said, he would do so in the shape of a Resolution, which was intended to mean what it said—that was to say, his Resolution did not raise the question of confidence or non-confidence in the Government. He wished to rightly interpret the feelings of his constituency, and express the views he entertained with reference to the course which the Government had of late pursued. He was performing the part of their best friend—the candid friend—because he was sure that persistence in the course of extravagance which was now inaugurated, would alienate the best friends of the Government, and would certainly disgust a large majority of their truest and most earnest supporters. The Resolution which he submitted, and upon which he should take the sense of the House, was as follows:—

> "That, in the opinion of the House, the additional taxation proposed by Her Majesty's Government will entail burdens upon the people which are not justified by existing circumstances."

He had just referred to a Motion of a kindred nature which, in 1862, was made by his right hon. Friend the President of the Poor Law Board (Mr. Stansfeld), and he would frankly admit that that Resolution would now have been better than his own. It was—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the National Expenditure is capable of reduction without compromising the safety, the independence, or the legitimate influence of the country."

That correctly expressed his own opinion of our present circumstances. In the year ending the 31st day of March, 1862, the expenditure was £71,297,656, or £1,000,000 less than was now demanded. The line of argument he intended to pursue was this—First, he would assume that the Chancellor of the Exchequer required an addition to his incoming Revenue of £2,713,000, and that the additional taxation which he asked them to impose would leave him his proposed surplus of £87,000. In the second place, he would inquire whether, by judicious economy, the present taxation ought not to more than suffice for the national requirements. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in his Budget last year, his estimate of the Revenue for the year ending the 31st of March, 1871, was £2,311,220 less than the actual receipts; and, on that occasion, he ventured to say that the right hon. Gentleman had under-estimated his surplus by quite £2,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman now estimated that the following sources of Revenue would be less than in 1870-1: — Customs, by £91,000; Excise, by £368,000; Stamps, by £257,000; Income Tax, if at 4*d.*, by £250,000; the Post Office, by £100,000; and the Crown Lands, by £10,000; making a total falling-off, as compared with last year, of £1,076,000. The total Revenue which the Chancellor of the Exchequer calculated on obtaining in the year 1871-2 was £69,595,000. A fortnight before the right hon. Gentleman brought forward his Budget, he (Mr. White) had made out his own, and he estimated the Revenue at £71,000,000 for the coming year. He might mention that he had passed a considerable portion of his life many thousand miles away from England, in a country where the question of the harvest in England being good or bad was of vital interest, and where it was necessary to consider all the circumstances which might either add to, or subtract from, the prosperity of the nation. Therefore, owing to his mercantile training, ever since he had the honour of a seat in that House, he had always deemed it his duty to estimate the total out-turn of each coming year's Revenue, and before the Chancellor of the Exchequer opened his Budget he was always ready with his own, in order to contrast it with that of the right hon. Gentleman. He took this opportunity of thanking the Chancellor of the Exchequer for having made this self-imposed task much easier than it was in times past, owing to the large amount of authentic fiscal information now given to the public through the medium of *The London Gazette.* To the correctness of the right hon. Gentleman's estimate, however, he demurred for the following reasons:—In the first place, the manufacturing districts in the North had not, during the last 10 years been in so prosperous a condition as at present. Again, cotton wool was 30 per cent lower than it was this time last year; and wool was likewise very low. Wheat was at a moderate price. The latest Poor Law Return for England and Wales showed that in February, 1870, the number of paupers was 1,093,811, while at the same date in the present year the number was 1,036,459 *id est* 57,352 less. The Railway Returns told a similar story, and the great increase, both in passenger and goods traffic, showed that the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of the country had at last recovered from the great panic of 1866. The right hon. Gentleman appeared also to have wholly ignored the normal increment of Revenue, which was an essential condition in the Estimate. The Prime Minister had stated that the normal increment of the Revenue was £875,000 per annum, during the four years ending in 1863; and it might now be fairly put at £1,000,000. Again, with regard to agricultural prosperity, he was assured by hon. Gentlemen, who were more competent to judge than himself, that there was every prospect of the coming harvest of all crops together being greater in aggregate value than that of last year. There were no statistics to show what amount of such augmented agricultural production would go into the Exchequer; but, in 1787, Mr. Pitt said three-fifths of the amount made for labour in the agricultural districts found its way into the Exchequer; and the right hon. Gentleman now at the head of the Government once asserted at Chester, that, somehow or other, one-eighth of every man's income, on the average, was paid to the State. Now it was obvious that the revival of commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural industry must increase considerably the amount of Revenue. Again, he found the right hon. Gentleman was very well off with regard to the Exchequer balances. Fourteen years ago Sir George C. Lewis thought £6,500,000 quite enough; but the present Chancellor of the Exchequer commenced the financial year with £7,023,425, and, on the last occasion, when making his Financial Statement, the right hon. Gentleman stated that the unfunded Debt had never been so low in the memory of man. He went into these details because he did not think the Chancellor of the Exchequer had approached this subject in a statesmanlike manner. The right hon. Gentleman addressed the Committee as though he were a merchant in straitened circumstances, who had a big bill coming due, and who had, consequently, to task his utmost efforts, because, if he could not pay the full amount of the bill, his credit would be irretrievably ruined. The subject was introduced as though the right hon. Gentleman had to meet a bill of £72,395,000, due on the 31st of March next, and destitute of any resources to provide for the smallest possible deficit. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told the House that he based his Estimate on an average of several years. Now, according to the official statistics, the total surplus for the last 14 years reached nearly £17,000,000, whereas the total deficits owing to unexpected calamities—the New Zealand, Chinese, and Abyssinian Wars, and the bad harvest of 1860—amounted to only £3,500,638; thus leaving for the last 14 years an average annual excess of Revenue over Expenditure of nearly £1,000,000. According to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire, Ministers of State were placed on such Olympian heights that they took a larger survey and a wider range than the humble Members who sat below the gangway; but, still, he (Mr. White) had a lurking suspicion that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, finding how convenient it was to under-estimate his Revenue last year, thought it would be a wise policy to do so again, especially as there might be certain *Alabama* claims looming in the distance. If this were the case, however, it would have been far better for the right hon. Gentleman to take the House into his confidence and tell it plainly what was likely to occur. He had now done with the first part of his argument, and would turn to the second. The right hon. Gentleman had informed the House that he should require for the coming year the sum of £72,395,000. Now, he protested against such a demand, as being inordinate. It was the largest amount that had ever been demanded from the House in time of peace. They had recently grown too much into the habit, he regretted to note, of talking vaguely and indefinitely of very large sums of money, forgetting what Government expenditure really meant. One of the best definitions he remembered was that of the present Prime Minister, who said—

> "It must be borne in mind when we speak of Government expenditure, we speak of that which is taken in great measure out of the earnings of the people, and which forms in no small degree a

deduction from a scanty store which is necessary to secure to them a sufficiency—I do not say of the comforts of life, but even of the prime necessaries of food, of clothing, of shelter, and of fuel."

Hence, when the Government swelled the already enormous amount of taxation, the House had not only the right, but it was its duty to express its opinion as to the justice or propriety of the policy proposed for its adoption. At the last election the main issue placed before the people was economy. He would not refer to the memorable speeches made by the Prime Minister in Lancashire; but when the verdict of the country had been taken the right hon. Gentleman the First Minister of the Crown, addressing his constituents at Greenwich, on his re-election, in 1868, said—

> "I am myself responsible, and I avow I did take the earliest opportunity in my power to direct the public mind to that subject—public economy—at the opening stage in the proceedings connected with the late elections, for I am quite certain that there may be times when the public mind may become comparatively relaxed in regard to the general principles of economy and thrift, and to the special duty of public men to watch the very beginning of such an evil. I rejoice to think that the attention of the country has been effectually directed, during the late elections, to the subject of retrenchment of public expenditure. I know no reason why £3,000,000 should be added in the short period of two and a-half years to the cost of our establishments. It is one thing, I am well aware, to put on £3,000,000, but it is another thing to take it off; for, when you put £3,000,000 on, you create a number of new relations, a number of new offices, a number of new claims, a number of new expectations."

The right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Bright) again, on the occasion of his own re-election for Birmingham, after accepting office, said—

> "Let me tell you this—I say it as a member of the Administration which is just formed—that no Government is deserving of the support of the people of the country which cannot carry on the administration of the country for a smaller sum than £70,000,000 a-year."

In the face of this statement a Liberal and economical Government was now governing the country at a cost of £72,395,000 a-year. The late Mr. Cobden, on one occasion, told him that the only Prime Minister who had done his duty was Sir Robert Peel, because he always had maintained a constant supervision and control over all the subordinate offices of the State. When the right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister came into office, he (Mr. White) indulged the hope and belief that the country would see a period of peace, retrenchment, and reform. So far as the first was concerned, he must do Her Majesty's Government the justice to say that their policy had his unqualified approval. With regard to retrenchment, it seemed to have been wholly forgotten by the Government; and the country was fast reverting to the bad Palmerstonian times, when the head of each Department did just as he pleased, and when he got into a mess, simply cried—"Palmerston to the rescue;" and found a majority of the House ready to follow the example of its Leader in condoning the offences of every blundering official. It was not pleasant to make these remarks; but they were justified by the fact that the public expenditure was now greater than when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire described our armaments as swollen and bloated. He was the more astonished at such vast War Estimates being brought forward at a time when he had hoped the "meddling and muddling policy" had been for ever abandoned. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that, in taking the course he had, he was carrying out the wishes of the House, and it was true that a majority voted in favour of enlarged expenditure; but that did not justify the "Ways and Means" which had been proposed. He had voted against the increase in the Estimates, and he could not approve the practice, although sanctioned by modern usage, of asking the House to commit itself to increased Estimates before ascertaining the total sum that was really required, and the amount which would be produced by the existing taxation. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced at the beginning of the Session that he intended to augment the taxation of the country, it would have done much to allay the panic and absurd feeling in favour of increased military expenditure. When, in 1848, there was a somewhat similar panic, Lord John Russell frankly told the House of Commons that if it were the wish of the country to incur a further outlay for defensive purposes, he was prepared to increase the income tax from 7*d.* to 1*s.* in the pound; and it was marvellous what a very soothing effect that statement had upon the public mind. The course then taken by Lord John Russell was praised by the late Sir Robert Peel, who—to his credit be it spoken—always endeavoured in periods of panic to scout the popular delusions and sinister interested suggestions of the Services and their friends which, as a rule, caused the panic feeling to arise. With regard to the present Navy and Army Estimates, he would simply remark that, in 1850, when the late Duke of Wellington was Commander-in-Chief, the whole Expenditure of both Army and Navy amounted to £15,700,000; but now, for the Army alone, the Estimate was £16,452,000, including £600,000 only as the current year's expenditure on account of the proposed abolition of purchase in the Army. There was no one more anxious than himself, and many other Members sitting below the gangway on that side of the House, that this country should have an Army thoroughly efficient in every respect; but efficiency was one thing and economy another, and he ventured to think that the plan of Army re-organization proposed by the Secretary of State for War was neither efficient nor economical. The truth of the matter was that the Government must strike higher than they had yet dared to do. Lord Northbrook's Report had pointed out that our war administration cost us relatively four or five times as much as that which belonged to the Armies of any of the great military Powers of Europe. As a specimen of the way in which the affairs of the Administrative Department at the Horse Guards were managed, he might instance the fact that there was a large increase this year in the charge for home transport of troops, recruits, military prisoners with escorts, &c., the sum required being £276,495. But would it be believed that the Horse Guards, owing probably to some antiquated arrangement made at the introduction of railways, paid for the carriage of troops fully 50 per cent more than was paid by private individuals? His hon. Friend the Member for Ashton (Mr. Mellor) would corroborate him in the statement that the charge for a number of recruits starting from Ashton was 10*s.* 7½*d.* per man third-class, for a distance which, in the case of private individuals, cost only 7*s.* 2*d.* Ordinary third-class passengers were permitted to carry their luggage with them, but in the case of soldiers this was the subject of an extra charge. He would suggest to his hon. and gallant Friend on his left (Captain Vivian) that if he would apply to Mr. Cook, the excursionist, and permit that gentleman to contract for the transport of our troops, the country would probably be a gainer to the extent of something like £120,000 or £130,000 per annum, while the soldiers would find the change attended with a great increase of comfort. He only gave that as a specimen of the mode in which things were managed in the War Department. Now, for the Navy we required £9,756,000, and though his hon. Friend the Secretary for the Treasury had courageously reformed many of the abuses which existed in the system of naval contracts, supplies, &c., how did matters still stand in our Dockyards? He had carefully gone through the figures with his hon. Friend the Member for Ashton, and the result was they had found that in the home Dockyards for every £6 worth of work performed £1 was expended in control and supervision; while in our foreign Dockyards it was still worse, for there the cost of control and supervision amounted to quite as much as the value of the work done. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken great credit to the Government because his right hon. Friend the President of the Poor Law Board had, by re-organizing the London Custom House, been able to dispense with the services of 200 clerks in that Department without impairing its efficiency; and he had also, he was glad to say, promised to inquire into the state of the Customs' Department at the outports, and see whether in those quarters similar reductions could not also be accomplished. But, to his mind, that was merely paltering with the question. He had no hesitation in saying that of some 15,000 clerks in the Civil Service, receiving salaries amounting in the aggregate to £4,500,000 per annum, two-thirds could be dispensed with, and the remaining third should be more liberally treated. He felt convinced that if that were done the work would be much better performed. Most of the mechanical work now done by gentlemen should be placed in the hands of ordinary copyists, and he was glad to see that something was being done in that direction. He had mentioned to a high official—whose name he would furnish to his hon. Friend the Secretary for the Treasury if he desired it—that in a certain Government Department not one-twelfth of the clerks employed did one day's work in a week; and that gentleman replied—and no one was in a better condition to know the fact—that the same might be said of every Government Department. The truth was that the average Government *employé* appeared to act in accordance with the three cardinal principles—come as late as you can, go as soon as you can, and do as little as you can. Before sitting down he must say a word or two upon the subject of the proposed tax on matches, against which he had that day presented three Petitions from the metropolitan manufacturers and their work-people; and he could not help expressing his sincere regret that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have selected those articles for the purpose of taxation. In doing so the right hon. Gentleman had, in his belief, not shown that regard for the sanctity of private property which it was the duty of every statesman to inculcate at the present time. It appeared as if the right hon. Gentleman thought he was entitled to lay on any tax or duty he pleased, and had ignored the fact that the imposition of such a tax as this would have the effect of maiming a most important branch of industry, one that was of the most signal benefit to many thousands of the poorer classes of Her Majesty's subjects. If he were defeated on this Motion, as he suspected he might be, he should still respect the opinions of those who did not agree with him, and he should believe them to be animated with as hearty a desire to promote the happiness and welfare of the people as he himself was; and if only a small number were to follow him into the Lobby, he should not say, as was once said by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that—

> "It was the *vis inertiæ* of the blind, ignorant, besotted stupidity of the large majorities of the English Parliament that made the superior intelligence of a portion of no avail."

The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Mr. RYLANDS: * In seconding the Resolution of my hon. Friend (Mr. White), I wish to disclaim any desire of expressing a want of confidence in the present Ministry. I say that, because my hon. Friend the junior Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett) stated that he intended his Motion, which is next in order on the Paper, as a Vote of Want of Confidence, and I entirely and distinctly decline to join my hon. Friend in any such vote. I do so, because I fully recognize the great benefits which have accrued to this country from both the home and foreign policy of the Government. I therefore adopt my present course not as an opponent, but as an independent supporter of the Government; and I am bound to say that the proposals which have emanated from the Chancellor of the Exchequer have created great disappointment throughout the country, and in no place more than in the county which was honoured by having the Prime Minister as its candidate at the last General Election. I had the pleasure of listening to those eloquent speeches delivered by the right hon. Gentleman, which not only powerfully affected public opinion in Lancashire, but which were held throughout the kingdom, as embodying the "platform" upon which the Liberal party rested. That platform included justice to Ireland, and national economy. The right hon. Gentleman has nobly carried out the first part of his programme, in his great measures on the Irish Church and the Irish Land; but the expectations he held out of national economy only deepen the disappointment which is now felt, in consequence of the large Estimates proposed by the Government; and the measures of the Chancellor of the Exchequer have increased the public dissatisfaction. In dealing with these proposals, I venture to express the opinion that it would be contrary to public policy, if the House, in dealing with questions of taxation and expenditure, should be embarrassed by considerations of a party nature. I shall be disappointed if, before the close of the debate, the Prime Minister does not cordially recognize the public advantage of the greatest freedom being enjoyed by the House, in discussing the question now before us. But apart from these general considerations, there are precedents in previous Sessions when Budgets have been greatly altered or withdrawn, in consequence of opposition in the House, which have not been regarded as including the expression of want of confidence. My hon. Friend (Mr. White) has alluded to the Budget of 1848, and the circumstances under which that Budget was brought forward were almost identical with those of the present time. In making his Financial Statement, at the opening of the Session, Lord John Russell, the then Prime Minister, remarked that the previous year had been one which, excepting cases of foreign war or domestic insurrection, was without a parallel in the history of the country. There had not only been a period of commercial distress, but there had been an increasing expenditure occasioned by the panic of 1847, which was one of the most foolish on record, being occasioned by distrust of France under Louis Philippe, excited by the Duke of Wellington's alarming letter to Sir John Burgoyne on the probability of an invasion of this country. Lord John Russell proposed to re-organize the Militia, and for that purpose, as well as to meet the existing deficiency of the Revenue, he suggested an addition to the income tax of *5d.* in the pound, raising it to 1*s.* in the pound. At the close of February, 1848, Louis Philippe abdicated, and with the decline of the panic, there arose great opposition in the House and in the country to the increased taxation. And then occurred the precedent to which I wish especially to direct the attention of the Prime Minister. The Budget was withdrawn, the Militia Bill dropped, and further than that, Lord Russell's Government referred the whole military and naval expenditure of the country to a searching inquiry by a Select Committee, and the result was that by the close of the Session, it was found there might be very considerable reductions made in the expenditure of the country. The Budget was re-introduced in August without any increase in taxation, the cost of the Navy having been reduced by £208,000, Army £150,000, Ordnance £123,000, Militia £150,000, and Miscellaneous Expenditure £235,000, making a total saving of nearly £1,000,000 sterling. All this was done without a whisper that any action taken by the House should be twisted into a Vote of Want of Confidence, and he saw no reason for treating adverse criticism on the present occasion more seriously. In the course of the discussions in 1848, Mr. Wakley recommended the Government to withdraw their Resolutions together. He said—

> "That Budget was a bubble. It was burst—it was exploded—it was gone; and if there had been any substance in it, it was annihilated." —[3 *Hansard*, xcvi. 1422.]

And I think I might almost use the same language now in reference to the present proposals. I will, however, strongly press upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer the propriety of following Lord Russell's example, as I am quite at a loss to understand how the Government, consistently with their previous principles, can justify this great expenditure. They have given us no sufficient reason for it, and the only attempt at justification occurred on Thursday in the Budget speech. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer argued that we should secure an immunity from invasion by means of this increased expenditure, and that in a financial point of view the operation would pay. This was altogether a peculiar argument, and I think deserves some little consideration from the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said—

> "I wish, however, to point out to the House one view of the case which, as it is peculiarly financial, may not be irrelevant for me to state. I will leave it to others to comment on the inconvenience of being invaded, and to the desirability of preventing invasion if possible."

I cannot deny the soundness of the right hon. Gentleman's premises. We shall all admit that it would be very inconvenient to be invaded; and that it is desirable to prevent invasion if possible. But the right hon. Gentleman went on say—"I do not mean to enter into the question of the probability of an invasion;" but that is, in fact, the whole gist of the affair. The probability or otherwise of an invasion lies at the root of the right hon. Gentleman's argument, and in judging of it I think we may fairly consider that the fact that this country has never been invaded for centuries is a good reason for considering that an invasion is highly improbable. I suppose no hon. Gentleman would consider that a piratical inroad like that of Paul Jones, to which allusion was made the other evening by the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren), can be seriously regarded in the light of an invasion, nor would they consider as an invasion the landing on the shores of

Pembrokeshire at the end of last century, of 1,400 badly equipped Frenchmen, who were dispersed by the country people armed with scythes and pitchforks. In fact, the only serious attempts of invasion ever contemplated have been frustrated by the natural and inevitable difficulty of carrying into effect any such designs against this country. But passing over the main consideration bearing upon his argument, the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to urge that it was in the power of this House and the country to take such measures, he would not say as would prevent England being invaded, but should satisfy all who could judge that she could not be invaded, and then, in glowing terms, he said—

> "If that can be done, I can hardly imagine any sacrifice that it would not be worth while to make upon purely financial considerations, because if you can satisfy people that this is the one spot in the world that is safe, and that will, in all probability, be free from the ravages of war, think how our credit will rise, how the value of our property will increase, what a predominance it gives us over other nations."

Well, Sir, that is a captivating prospect, and if the right hon. Gentleman can induce people to believe that there will be a great increase given to the value of their property by his measures, it will, no doubt, induce them to submit cheerfully to his taxes. But is he prepared seriously to maintain that, owing to the want of sufficient security at present, or owing to the idea prevalent in the world that we are likely to be invaded, the financial interests of this country have suffered, and the value of property has been depressed? He has simply assumed it without producing any fact in support of his assumption, and I ask him if he has consulted any banker or merchant to ascertain any facts justifying his idea as to the depression of prices? If prices of property are really not depressed by a feeling of insecurity, then all the visions of the right hon. Gentleman as to the probable financial advantages of his scheme are entirely baseless. But I further put it to the Government, whether or not they provided sufficient means for the protection of the country 12 months ago; because if the Estimates then proposed were not sufficient for our security a serious responsibility rested upon the Government; but if they were sufficient, as I fully believe, then I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to mention any existing circumstances which have in the interval rendered this country more liable to be invaded. In discussing our means of defence the right hon. Gentleman gave another instance of his ingenuity in putting his case, for he said he would not speak of our fleet, yet that was clearly the most important element in considering whether we could resist any possible attack. He admitted that our fleet is at present the mistress of the seas; but he said it might not always be so, and why? "Because it might be decoyed away as Nelson was before Trafalgar, when he went to the West Indies." In reply to this, I can only say that it appears to me in the highest degree improbable that such a contingency could occur, and if when we have provided a large and powerful fleet for the defence of our shores, any Minister allowed it to be carried away for the protection of some distant dependency in the Pacific or Atlantic, I say he would deserve impeachment. The argument of the right hon. Gentleman may be worthy of his great ingenuity, but it will scarcely impose upon the House or the country. I can only suppose that he throws the Navy out of calculation, because the Government ask for only a small addition to the Navy Estimates, and he wishes to exaggerate the importance of the Army in order to justify the enormous increase of expenditure in that Department. He then said that, relying upon the Army, we might create—

> "A force sufficient—demonstrably sufficient, considering the conditions of the problem of landing a force in an enemy's country—to crush any enemy before he could possibly accumulate sufficient strength to invade us."

Let the House consider this expression —"considering the conditions of the problem of landing a force in an enemy's country," and I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is prepared seriously to say that, considering those conditions, we are not already in possession of a force that would crush any enemy that might attempt to land upon our shores? All the discoveries of modern science went to help those who were attacked; telegraphs and railways would enable us to concentrate our forces on any point threatened with danger; and, in addition to having wisely brought home a number of soldiers formerly scattered over our distant possessions, where they were of no use, the Government have at their command the Militia and the Volunteers. It appears very singular that in all the discussions which had taken place on the Army, the Volunteer force was hardly alluded to. Was it not better to have high-spirited Englishmen actuated by a desire to defend their country, than to rely upon mere mercenaries? It is not complimentary to the Volunteers to ask the House to pass increased Estimates, on the assumption that the country does not already possess a sufficient force to prevent the landing of an enemy. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire, who sometimes gives the country the great advantage of expressing his real opinions in a striking manner, when discussing the defences of the country in 1862 called them "bloated armaments," and in the course of his speech on that occasion made use of arguments which I think well worthy of the attention of the right hon. Gentleman at the present moment. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire said—

> "It was a monstrous mistake to say that this country was not now adequately defended. Our foreign interests were also secure, and these depended not so much on our fleets and armies as on the knowledge that England was the only country, which, when it entered into a just quarrel, never ceased until it had accomplished its object, whilst there was not a State in Europe—the proudest and the most powerful, that could enter upon a third campaign. It was the financial reserve of England that prepared her for an indefinite struggle, whenever she had an adequate and worthy object. But if they allowed their resources to be sapped, weakened, and exhausted, they would deprive themselves of the principal source of their power—a sound state of finance."—[See 3 *Hansard*, clxvii. 336-7-8.]

This is the true element of that national security upon which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer relies for the maintenance of the financial interests of this country. But we need not rely upon what may be called the theoretical opinions of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Disraeli). The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has unwisely taken the example of America in adopting a bad tax, but he might with great advantage study their means of national defence. I suppose that the right hon. Gentleman would not deny that America was "one spot in the world" with all the financial advantages of being free from the probability of invasion. No country was in less danger of invasion than the United States, and yet she had at present less than 30,000 men in arms, and her Navy was admitted on all hands to be in a very inefficient state. Yet, notwithstanding the policy of economy and disarmament, the Americans contrive, nevertheless, to command as much respect as if they were armed to the teeth. They, in fact, relied upon the resources belonging to a great nation of 40,000,000 of people, rich, industrious, and public spirited. Their resources had been tried in a remarkable manner. In 1860, before the Civil War, they had neither Army nor Navy, but in two years they raised hundreds of thousands of men, and a fleet of most formidable ships, brought together by a national spirit which had astonished the world. But I need not pursue this matter further. I have too great an opinion of the ability of the right hon. Gentleman to suppose that he seriously considers that there is any justification for the addition of £3,000,000 to our Army expenditure on the fanciful plea of immunity from invasion. The truth is, that these swollen Estimates date from the panic of last autumn, and are the fruit of the alarm created by the declaration of war by France against Prussia in August, when many hon. Gentlemen professed to believe that the Emperor would speedily conquer Prussia, and then, following the example of the great Napoleon, might overrun Europe. No doubt there were parties interested in the services who took advantage of the war to excite alarm in the public mind. My hon. Friend the Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) said, a short time since, that panics were often originated by persons interested in an increase of expenditure, and his statement was objected to on the ground that panics are wide-spread amongst the population generally. But this is no answer to my hon. Friend. If a cry of "fire" is raised in a theatre by mischievous or designing men, everybody, no doubt, becomes panic-struck; but the panic is not the less caused by the men who raise the cry of alarm, and whose confederates stand at the doors to take advantage of the confusion by picking the pockets of the struggling crowd. The circumstances of the present time are not peculiar, having repeatedly occurred, and with like results. In 1870-1 the national income has exceeded the Chancellor of Exhequer's expectations by £2,311,000, and in the previous year by nearly £2,000,000. When this surplus over the estimated receipts occurred two or three years consecutively, there never failed to ensue a panic, by which the spending servants of the Government found means to take advantage of the surplus. On the occasion of one of these periodical panics in 1853, a right hon. Gentleman, formerly a distinguished member of this House, and whose absence from Parliament I very much regret, made a speech in which he pointed out very clearly the kind of proceeding which takes place under circumstances like the present. I allude to Mr. Milner Gibson, who said—

> "I have observed that there is always a great deal of pressure for an increase of the Army and Navy, and a great complaint about the defencelessness of the country, whenever there is a surplus income over expenditure. Why, it is a tempting thing—a large heap of money on the table of the Exchequer, and the knowledge on the part of the "Services," that if John Bull can be sufficiently, frightened into the cry for increased defences, there is a very good chance of some of the money being divided among them and theirs."

But I may appeal to a still higher authority upon this point. I had the pleasure of listening to an eloquent speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone), at Warrington, in which there was a passage in more guarded terms, but which fully supported Mr. Milner Gibson's opinion. The Prime Minister said—

> "I will tell you this—that no Government, however well disposed, will at any time be able to keep the expenditure of the country within moderate bounds unless it is supported by the constant vigilance of public opinion. You will ask me, perhaps, why is this? I will tell you in a sentence. It is because individuals, and knots, and groups, and even classes of men, have a constant, quick, unsleeping interest in feeding themselves upon the produce of the public industry. The natural counterpoise of that perfectly natural tendency on the part of individuals and classes is in the vigilance of the public mind. But if the public go to sleep, the other power, gentlemen, never go to sleep. On the contrary, it watches its opportunity. There is not a single description of person interested in the produce of the taxes that is not very naturally awake to consider what opportunities he may have of improving his position, and unfortunately there is this unhappy circumstance, inherent in the condition of a public servant that, whereas the man who pursues other branches of industry when he improves his position—for instance in a matter of commerce or of manufacture—a man who increases the produce of the soil, a man who increases the produce of the town, in improving his own social position, improves the position of other people. But unhappily, when those who are interested in the produce of the taxes improve their own position—I do not well see how the consequence is to be avoided—they improve it rather at the expense than for the advantage of the people."

It is only necessary to look back at the experience of the last 20 years to satisfy the House that the opportunity of a surplus in the Revenue is always taken advantage of for an increase of unnecessary expenditure. In the year ending March 1844, there was a surplus of actual over estimated receipts at the Exchequer of £2,500,000; in 1845, an excess of £3,000,000; in 1846, an excess £1,500,000; and in 1847, of £2,750,000, and then this plethora of public money was followed by the panic of 1847-8, to which I have already alluded, and which was excited by Louis Philippe—of all men in the world. In precisely the same way the panic of 1852-3 was preceded by an annual excess of £1,500,000 for two or three years, and was directed against Louis Napoleon, and caused a great increase of expenditure, until the panic was ended, by our joining as allies on the Russian question with the very man against whom we had been arming, and engaged with him in one of the most useless and wicked wars that ever took place. The Revenue recovered in 1857 from the pressure of the Crimean War, and the surplus of £1,500,000 in each of the years ending March 1858 and 1859 gave occasion for the customary increase of unnecessary and wasteful expenditure. To show that the Front Benches on each side of the House are equally guilty in this matter, it was the Government of Lord Derby, and more especially the right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington) who got up the panic of 1859. Lord Derby placed in the mouth of the Queen a recommendation of "re-construction of the Navy," and the right hon. Baronet came down to the House with most alarming statements as to the great extent and efficiency of the French Navy, and as to the state of our own, which he declared was not in a "a proper and adequate state for the defence of our coasts, and the protection of our commerce." The result was an enormous expenditure in building ships, which everyone now admits were of a kind that were perfectly useless, and the present Government will justify me in saying that the millions thrown away at that time on the Navy were absolutely wasted. Lord Derby's Government went out, and were succeeded by Lord Palmerston, who, whenever there was a chance of spending the public money never wanted an excuse for the purpose. Again, the bugbear of France was held up before the House, and they were told that very probably the coasts of this country would be invaded. The noble Lord, in proposing to spend an enormous sum of money in building fortifications, expressly said he did so to be prepared against our nearest neighbour across the Channel, and that there was no use in disguising it. At that very time, my illustrious Friend the late Mr. Cobden was engaged in negociating the Commercial Treaty with France. So that, whilst France was preparing to increase her commercial intercourse and extend her friendly relationships with this country, England was providing in an undisguised manner for an expected raid upon its coasts by that very Power. In every case in fact, when a panic had occurred as an excuse for the expenditure of money, France was the bugbear. That being so, I ask the House to consider whether there is now, at all events, any possibility of France participating in an invasion; and if the reply is, as it must be, that there is not, I contend most emphatically that there is no justification for the excessive expenditure the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes. The right hon. Gentleman in introducing his Budget, said the money must be had; the dinner had been eaten, the wine had been drunk, and nothing remained but to pay the bill; and he knew of no other means by which it could be done with less disturbance of trade. I venture to dispute the statement. The dinner has not been eaten—the wine has not been drunk—the House is still in a position to countermand the expenditure; and the illustration is, to say the least of it, an unfortunate one, having regard to the present forlorn condition of some of the inhabitants of this country upon whom the additional taxation will entail fresh burdens. If there is any necessity for legislation in order to insure the protection of our shores, the burden should not fall upon labour, but upon the owners of land and of realized wealth, whose timidity calls for these unnecessary measures. If any reverse fell upon this country, or if through invasion, or expected invasion, our commercial prosperity and financial interests were destroyed, the possessors of labour might emigrate from our shores and carry their industry to America, to Canada, to Australia, or even to Germany; but you could not carry away an inch of your land. It would be the land, the railways, the mills, and the mines which would have to bear the burden of a successful invasion—were such a thing possible—and their value would run down as rapidly as a barometer in a storm. I warn the holders of realized property in this country, that if they continue to encourage this profligate expenditure, the time will soon come when the people of this country, to whom has been given household suffrage, and to whom the Education Bill, by conferring knowledge would give power, will make their influence felt by returning a House of Commons which will insist that the charges which are deemed necessary for the protection of property shall be rightly placed upon the holders of property.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the additional taxation proposed by Her Majesty's Government will entail burdens upon the people which are not justified by existing circumstances,"—(*Mr. James White,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he wished to say a few words in explanation of the vote he intended to give, which was the more necessary after the speech they had just heard from the hon. Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands). He intended to vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. White); but he would do so, having regard to the words of the Motion itself, and without in any way sanctioning the "peace-at-any-price" doctrines laid down by the hon. Member for Warrington. He should vote for the Motion, because he thought the Budget was, as the Motion stated, "not justified by existing circumstances." The Government proposed to alter and increase the probate duty, to change the succession duty, to create a fresh scale, and a very complicated one, in order to raise the income tax; and they also proposed by a direct act to place the Chancellor of the Exchequer in direct competition with the little boys and poor people in the streets, in deriving a small profit from light. On the other hand, the proposition of the hon. Member for Brighton stated that this way of raising Revenue was not a proper one, and was distasteful to the House. The Bill, which had within the last few hours raised so much agitation in the country, might have been supposed to be acceptable to some hon. Members, as an attempt to equalize the balance between direct and indirect taxation; but the first thing to be considered in such a proposal was, that taxation should not press on the necessities of life of the poor; and those who were at all acquainted with the match trade must know that the proposed tax would destroy the livelihood of a large class of poor people. But, besides, he did not think it would produce the results contemplated by the right hon. Gentleman himself. The trade would be driven to foreign countries, and the tax would become a fruitful source of imposition and evasion. Much as he disliked that proposal, he disliked still more the attempt to alter the succession duty. He believed the succession duty already pressed most unjustly on children; many persons even doubted the propriety of the tax at all; and it was only because the tax was small that evasions were not more numerous. When a son came into possession of an estate he had large outgoings to meet, and the proposed addition would make his position one of increased difficulty. So oppressively had this duty weighed already, that it induced evasion of the law to a very great extent, and, if the tax was increased, he believed the Chancellor of the Exchequer would defeat his own object by the inducement to evasion being so much enhanced. He had no wish, by the vote he intended to give, to secure a party triumph, or in any way to attack the position of the Government, who, he hoped, would not force the House to divide against them, by insisting on carrying a proposition so eminently unsatisfactory. He appealed to the Government to adopt, at least, some of the suggestions that had been made to re-consider the Budget, and not force the House to vote against them. He wished it to be distinctly understood that he had no wish to hamper the Government in carrying out the proper efficiency of the military defences of the country; but he believed that with proper economy that object might be secured without resorting to this mode of taxation. He thought the payments made in reduction of the National Debt should have been suspended and used for such a great national emergency as the defences of the country; but he could not consent to upset the whole system of the legacy and probate duties, and the adoption of a new tax, which would bear most oppressively on a large number of poor people; in short, his objections to the Budget were so strong, that he should fail in his duty if he did not do all in his power to oppose it.

MR. HOLMS said, he agreed with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in stating the deficiency he had to provide for, enunciated two principles—first, that we ought to pay our way, and, secondly, that we ought to see that the Income was sufficient for the Expenditure. To these two propositions he gave his hearty consent. But he must, nevertheless, enter his most hearty protest against this Budget altogether; and the grounds on which he did so he would endeavour to place as clearly and succinctly before the House as possible. It appeared to him that, instead of being only the Budget for 1871-2, it was intended as the Budget for 1872-3, if not for more than that. With an increase of Revenue under all heads except that of the Telegraphs, it was rather curious that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have come to the conclusion that there was to be such a falling off in the Revenue this year. It might be that, in some respects, last year was an unusual year; but were there to be no good things this year? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that commerce was now on a solid foundation, and the right hon. Gentleman drew a glowing picture of the condition of commerce in the country. The right hon. Gentleman laid it down that if we followed a policy of apprehending danger, and if the danger did not come, the people were deprived of a benefit from the remission of taxation to which they were justly entitled; and yet, while thus expressing himself, the right hon. Gentleman seemed to apprehend a serious, but to my mind an unlikely, shortcoming in the Revenue. And this in a year when he calculated upon requiring £72,000,000, which was about

£5,000,000 in excess of the Budget of last year. Admitting that there might be a falling off in the Revenue from stamps, he could not agree with the right hon. Gentleman in anticipating a reduction in Customs, Excise, taxes, and Post Office; and, considering that the Prime Minister when Chancellor of the Exchequer had estimated the elasticity of the Revenue at an increase of £1,780,000, he came to the conclusion that an addition of 1*d.* to the income tax would have obviated the necessity for this shuffling, which had given so much dissatisfaction to the country. The point of importance to his constituents was the proposed petty tax on matches, which, small as the tax appeared to be, he believed would produce far less even than the Chancellor of the Exchequer expected, and which involved a departure from the policy of the Liberal party. It was an article of their creed to interfere as little as possible with trade. The right hon. Gentleman pleaded that in this case a little regulation, without seriously impeding trade, would be a great advantage; but he would discover that what he proposed would inflict serious injury upon a great number of poor people, to whom this tax was of more importance than hon. Members would at first be inclined to believe, and to whom the proposal itself would be a great discouragement, even if it were only made to be withdrawn. There were sighs enough and sorrows enough in the country, without a measure which, in itself, was fraught with distress to so many poor people. The wholesale price of a gross of common matches was 2*s.* 6*d.*, of which 1*s.* 3*d.* was spent in wages; and a calculation showed that the result of imposing the tax would be to take away £230,000 from the wages fund of the very poorest persons, including many girls and women who worked at home, and who belonged to the class which most of all stood in need of employment. The imposition of the tax would give rise to the devising of modes of evading it, and the right hon. Gentleman had not fully appreciated the quickness and brightness of London boys, who would completely beat him in all his devices for getting the tax. As a representative of a poor district of London, he knew very well that the proposed tax would have a very considerable effect on the poor rates, which are heavy enough at present, without being increased by interrupting the competition from Sweden and Germany. If the tax were imposed, there would be no more halfpenny boxes of matches for the working man, and as to vesuvians, if there were to be 100 in a box, each box would be equivalent to eight of those sold now, and would involve an expenditure of 4½*d.* Matches were an article of prime necessity; they were the first thing used in the morning and the last thing used at night. The amount to be raised by the new tax, about £500,000, was nearly equivalent to the sum required in the year for the abolition of purchase, £600,000; the people would be sure to put this and that together; and the coincidence would of itself make the tax unpopular and diminish the influence of the Liberal party. As to the probate and succession duties, while approving of uniformity he did not share the anticipations of the right hon. Gentleman as to the amount that would be received by the advance from 1 per cent to 2 per cent. He stated that the tax yielded at present £732,000, and by his proposal he hoped to obtain £1,022,000 additional. That calculation, he (Mr. Holms) believed to be quite fallacious. The only opinion in favour of the change which he had heard, was expressed by a very young man, who was hard up, and whose father was likely to make some money over to him at once. There was no class in this country so well able to take care of themselves as the wealthy; they knew perfectly well how to evade this tax; and in this case they would do so, and falsify the expectations of the right hon. Gentleman. He need not have shrunk for a moment from putting 1½*d.* in the pound on the income tax, for a halfpenny was no novelty, the Prime Minister having proposed in 1859 that in one Schedule the income tax should be at the rate of 6½*d.* in the pound. There was, however, no necessity to increase the income tax by more than 1*d.* in the pound. Whatever came of the obnoxious match tax, the discussion the proposal had provoked would be fresh in the minds of hon. Members when they returned to the consideration of the Army Re-organization Bill, which was connected with the cause of our increased expenditure and of our enormous Budgets; and if that Bill were allowed to pass in its present form, we should find that our expenditure would go on increasing from year to year. But, apart from military outlay, our expenditure might have been reduced; and he felt that the administrative Departments of the Government were not so well managed as they might be. Having looked into the question of the Consular services, he was surprised that the Estimates remained unchanged, as he was able to prove that for Turkey alone £25,000 per annum might have been saved for the last two years; and the Government would have done better to have reduced them than to remit the matter again to a Committee upstairs. Although usually a supporter of the Government, he felt it to be his duty to speak out boldly as to the course they had pursued on this question—perhaps, he spoke too boldly; but on the present occasion, unless satisfactory explanations were given, he should unhesitatingly vote with his hon. Friend the Member for Brighton (Mr. White) against the proposition.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Nothing can be more reasonable than that when a large augmentation of the Expenditure of the country is proposed, hon. Gentlemen should discuss the matter and turn it over in every possible manner. It needs no excuse for any hon. Gentleman, who takes the course of speaking out plainly and clearly the opinion which he entertains, and I should be the last man in the House to complain of it; but I think that, although it is perfectly right the House should discuss the subject in all its bearings, the manner of discussing it which hon. Members are now adopting is one of the most inconvenient and unsatisfactory—looked upon as a matter of business, and not as a matter of party tactics — that it is possible to imagine; for, notwithstanding all which has been said by the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. White), the practice of this country is a reasonable practice. When a private person is considering what he can spend and what he cannot spend, he looks at his income. He knows that his income is limited, and if he be a prudent man he limits his expenditure to his income. But when a great country, with resources to draw upon, at least, commensurate with any reasonable demand that can be made upon it, has to balance its expenditure and its income, it has been, and it ought to be, the practice to think first of the requirements of the public service, to adjust them with all possible economy and care, and then to provide, at whatever cost to our own private feelings and public convenience, it may be, the money which is necessary to discharge those claims. To make this country subordinate to the notions of hon. Gentlemen who represent taxpayers—to make this country subordinate to a particular sum which they choose to fix upon as being the maximum amount of our expenditure, would be an abnegation of our duty to the country, and a postponement of the end to the means. Such a barefaced worship of Mammon would sink this country in its own opinion, and in the eyes of all the world. Now, let us go a little further, and see what the Motion is we are asked to vote. It is in these terms—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the additional taxation proposed by Her Majesty's Government will entail burdens upon the people which are not justified by existing circumstances."

["Hear!"] Well, just suppose that Motion were carried, what would be the effect of it? It would be clearly this— The House says to the Government— "We are dissatisfied with the scale of expenditure which you propose. You ask us for too much money. Take back your Estimates, and reduce the expenditure within the limits of the Estimates of last year, without any addition of taxation whatever." ["No, no!"] That is, in reality, the Motion of the hon. Gentleman. It is true the hon. Gentleman did not read it so; perhaps it would not be convenient for him to read it so. If the Motion is carried, that will be the effect of it, and that is meant to be the effect of it. Look, then, at the position in which we are placed. The position of the hon. Member for Brighton and of those who would vote with him is perfectly clear and distinct. The hon. Gentleman says — "I think you took quite enough money last year. You propose to take more this year, and I think you ought not to have it. Reduce your demands within the limits of last year." But now I take the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson); what does he say? I hope I do not misrepresent him; but I understand him to say he does not object to the scale of expenditure, but he objects to the manner in which Her Majesty's Government proposes to meet that expenditure. Well, but if that be the view of the hon. Baronet, look what he is doing. He, approving in the main an increased amount of expenditure, because he wishes to put the country in a proper state of defence, is going to vote for a Motion that our Expenditure ought not to be increased. ["No, no!"] If it be the opinion of the hon. Baronet that an increase of Expenditure is necessary to put the country in an efficient state of defence, and if this Motion will diminish the Expenditure, the hon. Baronet will vote against putting the country in a state of defence, and all those who vote with him will do the same. ["No, no!"] I say, yes. How can you argue it otherwise? Look at the words of the Motion again; can any man interpret it differently? You may say, indeed—"I object to this Expenditure because I am not satisfied with the way you are going to meet it;" but the effect is the same—namely, to negative doing anything more than was done last year for putting the country in a state of defence. Look at the inconsistency of such a course. It may, perhaps, suit a party object; but what other object can a man have who wants to have a large Expenditure, and yet votes distinctly against it? Go a little further, and see what we have done. The hon. Baronet opposite and other hon. Members who are prepared to follow him are going to vote that no more money ought to be spent this year than was spent last year. ["No, no!"] These are the words. Let the country judge between us. I ask them, what do they think of what the House has been doing this Session? They cannot have wholly forgotten that for four nights we debated the question whether our finances were or were not in a position to meet the expense of abolishing purchase in the Army, and the House refused to accede to a Motion declaring that it was inexpedient to abolish purchase. You have read a second time a Bill framed on the basis of a very largely increased expenditure on the Army—the Army Regulation Bill—and, more than that, you have actually voted in the Army Estimates an increase of the expenditure which you now say you do not wish to increase. You have voted every service in the Army—an increase of men, an increase of the Militia, the Volunteers, and Reserve forces. You have increased the Army Estimates by £1,000,000, and now, because an hon. Gentleman on this side of the House makes a Motion, and carries with him certain hon. Members on this side, you, the Conservative party, who feel for the honour of the country, are going to vote that the House must undo what it has done and retrace its steps; that the Motions we have carried, the Bills we have read a second time, the items granted in Committee are to be set aside; and that we are to revert to the expenditure of last year, and do nothing at all. That is the position you stand in on this question, and I must say I wish you joy of it. We have heard hon. Gentlemen profess great patriotism, and a great wish that England should stand well in the eyes of Europe. I believe we all wish that we should stand well, and not fall into contempt with foreign Powers, as being a country which does not know its own mind, and which cannot hold for the space of two months a consistent view of its own interests; but I fear that such a course as that now proposed, would, if adopted, lay us open to contempt for our inconsistency. There is no blame to be attached to hon. Gentlemen below the gangway. They are pressing merely that which they have always advocated; but many hon. Gentlemen opposite have been frantically urging the Government on to do something for the honour and defence of the country, and what will foreign nations think of us if, after a great party in the State have adopted that view, after the Government of the day have proposed measures for that end, after we have gone the length of debating and passing Resolutions all approving of and tending to increased expenditure, and after actually voting money, we pass a vote to undo everything we have done? Who in Europe could then say—"Surely this is a great nation, and a wise and understanding people?" I now wish to say a few words on the other question; because, although the present Vote relates not to Ways and Means, but to Expenditure, it is necessary that I should say something in vindication of the course pursued by the Government. First of all, I am accused of unnecessarily underestimating the Revenue of the coming year. Now, so far from having any wish to under-estimate it, I should have been much better pleased if, in accordance with my duty, I could have put it very much higher, for it would have been very convenient for me if a considerable portion of the sum required could have been provided out of the increase of the Revenue. But, unfortunately, I could not. I merely did my duty, trusting to my own conscience, in submitting the Estimate according to the best information I could acquire. Hon. Gentlemen said we might expect the same increase as last year. The House must bear in mind one very important consideration. Hon. Gentlemen speak of the Estimates of last year, which were exceedingly large, and they ask me why I do not follow them; but last year we remitted upwards of £4,000,000 of taxation, which remission, circulated in the country, produced a great increase in those items of the Estimates which remained untouched. This year we propose to impose a considerable amount of increased taxation, to the amount of £2,800,000, and that will naturally have an effect in the contrary direction; and it would, therefore, be bad finance to look forward to the same amount of Revenue. All I can say is that these are matters of technical experience and knowledge. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Brighton, however, talks about faith; but he had better have spoken of hope, the most delusive of all things, when he asked me to found my Budget upon it. But nobody knows what contingencies may happen. Suppose we have a very bad harvest, where will my Estimates be; and what right have I to assume that there will be a good harvest? I am anxious to impress on the House that my Estimates are honestly made to the best of my judgment. Then, Sir, there is the question of taxation. Nothing is so delightful or easy as to argue against a tax; because it is one of those arguments in which, as generally conducted, the assailant is certain to obtain an easy victory. There never was a tax yet that, taken and argued out by itself, could be successfully defended in argument. You cannot take money out of one man's pocket and put it into another man's, or into the public purse, without interfering with his comforts, his business, trade, and industry, and doing all sorts of mischief in all directions. It is the nature of a tax to do this, and it would be impossible to take any tax by itself and make out a case for it. The peculiarity of the argument on taxation is, that if on any other question you can show a man that the step he is about to take is wrong, he does not take it; but, in regard to taxation, when you have gained your victory in argument, you can proceed no further unless you can propose a satisfactory alternative. When you have shown that taxation is wrong in principle, you have merely succeeded in proving a point which any candid man would have admitted before you commenced; and what you ought then to show is, that you have something which will produce the same financial results that would have been produced by the proposed tax without disturbing existing interests to the same extent. That, no hon. Gentleman who has yet spoken on the subject of the Budget has attempted to do. Her Majesty's Government has been asked to meet the difficulties of the case by suspending for a time the payment of the National Debt, a question which I cannot seriously entertain for a single moment under existing circumstances. We are told, next, that we should have proposed to increase the income tax; and, accompanying the suggestion, are statements contained in the City articles of the newspapers that the greatest dissatisfaction felt with regard to the Budget arises from the largeness of the sum of money proposed to be raised by means of the income tax. ["No, no!"] All I can say in reply to that is, that the statement was contained in the City articles of two or three of the principal newspapers. Hon. Gentlemen seem to think it is the easiest thing in the world to raise money by means of the income tax; but they mistake between the facility of imposing a tax and the capability of paying it. If those hon. Members had read all the correspondence that has been addressed to me on the subject, they would see that there is no tax borne with so much impatience as is the income tax, and it is with this view that I have struggled in preparing this Budget—in reference to the making of which all sorts of sinister motives have been imputed to me—to make the increase of the income tax as light as possible, because I know how bitterly it pinches the lower middle class, the small shopkeepers, and persons of that kind, who have to bear no inconsiderable burden of taxation. Therefore hon. Members will see that if this extra expenditure were thrown upon the income tax, so far from the difficulty being solved, another and a greater one would be exacted. It ought to be a rule in Parliamentary proceedings that hon. Members who impugn particular taxes —when it is admitted that taxation is necessary, and I do not know whether some hon. Gentlemen who have spoken do admit this — ought to be prepared with something better to put in its place. Nothing in the world is easier than to take off a tax; but the moment you impose a tax every single kind of impost is made into a separate battle-field, and there is always some class of persons concerned in the work of resistance. Nothing is easier than to make plausible objections. Take the succession duty, for instance. It is a tax that has been established some 18 years, and which was estimated to produce £2,000,000 annually, whereas it has only produced about £720,000. Parliament was willing to impose the tax when it was estimated to produce the larger of the sums I have mentioned; but a great outcry is raised at once when I now propose to make in it a very moderate increase indeed. [*Dissent.*] The increase I propose will not amount to more than £300,000 on the succession duty alone. [*Dissent.*] Before hon. Gentlemen offer these objections they should make themselves acquainted with the facts of the case. The tax, according to my proposal, would double in the first stage, and so produce £225,000; in the second, I propose to put on an increase of a sixth, which would raise a very small sum indeed, and in the other stages no alteration is proposed. The increase I propose would not weigh entirely on landed property, as succession duty has to be paid also upon settled personalty. A more reasonable and moderate proposal than this I can hardly imagine. Landed property enjoys great exemptions in consideration of the burdens that it bears; but in addition to these it receives exemptions to the amount of £1,300,000, which it was never intended it should receive; but instead of proposing to cancel these exemptions, I simply propose to levy an additional duty of less than £300,000, and am met with a tremendous outcry. Then comes the case of the matches. This question has already been discussed at quite sufficient length perhaps, and the House may wish not to hear much more about them; but the simple and plain view of the case is, that matches are a commodity produced at an expense which is almost nominal—the boxes and packing representing the greater part of the outlay—and the tax upon which would have the advantage that it would not be peculiar to any particular classes of the community as the succession duty is. Everybody would contribute a little under the proposition I have made, and I cannot but regard it as a great advantage that which some hon. Gentlemen think is a great evil. While proposing this small impost, I do not wish the less for the day when we shall have no privileged class in this country, but every member of the community will contribute according to his means. I think every man, above the actual pauper, should be called upon to contribute something towards the government of the country. Then, again, it is said, in regard to this tax, that it interferes with industry and deranges trade. Of course, it does. Will any hon. Gentleman tell me how a tax can be imposed without these things resulting? In all taxation debates these commonplaces are repeated as though they did not apply to every tax. Take the taxes on malt and on spirits, for instance. Have they no effect upon industry and trade? Of course they have, and very happy should we be if we could raise money for the public service without imposing any such taxes. This system of abusing taxes is now carried to an extent that, if persevered in—and hon. Gentlemen should persuade themselves to believe what they say — will render the conduct of financial business in this country almost impossible. Let us take a few instances. I have been told that we ought to put a duty on tea; but supposing I did, what would have been said? Simply that we were returning to the exploded doctrine of raising our money upon imports; that we were interfering with the comfort of the people by taxing the principal beverage enjoyed by the female part of the labouring population; and that by our detestable legislation, we were counteracting the good work of the apostles of temperance by driving the poorer classes into gin-shops and beer-houses. Let us take another instance. Here is this small and very moderate direct tax proposed to be added to the succession duty, a tax which if hon.

Gentlemen knew their own interests they would not be so anxious to refuse; a tax in regard to which, it is objected that it will come out of capital instead of out of income; and that its effect will be to impoverish the people by taking money out of their pockets when they most want it; and a quantity more of the same kind of objection, which is perfectly true of every stamp duty that was ever levied. As we must have taxation, we think the small addition to the duty payable on succession to property is an equitable tax, to which no reasonable objection can be made. With regard to the proposed tax on matches, it is said that you cannot tax a commodity without enhancing its price, and you cannot enhance its price, and put it under Government protection, without curtailing the quantity of the commodity produced, and so interfering with labour. This is all very true; but so long as hon. Gentlemen confine themselves to simply objecting to the tax without being willing to suggest or agree to something else in its place, the task of finding money for the conduct of public affairs in this country will be absolutely impossible—unachievable. It is said, also, that the taxes ought to be distributed equally—that too much is levied on landed property, and too little on articles of consumption; and then, in the same breath, hon. Gentlemen insist that the taxes on consumption ought to be revised, and so they go on through the whole list. If an old tax is revived, it is said that the Government is taking down out of the dusty armoury of ancient oppression some weapon that ought never to have been used again; while on a new tax being proposed, it is said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is fanciful and ingenious in devising methods of torture for his fellow-subjects. There is nothing you can do in the way of taxation that is not liable to the most plausible and the truest possible objections; but when you have made all these objections, the necessity for taxation remains, and must be met. If you destroy the present Budget, you must impose taxes liable to the very objections you are urging against this particular one; and, that being the case, I submit that it is very unwise and improvident in hon. Members endeavouring to add to the difficulties which must always be inseparable from the finding out some new tax. The House has now got into such a position that we cannot tell what we are debating. It is difficult enough to debate what taxes are best to be imposed; but the difficulty is increased when the subject is complicated by a debate on the necessity for the expenditure to meet which the taxes are imposed. If I convince hon. Gentlemen below the gangway that the tax I propose is a good one, they turn round and say—"Yes, but your expenditure is not required at all." If I succeed in convincing you that the expenditure is required, then hon. Gentlemen opposite turn round and say—"That may be so, but the taxes you intend to impose are not the right ones." Hon. Gentlemen below the gangway and hon. Gentlemen opposite are going to vote in the same Lobby on exactly different grounds; and in order to do this, they put an ambiguous construction upon the Resolution. ["No, no!"] I say you are going to vote for the Resolution on grounds diametrically opposite to those entertained by hon. Gentlemen below the gangway. Hon. Gentlemen below the gangway interpret the Motion as a censure on the expenditure proposed by the Government, and hon. Gentlemen opposite interpret it as a censure not on the expenditure of the Government, but on the way in which they propose the money should be spent. The hon. Member for Brighton says there ought to be no increase of expenditure; the hon. Baronet opposite thinks there should be an increase of expenditure, but objects to the means by which it is to be made. The Motion is, that there should be no increase of expenditure, and the hon. Baronet proposes to vote for it. [*Murmurs.*] Then, I hope before going much further, some hon. Gentleman of authority will rise in the House and tell us what the Motion really is that induces hon. Gentlemen of such diverse opinions to go into the same Lobby. It is in the form of an Instruction to the Government, and you must not do like the Roman Emperor did, whose laws were written in small letters and placed on high pillars, so that the people could not read them. Let us know what the Motion really means. Does it mean to say—"Take back your Budget, and provide for the expenditure otherwise?" Or does it mean that you are prepared to object to an increase of expenditure, undertaken for the defence of the country?

I think, in all fairness and reason, we should know what you really mean; because, if this Resolution is carried, it will be necessary for the Government to consider what they should do; and unless you state what it is you mean, the Government will be placed in considerable difficulty, and the House will find itself in a position which I think they will have no reason to consider satisfactory.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR PERCY HERBERT said, he proposed, purely from a financial point of view, and in order to show the House the additional expenditure that was involved, to refer to the military proposals of the Government, which had had, no doubt, a very great influence upon the Budget. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War had declined to inform the House as to the cost of retirement under the new Army scheme, and had contented himself with stating £8,000,000 to be the cost of the abolition of purchase, though he (Sir Percy Herbert) believed it would be more. That, he believed, to be manifestly insufficient if justice was to be done; but he would not refer to that further than to say that justice required the money to be returned at once, and that the House would do justice sooner or later. The right hon. Gentleman eluded altogether making any statement as to what the cost of retirement would be; but there was an interesting Report of a Committee, presided over by the hon. and gallant Officer the Member for Truro (Captain Vivian), which would probably furnish the information. Now, the War Office appeared to be able when it suited their plans to furnish calculations as to the probable cost of their schemes; but because, as he maintained, it would be dangerous to the success of the Government measure, no calculation was made with respect to the cost of the present scheme of retirement. In the Navy, where purchase did not exist, efficiency had been attained, but at what cost? For 5,600 officers in the purchase corps actually serving there were 1,860 on the retired list; while in the Navy, there were 2,060 officers on the retired list, for 1,239 actually serving. The cost in the Army amounted to £487,000, and in the Navy to £482,000. In the Army retirements were included all general officers, whether colonels of regiments or not; all retired full-pay and all half-pay derived from purchase corps. If it was urged that the active list of half-pay in the Navy was not to be counted, the same applied to a large portion of the Army half-pay list. Were there reasons for thinking that we should not be forced to give the same scale of retirement for the Army as for the Navy when purchase was abolished? What would the Army retirement cost at the same rate as that given in the case of the Navy? In the Navy 1,200 officers in employment required 2,060 in retirement, at a cost of £482,000; 5,600 Army officers at the same ratio would require 9,300 officers in retirement, and at the naval rate of retirement would cost annually £2,166,000, or an increase of £1,677,000. Now, in the Report of the Committee presided over by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Truro, the actuary calculated that of 6,000 officers serving, 1,000 would leave as lieutenants, 2,080 would sell as captains, and 1,520 would sell as majors or lieutenant-colonels. Captains obtained their rank in 8 years, majors in 17 years, and lieutenant-colonels in 23 years. He might be allowed to take as an average that 2,080 officers would have served 12 years without getting pensions, and 1,500 officers for 21 years without costing the country a farthing for pension. This left only 1,400 officers out of 6,000 serving, for whose retirement provision would have to be made, and this explained the marvellous disproportion between Army and Navy retirements, both in numbers and cost. As regarded widows' pensions, he found from a Return with which he had been favoured by the courtesy of the Secretary of War, that at present there were in receipt of pensions the widows of 137 general officers and 950 other officers, making a total of 1,087 widows' pensions, to keep efficient a list of 5,600 officers. The Navy, with a list of 1,200 officers, had 1,385 officers' widows on the pension list, 300 more than the Army. Taking the present number of encumbered officers in the Army, the number on the widows' pension list would be 7,087, if they were in proportion to those on the Navy List; or, in other words, they would be 7,087 to 6,000 officers, at an additional cost of £300,000. The case, therefore, stood thus—at present there were 5,600 officers serving in purchase corps, and 1,860 in retirement, with a widows' pension list of 1,087, at a proportionate cost. The future state of things, in proportion to the combatant officers serving in the Navy, at the naval rate of retirement, would be 9,000 officers in retirement, at an additional cost of £1,677,000, and a widows' pension list of 7,000, at an additional cost of £300,000, making a total additional cost of £1,977,000. In conclusion, he would say that all these advantages would be lost, and the increase of cost he had stated incurred, if the Government scheme were adopted by Parliament.

MR. GILPIN said, he thought that the hon. and gallant Officer's (Major General Sir Percy Herbert's) speech would have been more appropriately delivered upon the Retirement and Pensions Bill than upon the present occasion. He (Mr. Gilpin), as a party man, and consistent supporter of Liberal principles, had risen because he was anxious to answer the challenge of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to what they wanted. He looked upon himself as one of the most earnest and consistent supporters of the present Government, while they acted consistently with the principles on which they were elected and placed upon the Treasury Bench; but he claimed entire independence in expressing his views in reference to the questions before the House. In reply to the question of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would say that he, and many who thought with him, were dissatisfied with the Budget which the right hon. Gentleman had put forward, and asked for its withdrawal. He had no hesitation in saying that it was the most melancholy exhibition of the failure of a Chancellor of the Exchequer to meet the wants of the country that he had ever seen since he had been a Member of that House, or that he had read of before he had the honour of a seat there. It was a step backward in the course of legislation; it was opposed to the views entertained by Mr. Cobden, and false to the character which the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had gained as sound financiers and masters of the true principles of political economy. From whatever quarter the Motion came he was prepared to vote, in the words of a right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade—that a Government that could not govern the country upon an expenditure of £70,000,000 a-year did not deserve the confidence of the House. What he wanted was that the Government should return to the principles upon which they became a Government; that they should maintain those views that the leading Members of the Government advocated on the platforms of the country from North to South. He asked that economy should be a reality, as well as a word, one of the principles of the present Government; in order to make it so, what was required in the present emergency of the country was the withdrawal of the Budget. It might be almost an impertinent thing for him to ask; but he recollected that a Budget was withdrawn when Earl Russell's Government was in power, and that, without it being considered a censure upon the Government. The Government could withdraw the Budget without doing more than an honest and candid man and an honest and candid Government ought to do; virtually to withdraw it would be no more than to say—"We were mistaken; we did the best in our power; it is wise to retrieve our mistake." The match tax, considered as a means of making up an exorbitant expenditure, he regarded as one of the worst proposals that a Chancellor of the Exchequer could have made, as it would produce the smallest revenue accompanied with the worst consequences. He had that afternoon a conversation with the chairman of one of the largest Unions in the East of London, who said there would be in his Union, if the Bill passed, hundreds of young women whose only refuge would be the streets. He (Mr. Gilpin) earnestly trusted that the Bill might not become law. What they wanted was that that proposal, at least, should be withdrawn. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that people were prepared to find objections to any tax, but could not find substitutes for what they objected to; but he (Mr. Gilpin) said that whatever substitute was found, it should not be one that would affect the labour of the very lowest class. Let them not do that, the immediate effect of which would be to throw upon the streets of London many miserable women and children who were now earning by industry a small pittance. It had been held out to hon. Members, and it had been held out to him privately, that they would in opposing this Bill have the support of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite; and that, therefore, in opposing the Bill they would be untrue to their party. That, however, had not the slightest terror for him. He had always been a party man; but there were some principles which were higher than party, and the present occasion involved such. He would rather see the right hon. Member for Buckinghamshire upon the Treasury Bench, advocating sound political economy and commercial principles, than the present Government, acting in contradiction to those principles, as they would do if they persisted in forcing this Budget upon the House. What he asked for, he repeated, was the withdrawal of the present Budget and the reduction of our unnecessary expenditure; and, further, that there should be a Budget produced according with those principles which he had often delightedly heard from the head of the Government, and occasionally from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This Budget was in defiance of those principles.

Mr. GOLDNEY complained that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had contrasted the Estimates of 1871-2 only with the Estimates of the previous year. The right hon. Gentleman assumed that the Revenue, under almost every head, would be less for the current than for the previous year; but he (Mr. Goldney) did not think this was justified by a review of the condition of the country for the last 14 years—our commerce and trade had been constantly increasing throughout that period, and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated his anticipated deficit for the ensuing year, he thought he should have taken into account the increase which had occurred in former years. He (Mr. Goldney) confessed that it seemed to him that, instead of the receipts for the ensuing year being less they were likely to be larger, enabling the Government to meet all the extraordinary expenditure the House was prepared to sanction. Were they to begin immediately to establish new taxes on the mere presumption that our Revenues would not come up this year to what they were in preceding years? Of late years there had been a continuous reduction of the National Debt. In 1868 it stood at £806,000,000, in 1869 at £805,500,000, in 1870 at £801,500,000, and now it was £796,000,000. That was a very satisfactory reduction in so short a time. Then came the question whether, if the Revenue was calculated not to reach the same high point as before, and in order to avoid the suspension, for a short period, of the continued reduction of the National Debt, they were to impose taxes violating principles which had been formally adopted, after full discussion, and taxes which bore grievously upon a large part of the population? In looking at the Estimates he found that the number of men in the Navy was identical with the number in 1870-1, and yet under the Navy expenditure there was an increase, put down of £450,000. This was comprised within two or three items of expenditure. For extra cordage there was put down £100,000; for clothing, £200,000, and, in addition, for new ships or engines, there was put down some £300,000. It might be very well to vote these sums if they had the money; but where was the pressing necessity? He thought that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had under-estimated receipts and over-estimated expenditure. He also thought the additional taxation with respect to the succession duties was not justified. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had gone to America for the tax on matches, and the First Lord of the Admiralty had taken America as his authority on the subject of local taxation; it therefore occurred to him to look into the American text-book, to see how the succession and legacy duty stood in America. The tax on succession and legacy duties, instead of being 1 per cent, as at present in this country, or, as it was proposed to be, 2 per cent on transmissions from father to son, and 3 per cent on transmissions from brother to brother, was in America only ¾ per cent. So that no justification could be derived from American finance of the proposed enormous increase in these duties, which, when they became too burdensome, suggested the easiest means of evading them altogether. Such an increase, in his opinion, was most unwise and inexpedient. As regarded the income tax, that might be another question altogether. He could understand the imposition of a three-halfpenny income tax, because it might be remitted next year; but why propose a permanent tax for a mere temporary deficit? Indirect taxation might be right or it might be wrong; but he must say that the course proposed to be pursued by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not worthy of so great a man. The proposition of the right hon. Gentleman would affect a large number of persons employed at very small wages. Without pledging himself as to what course he should take, he thought the Motion was large enough to enable the House to discuss whether the Estimates were not under-stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as compared with those of the previous year. For himself, he believed there would be the same kind of increase as had shown itself in former years. He did not think the Chancellor of the Exchequer was entitled to ask for increased taxation; but if there was to be increased expenditure, then it was for the right hon. Gentleman to see if he could not obtain what was necessary for the year by ceasing the remission upon the National Debt. So far, therefore, as regarded the proposed disturbance of the succession and legacy duties, and that altogether novel tax on matches, he entirely agreed that the right hon. Gentleman should re-consider his Budget.

Captain VIVIAN said, he had not intended to take any part in this debate; but after the speech of the hon. and gallant Member for South Shropshire (Major General Sir Percy Herbert), who had brought to the notice of the House some very extraordinary calculations as to the effect of the scheme for the abolition of purchase in the Army, he should be sorry if those figures went forth to the public without notice. He therefore entered his strong protest against their accuracy. He was not fortunate enough to hear the beginning of his speech, and he did not know on what basis he had made his calculations; it appeared, however, that he came to the conclusion that one consequence of the abolition of purchase would be to increase the number of officers on the retired list to something like 9,000, and to increase the retirement by £1,700,000. He was at a loss to understand on what grounds the hon. and gallant Officer founded such a conclusion, except that after the abolition of purchase every single officer who entered the Army was to serve during the whole of his career in the Army, remaining till he arrived at the highest rank and then being retired. Now his right hon. Friend the Secretary for War had been found fault with, because he had not submitted to the House a scheme of retirement; but he invariably replied that it was quite impossible to submit any scheme of retirement, until the House and the country were able to judge what would be the effect of the abolition of purchase on retirement. His right hon. Friend had therefore, with perfect propriety, abstained from committing himself. If, after the abolition of purchase, officers should pass through the different ranks as rapidly as they did now, it might be the object would be secured without any retirement. It might be necessary, on the other hand, to assist that retirement by some small annual increase; but in no case was it possible to believe that there would be such an increase in pensions as that pointed out by the hon. and gallant Member for South Shropshire. Nay, more, while this was problematical, another part was not—namely, that part of the proposal of the Government which related to short service. According to the calculation of actuaries, the effect on the pension list of the Army by substituting short service, in round numbers would be in 20 years to make exactly the difference of £1,000,000. That was to say, going on upon the old system of enlistment, in 20 years the pension list would be over £2,000,000; whereas, if the proposal of the Government were adopted it would be reduced from £2,000,000 to £1,000,000. What would be necessary after retirement had not been calculated; but the retirement, however great, would not necessitate such a sum of money as he hoped to save by the short-service system. He did not wish the House to go into an Army debate then; but he had risen, because he did not wish the figures of his right hon. Friend to go forth without entering a protest against them.

Mr. GRAVES said, he thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer was scarcely justified in the construction he had put upon the motives of those who might go into the Lobby with the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. White), and in regarding this as a party Motion—an idea which he altogether repudiated. He would remind the Chancellor of the Exchequer that this was the third Financial Statement he had made; but this was the first occasion on which he had not received unusual felicitations from both sides of the House; and it was not fair, because hon. Members were under the necessity of taking exceptions to his Financial Statements this year, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should say they were influenced by party motives. By his own vote he did not mean to express any party feeling, and, if he were found in the same Lobby with the hon. Member for Brighton, his vote would simply mark his condemnation of the financial policy of the Government as developed by this Budget. It was scarcely necessary to discuss the objections with regard to the Financial Statement itself, because it was universally condemned in every circle both in London and in the Press, which faithfully reflected public opinion. He had not read one journal which did not condemn the statement of the right hon. Gentleman in the most unmeasured terms. He would pass over the succession duty introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer by simply remarking that the nature of the duty itself was one that might be fairly questioned, and that it would be a painful one in the mode of its collection. The income tax was a mode of taxation with which unfortunately they were all now very conversant. It was one of those fluctuating taxes which were frequently falling and rising in order to keep the finances and expenditure of the country upon an equal footing. The policy of this House and the country of recent years had been to exclude from our fiscal arrangements all those petty items which swelled the length of the tariff without adding much to the Revenue collected, and to concentrate the great bulk of our Revenue on a few leading articles of Customs and Excise. He had heard it over and over remarked—Why did not the Chancellor of the Exchequer boldly meet his difficulty by an addition to the income tax, rather than by fixing a burden upon an insignificant branch of manufacturing industry? And he, for one, would rather have seen this course adopted, objectionable as it was, to reintroducing a policy long since given up. He also objected to the mode in which the income tax was to be assessed. Why did the right hon. Gentleman make a change from a system of calculation of the utmost simplicity, which everyone could understand, to one involving some difficulty and inconvenience? By changing the poundage system to one of percentage in respect to the income tax the right hon. Gentleman perhaps was influenced by educational considerations, and by a view of inducing all persons who were engaged in transactions involving figures, to obtain instruction in the various modes of calculation. A penny in the pound was simple, and everybody understood it; but they did not understand the percentage, and it must not be forgotten that it was not only the gross amount returned which involved the calculation, but the hundreds of small amounts, often under £100, which made up the gross income, and in each of which income tax in one shape or other had to be deducted. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would withdraw at least that portion of his Financial Statement. With regard to the proposed new tax on industry in the manufacture of matches, he did not intend the vote he gave the other evening in favour of the Government on the first formal Division after the Financial Statement to be in any way regarded as an expression of opinion on the merits of the question; he only meant it as a protest against an unusual proceeding in dividing the House at that stage of the question. He was now prepared to say deliberately that this was a most unfortunate proposal. Very recently he and others had succeeded in convincing the Post Office authorities of the absurdity of seeking to discriminate between parcels and samples, and of employing an army of officials in seeking to detect breaches of the regulations; but this new tax would invoke a repetition of the same kind of error. In America, he never bought a box of matches without contrasting them unfavourably in quality and price with those sold in England; indeed, he was never able to buy a box there under 2*d.*; and he regretted exceedingly that we had taken this leaf out of the American book, and still more if this was the beginning of imitation, and the first step only in the sacrifice of that simplicity for which we had been distinguished in the raising of our Revenue. The persons engaged in the manufacture, particularly that of the boxes, belonged to the poorest class of the community, which in this country, less than any other, owing to the competition for employment, could bear interruption in their labour. In Ireland the Census papers required returns of the numbers of windows in the houses, and he had been asked during the Recess whether windows were to be taxed again; and when he (Mr. Graves) came now to consider how the means of light in the shape of match-boxes was to be taxed, it occurred to him that the right hon. Gentleman might really be considering how he could tax the light of heaven itself through the window tax. It was quite logical to pass from the one tax to the other. A window tax could be collected easily; but who would collect a match tax? He did not believe it could be collected, because it would be easily evaded. It would raise the price of matches and throw out of employment a large number of the poorest class; and, although he was in favour of indirect taxation to a certain extent, he could not go the length now proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He would now consider the policy involved in the right hon. Gentleman's Financial Statement. He did not agree with the right hon. Gentleman that the construction of the Motion of the hon. Member for Brighton was in effect—"Take back your proposals and reduce them to a point which requires no taxation." That was not the interpretation which he (Mr. Graves) put upon the Motion of that hon. Member. He hoped the result of the discussion would be the withdrawal of the Financial Statement from the consideration of the House. If a Division was not thought desirable, Her Majesty's Government could avoid it by taking that course and withdrawing their scheme: but it was not fair to say to hon. Members who were sitting opposite to them—"Because you vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for Brighton, you are requiring us to undo our legislation, and reduce our proposals to a point which requires no taxation at all." The policy of a Government ought not to be a vacillating one. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced his Financial Statement last year he must have known that there was a great educational measure before the House, and that that measure would involve the payment of a very large sum of money. The Army Regulation Bill could not have cropped up within a few weeks. The Chancellor of the Exchequer must have known last year that the Government intended to introduce that measure, for it was impossible to suppose that the Government undertook the entire re-construction of the Army of this country, merely because in the Recess some hon. Members went down to large constituencies, and proposed to them the abolition of purchase in the Army, as the one thing necessary with regard to our defences. The scheme for the abolition of purchase in the Army, which would involve a total expenditure of about £12,000,000, had caused the insertion in the Estimates for this year of an item between £600,000 and £700,000. He considered the legislation of the Government was based on extravagance, and without a due regard to the British taxpayer. He did not know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was aware that the Pilotage Abolition Bill would involve compensation at the least to the amount of £125,000 a-year for the next 10 years, according to the Government proposition. The Pilotage Abolition Bill had not been asked for by the country. One town, which would receive £500,000 out of that compensation, had protested by every means in its power against that measure. He considered the present was not an unfitting occasion for considering whether the policy of the Government was not an inexpedient and reckless one. The Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House that he took off £4,000,000 of taxes last year. Was that wise when he saw what was coming? The right hon. Gentleman ought not recklessly to have thrown away indirect duties which nobody felt. If they had been moderately reduced, the House would not now have to discharge the disagreeable duty of opposing the financial scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had no right to ask the House to show him "a better mode of dealing" with the finances of the country. They were not Chancellors of the Exchequer, and the right hon. Gentleman entirely mistook his position when he asked others to discover for him a mode of avoiding this taxation. He would just suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that the withdrawal of the Army Regulation Bill would save him between £600,000 and £700,000. If only £1,000,000 a-year for a couple of years had been spent upon the defence of our shores, if light-draught boats with a powerful armament, manned by our maritime population, had been placed along our shores in connection with our Navy, then our country would have been rendered invulnerable, and at a very small expense we should have succeeded in putting our country into a state of defence far greater than it could be by the passing of the Army Regulation Bill. Again, let the Government withdraw the Pilotage Bill, and save £125,000. The one would not add one atom to the defences of the country, and no one asked for the other. The right hon. Gentleman said that it was very easy to object to everything that was proposed. Now, the House had hitherto given a loyal support to his measures, and it was scarcely right for him, when the unanimous voice of the country was protesting against a particular measure, to say that hon. Members were objecting to everything. He appealed to the Government to withdraw the Budget, and instead of asking others to provide a substitute to produce one himself which would be more acceptable to the country.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT observed, that the right hon. Gentleman, on Thursday night, made his Financial Statement with his usual ability and courage; but it would require more ability and courage than he possessed to remove the strong feeling of disapprobation which was felt at his whole proceeding. The House had never presented a more humiliating spectacle than it did on that occasion; so much so, that he never felt so depressed. What were the facts of the case? Here was a country with 30,000,000 of people paying £70,000,000 annually into the Exchequer. What was the condition of that people? There were a small number exceedingly wealthy, a large number less wealthy, a still larger number struggling to make both ends meet, and a very considerable number in absolute poverty. And yet, last Thursday, the House was crowded with hon. Gentlemen, whose duty it was not to fleece, but to protect their constituents, and they had to listen for nearly two hours whilst the right hon. Gentleman, one of the most ingenious men in the House, intimated that he had been carefully studying how to extract still further taxes from the general community. Discussions were taking place everywhere as to the manner in which new burdens could be best placed upon the people; but, however they were placed, they would be felt, to a great extent, by the very poorest of the poor. The stone at the top of a building did not more surely press on the foundation than fresh taxes placed on the nation would find their way to the very lowest in the social scale. He had voted against the proposed duty on matches. If instead of being one of the most objectionable of duties, it had been one of the least objectionable, he should still have voted against it. He was not sent up by his constituents to increase the taxation pressing on the people. He did not think it possible to carry the duty into effect. By his proposal the Chancellor of the Exchequer was making war upon women and children. There was no more melancholy thing in this country than the difficulty experienced by women in obtaining employment. The prostitution which existed was in a considerable degree attributable to that fact. The trade now under consideration was peculiarly favourable to the employment of women and children. He knew one large firm in Manchester which employed 600 hands; 120 of them being half-time children, every one of whom was sent to school at the expense of the firm, and the remainder women earning either 14*s.* a-week by making boxes, or 12*s.* by making lucifers. The whole of these persons were employed in making boxes and matches. He was told that, if that tax were imposed on matches, every Monday morning that firm would require £1,500 worth of Government stamps, or £18,000 worth in three months. Their returns did not come in till after three months, and therefore that one firm alone would require an additional capital of £18,000, to carry on their business if that tax were adopted. The little boy who sold matches in the street started in the morning with a capital of 3*d.*, with which he purchased a dozen boxes; but if that tax passed, the little boy must have 1*s.* instead of 3*d.* to ply his calling with. The tax would, he believed, reduce the match trade by at least one-third, entirely taking away the employment of many women and children, and lessening the earnings of others. If, indeed, the country were ruled by a capricious despot, they could not have a trade pounced upon or ruined in a more summary manner than was proposed to be done in this case. If this were carried out, other trades would begin to fear what might happen to them. Such legislation ought to be checked in the bud, and if the wealthy classes were wise they would take warning in time. If they were careless in dealing with labour, and did not recognize its rights, there would soon be a great number of people who would not recognize the rights of property. He could himself suggest a Budget. If an expenditure of £70,000,000 were not enough, let them go to the men who possessed more than £20,000, and put a percentage on all the excess over that amount—there would then be no difficulty in raising the Revenue to £80,000,000, or £90,000,000 if they thought proper. Such a Budget would not beggar any man, or send any woman into the streets—the Budget before them would do both. The wealthier classes alone asked for this increased expenditure, and the wealthier classes should be asked to pay for it. He was not much concerned about the succession duty, for the class who would have to pay it knew very well how to evade it, and were very well able to take care of themselves. The increase of the probate and legacy duties would be a great hardship; the income tax already pressed heavily on one-half of those who were subjected to it, and the difficulty of paying it would be very much aggravated by the additional turn of the screw that was now to be applied to them. The position in which they found themselves was no doubt very gratifying to the party opposite, and for two reasons—first, because it was natural for them to spend the public money; and, secondly, because they of course always desired to damage the political reputation of their opponents. He repeated, it was natural for them to spend the public money. That party was never in power without spending every farthing they dared to spend, and when it was not in power, it tempted the Government in power to spend all it could. Every proposition for extravagant expenditure made on the Government side of the House received the support of those opposite. Not one of the votes that had taken place this Session condemning Government expenditure had received the support of the party opposite, and it might be satisfactory to them to know that the increase of the expenditure this year and the present Budget, had done more to damage the Administration and chill the sympathies of the people towards them than the party opposite could do with all its combined eloquence and reasoning powers for years to come. He had never been able to ascertain why this increased expenditure had taken place. There had never been a clear and logical statement from the Treasury Bench upon the subject, or anything said to reconcile the country to this extravagance. At every public meeting in the country this extravagant expenditure had been condemned, and when the Press got into a foolish state of excitement about the Russian Note, the people declined to follow them. The country was in a very strange position. It was at the present time more pacific than it had ever been, and the Continent was less able to interfere with us or attack us than we had ever known. The Government had made louder protestations of economy than any that had ever preceded it, and it had done itself infinite credit by managing in a rational way the difficulties that had arisen during its tenure of office, and one would have thought that the result would have been greater ease to the people in diminished taxation, instead of their having to pray to be delivered from the tender mercies of an economical Government. He did not think the Government could say anything in justification of its course; but it might say a great deal to incriminate others. It might turn to hon. Members below the gangway on the Ministerial side of the House—those who were attacking, and criticizing, and voting against the Government—and ask them why they helped them to get into this mess, and where were they when the Vote of £2,000,000 on credit was taken last autumn, and giving additional guarantees to Belgium, and thereby continuing the policy which, in his opinion, was at the bottom of this additional expenditure. The hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Osborne) very justly rebuked them in a former speech when, in accents of scorn, he said to hon. Members below the gangway—"You make a great fuss about economy; but you have effected very little." Never was a rebuke better deserved. There were not 20 men amongst them who had anything but fair weather principles on the subject. Whenever there was any excitement, or whenever the waters began to be troubled, they invariably voted in the wrong Lobby, or disappeared from the House, as they did last year when the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) moved his Resolution. And unless those who were in favour of economy were inclined to turn their backs on those innumerable guarantees which were recently exhibited to the country by the Marquess of Salisbury "in another place"—guarantees made generations ago and never sanctioned by the people—and turn their attention more to the requirements of the country, they would effect no real economy. If the Government had taken a different course, and had said they had abundance of money for the proper defence of the country, and that no further armaments were required, they would have commanded a large majority; but if they had found themselves in a minority, and had been thrown out of power for doing that which was right, a Government losing office under such circumstances was always sure of an honourable and speedy resurrection.

Mr. LIDDELL said, that as he had ventured to place on the Notice Paper a Motion which the forms of the House precluded him from moving, he claimed the indulgence of the House whilst he explained the course he intended to pursue with reference to the Motion before them. He had listened with great attention that night to the able speech of the hon. Gentleman the amateur Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in quoting from it he should be guided—first, by the terms of the Motion then under consideration; and, secondly, by the language in which it was conveyed to the House. He agreed with it that the Ways and Means provided by the Government to meet the expenditure of the year were burdens which the people ought not to be required to bear; and then, when he referred to the language used by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. White) in introducing the Motion, he found no difficulty whatever in supporting it. The hon. Gentleman said—"Everything requisite for efficiency in our Army—perfect equipment, good arms, and adequate Reserves—should be ungrudgingly voted." [Mr. Gladstone: Hear, hear!] [Mr. White: Read on.] He had quoted what he considered to be sufficient for his purpose, and when the Motion was introduced by sentiments of that kind he found no difficulty whatever in supporting it. It had been said that this was a Vote of Want of Confidence, and that was always a convenient weapon for a Government to use; but he disclaimed any desire to vote Want of Confidence in the Government. He objected to the Budget—to the Ways and Means provided for the necessary expenditure of the country; and he joined with many hon. Friends on both sides of the House in saying that there was no desire to displace the Government, but that all that was required of them was to take back their Budget, and find other means better adapted to the circumstances of the country to provide the necessary expenditure. He entertained a strong objection to the expenditure of £600,000 for carrying into effect the provisions of the Army Regulation Bill. There had been a great deal of talk about that Bill, and the time had arrived when that Bill and the Budget ought to be taken in hand, and weighed the one against the other in order to ascertain on which side the balance inclined. He, and hundreds of his fellow-countrymen had done it, and they said, as he said, that the Bill was very dear at the money. They were called on to pay £600,000 this year, and they would have to pay £1,200,000 next year for the Bill. The expenditure the country was called on to meet had been caused by the reductions they had made in the Army services of the country, because experience showed them that reductions were, in fact, very expensive things, whether in the Army, the Navy, the dockyards, or in the workshops under Government control, by the injudicious mode adopted of discharging skilled men, who had cost time and labour to train, and having in times of emergency to replace them with raw materials, upon which time and labour must be spent to produce the things thrown away. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced his Budget last year in a remarkably comprehensive and statesmanlike speech, wherein he laid down broad, firm, and sagacious axioms of finance, and one was with regard to direct taxation; and he said that, though it was more economical, it forced a man to pay at a time when payment might be his ruin. It was perfectly clear that the statement had reference to the succession and legacy duties, for they came upon a man when he was in the worst position in his life to pay them; and one would have thought that, having laid down that axiom of finance, the right hon. Gentleman would have taken the first opportunity for removing that anomaly and hardship. Yet within a year of laying down the axiom, the right hon. Gentleman doubled every anomaly and inequality, and quadrupled in its incidence the grievance on direct descendants. The right hon. Gentleman laid down a second maxim that the principle of taxation should be equality of pressure, and illustrated it by the case of the molluscs at the bottom of the ocean, which were only able to exist by the equality of the pressure upon them. That maxim, however, did not accord with the right hon. Gentleman's practice, which brought him (Mr. Liddell) to the great objection he entertained to the Budget. The deficit in the present financial year was £2,800,000, roundly stated. The means by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to meet it was, by indirect taxation — £550,000 derived from matches; £300,000 from probate and succession duties—but at maturity they would raise £1,080,000 — and from income tax £1,950,000. So that the result was four-fifths of the whole of the deficit of the year were derived from direct taxation. What became, then, of the maxim "that the principle of taxation should be equality of pressure?" It was said that the extra taxes were to meet military expenditure. Now, no doubt, every class was equally interested in the defence of the country; and, consequently, he maintained that it was by an unequal method the supplies were proposed to be obtained. Next year the deficit would be £1,250,000 by abandoning the house tax; £800,000 from miscellaneous receipts, which appeared in this year's Estimates as re-payment of advances on account of the Abyssinian War; and £1,200,000 as a provision for the Army Bill, making a total deficit of £3,250,000. Now, he wanted to know if four-fifths of that was to be met by direct taxation—because, according to the practice of the present Government, that was the rule of their finance, and entirely contrary to the maxims laid down 12 months ago. If that were so, it was time persons who represented property and land should raise their voices. Forewarned was forearmed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer took a curious course on Thursday night in speaking of the exemptions of certain property, and holding up to public obloquy the exemptions of the stock-in-trade of the farmer. He said the exemption of cart horses represented £900,000, and of agricultural carts nearly £1,000,000 more. The right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Poor Law Board and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were playing a curious game of see-saw. The former was playing for a high stake—nothing less than the representation of the counties. He had thrown down a bone of contention between owners and occupiers by attempting to divide the rates between them, but neither had picked it up. Giving the right hon. Gentleman the fullest credit for his thorough knowledge of this subject, the owners and occupiers knew quite as much of it as he did, and what the inevitable result of the division of the rate would be, and had not accepted the glittering bauble, nor appreciated it at the value set upon it by the right hon. Gentleman. And now came the Chancellor of the Exchequer carrying on the see-saw by holding up the exempted agricultural stock-in-trade to ridicule, with the view, perhaps, of raising some Revenue from it at some future time, a course utterly opposed to the principles on which the commercial policy of this country was based — namely, that of taxing produce and which would, at the same time, increase considerably the price of the food of the people. He (Mr. Liddell) had voted for the Resolution on Thursday night, but, like many who had done so, he repented it. He supported the Resolution not because he liked the tax on matches, for he hated it, but because it was the only indirect taxation that was to have a share in providing the Supplies. But they were assured that the course did not commit them as a whole to the Budget, and therefore he should have no scruple in opposing the scheme in its entirety, and especially because he thought the match tax a most cruel impost. On Thursday night they did not know to what extent it would affect the innumerable families in large towns, and those familiar with the condition of the east of London must be aware that they would depart from the highest duty, and the greatest privilege of the House

—the paying attention to the interests of the poor—if they supported a tax like that. He should vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for Brighton, because it was the best mode of bringing a pressure to bear on the Government, not with the hope of making them leave their places, but of taking back their Budget to be modified in all its features, and to force the right hon. Gentleman to propose Ways and Means more consistent with the views and feelings of the House, and less injurious to the interests of the poor.

MR. CRAWFORD said, undoubtedly the key-note of the discussion had been struck by the remark that the House had helped to get the Government into this "mess," as it had been designated by the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright). The House had already sanctioned the extra expenditure, for which it must now provide the Ways and Means. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had explained in a very clear manner that all the Army Estimates which had created the large expenditure this year had already been voted, and it only remained now to meet it in the usual constitutional way. He should, with the permission of the House, make a few remarks on the general scope of the Budget, as the result of communications he had had with the persons whose interests he represented in the House. With regard to the match tax, he had called it unfortunate on Thursday, and he still remained of that opinion. The match trade was not unimportant; it involved a great deal of money, and gave employment to vast numbers of people, and it had this distinctive feature that the persons so employed resided in the east end of London, the lowest districts of the metropolis, where poverty and disease were most rife. It had been represented to him that, if the Budget passed, it must necessarily supersede the whole of the small manufacturers, and place the trade in the hands of large houses with large capital. A gross of matches cost wholesale from 2*s*. 3*d*. to 2*s*. 6*d*.; while the tax upon that number would be 6*s*., so that small makers who could not find a manufacturing capital to the extent of 8*s*. 6*d*. per gross—and very few of them could afford that—would be driven out of the trade. He regretted the proposition, also, because it was a retrograde step in our financial legislation. This new form of taxation was introduced simply because, as the right hon. Gentleman had said, matches were so exceedingly cheap and a fit subject of taxation; but were there not many articles of consumption of a similar character to which the same doctrine might be applied? Again, if they had an Excise duty, they must have an import duty and a drawback upon the matches exported, in which, as he was informed, there was a very large trade. As he understood his right hon. Friend there was to be no drawback. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER intimated that there would be a drawback.] Well, then, he would not further refer to that matter, and he should not have alluded to it all, but for the remarks that had fallen that evening from his right hon. Friend himself. It had been objected that nothing had been suggested in the nature of an alternative. He must say there were several alternatives, and one of them, though perhaps not an unpopular view, was that the expenditure of the year might have been considerably reduced. ["Hear, hear!"] He was afraid hon. Members below the gangway did not quite understand him. If they required the means of meeting increased expenditure, increased to abolish purchase in the Army, why could not the excess be spread over a number of years, as in the case of the provision for the fortifications? He had no hesitation in saying that, by arrangement, the purchaser of Terminable Annuities might be secured against the fluctuations of the income tax, and, if so, the Government might raise the money, as they would be justified in doing for an exceptional expenditure in that form, at a very low rate, whereas, at present, the purchase of such security was declined by insurance offices and corporations, because of the risk incurred by such fluctuations. He believed the public would have been content to pay an additional penny income tax. He was aware that the reverse had been stated in the City article of the leading journal; but the statement was but the individual opinion of one gentleman, and did not, he believed, represent the general feeling. He believed that the public would have been better pleased to submit to an additional income tax for one year, in the belief that the increasing improvement in the national finances would soon free them from the impost. Of that improvement he ventured, with due respect for his right hon. Friend, to contend too gloomy a view had been taken. He believed that his right hon. Friend, in forming his opinion on this matter, had overlooked several circumstances. Employment was more general at the present moment than it had been for some years; cotton, the great staple manufacture in Lancashire, had not for a long time been so cheap or so abundant as it was now; every week witnessed an increase in the receipts of the railways throughout the country; the weekly publication of the balances that passed through the Clearing House of London showed the magnitude of the transactions of the day; and finally there had been a considerable reduction of pauperism, more particularly in the metropolis. All these were hopeful signs. "But," said the right hon. Gentleman, "why not ask me to increase the tea duty?" And he might have added the sugar duty, for they both stood upon the same footing. The answer was, that they did not see the necessity for such a course. They believed that the general prosperity of the country would justify them in tiding over the difficulty, and even now he ventured to express a hope that an opportunity might be given to the House to consider the Ways and Means from a different point of view. But with regard to the Motion of the hon. Member for Brighton, which said—"The additional taxation would entail burdens upon the people," the House had already decided that the expenditure should be incurred, and that being the case he could not give his support to his hon. Friend's proposal.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had attempted to place hon. Members on that side of the House on the horns of a dilemma, on which they declined to be placed. He objected altogether to the Budget now before them. Such were the Budgets now-a-days that no trade or interest was safe in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman. Not long ago the right hon. Gentleman attacked a very large interest—namely, the savings banks—and the consequence was, that a panic was created from one end of the country to the other, and money was withdrawn from many of the banks. So strong, indeed, was the opposition, that the right hon. Gentleman had to withdraw his proposal. [The Chancellor of the Exchequer: No.] At any rate, it was not pressed forward. He objected to the Budget because he could not countenance the increased expenditure the Government assumed to be necessary. The greater portion of the increased expenditure depended upon whether the Army Regulation Bill passed; and, since the Government had not fairly placed before the House the cost of that Bill, in the future as well as in the present, the Budget, in a Parliamentary sense, was dishonest. The House had never yet fairly faced the Army Regulation scheme. The Government had confessed to £10,000,000 or £12,000,000; but this did not include the cost of retirement, which the Government had not yet detailed to the House. It was all very well for the Government to say they were going to provide £600,000 for it this year; but they could not flatter themselves, after providing that sum, that they were safe out of the mess, and therefore he contended that hon. Members on that side of the House had a right to object to the increased expenditure until the whole cost of the abolition of purchase had been placed before the country. He was not unacquainted with the programme put forward by the Prime Minister, at least in 1868. That programme, though it included measures affecting the Irish Church and the Irish Land, was not deemed sufficient for the purposes of the present Government; and an issue, based upon the whole subject of taxation, was raised for the decision of the country. Now, the whole expenditure of the country, for the year ending 1867, was about £68,500,000, and that sum was held up to the country as perfectly monstrous—[Mr. Gladstone: No!]—as a sum, at all events, which the country was invited narrowly to scrutinize, for one end only, and that was to secure its reduction. But the expenditure in 1868 was £72,981,000, which, allowing for the £3,500,000 for the Abyssinian Expedition, showed an increase on the year before. The expenditure of the year 1869 was £73,819,000, which, allowing for the £4,500,000 on account of Abyssinia, gave £69,300,000 as against the £68,500,000 of 1867. When these figures were placed before the country he believed they would feel dissatisfied with the difference between the promises and the performances of the Government. They knew what the Estimates for the current year were, and he would ask whether there was any promise of better things in the future. In regard to the fresh taxes now proposed, the first one was that upon matches. Now, he had thought that the financial doctrine universally accepted in these days was, that no tax ought, if possible, to be imposed on any trade or manufacture of the country, or upon any of the necessaries of life. He objected to the tax upon matches, because it was a tax upon a trade, a tax upon the occupation of the poor, and also a tax upon one of their necessaries of life. Moreover, it would involve an import or protective duty, because it was certain that immense quantities of foreign matches would seek our markets. They knew that large numbers of matches already reached us from Sweden, and we had hitherto been able to hold our ground in the trade, only because matches were untaxed, and because they could be manufactured so cheaply, as women and children took so large a part in the making of them. He did not know if any hon. Members had read the Bill; but they would find it full of the most oppressive regulations that could be conceived as to the sale of matches and the treatment of those who sold them. To the increased succession duty he objected, as most inappropriate for a war tax, which, properly speaking, should possess the following characteristics:—It should fall equally on the population, cause little or no disarrangement, and be easily removed as soon as it had fulfilled its object. The increased succession duty, however, would fall upon those only who happened to lose relatives during the time it was in force, and when once put on it would, with difficulty, be removed. In neither of these respects, therefore, could this tax be recommended as a war tax. For these reasons he opposed the Budget, and should support the Motion of the hon. Member for Brighton; and not especially in regard to the want of confidence in the Government which it had been said to imply, though if he were asked whether he had confidence in the Administration, he should not be able to answer in the affirmative, nor could he say that their recent measures had tended to strengthen his feeling in their favour. He did not believe that the Licensing Bill would increase the number of their supporters in the House or in the country. He did not think that the Local Taxation Bill either was calculated to recruit the ranks of their supporters. But it was not on this account he voted for the Motion of the hon. Member. He voted for that Motion because he would say to the Government "Take back your Budget; bring us something we can accept, and then we will vote what money you want for a reduced expenditure with the greatest possible despatch."

Mr. FAWCETT presumed a few words from him would not be unacceptable, as many hon. Members had asked him his intention with regard to his own Motion. The hon. Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands), indisposed to call a spade a spade, had preferred the Motion of his hon. Colleague (Mr. White), because he did not regard it as a Vote of Want of Confidence; but the hon. Member could not by such a declaration alter the effect and meaning of the Motion. He had not heard either from his hon. Colleague, or his Seconder, anything implying want of confidence in the general policy of the Government. On the contrary, they admired them for many things that they had done; but the interests of the country were best promoted by plain speaking, and he did most certainly desire to express his want of confidence, not in their general views, but in their financial proposals, and his condemnation of their extravagant expenditure. If it be admitted that the extra £2,800,000 was required, the way in which it was proposed to be raised was the most objectionable that could be conceived; but he was also prepared to maintain that the £2,800,000 would not be required—nay, that everything which the country required might be obtained without the increase of a single shilling, if the Administration had been a more economical one. The proposals contained in the Budget had been condemned in a vote of the House with almost unprecedented unanimity. The hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Crawford) was almost alone in the announced intention to support the Government on the question at issue. In regard to the tax upon matches, he could only say that, if time permitted, he believed he could show that, more than perhaps any other tax that could be conceived, it offended against every canon laid down by Adam Smith, of whom the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a professed disciple. It was disastrous and oppressive to the master, ruinous to the working man, difficult and expensive to collect, and would bring home to every humble cottage the fact that we had an extravagant Government. On the match-box was to be placed a Latin inscription, which few people understood; and some had even gone so far as to say that the perpetration of that classical joke was one of its great recommendations in the eyes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Well, the humble people who would have to pay the tax would not understand the motto; but he would suggest that they might place side by side with it, a motto which everyone would understand—namely, that this tax was a proof that the professed economy of a Liberal Government was a sham and a snare. In regard to the succession duty, it had always been held as a reason that it realized so little, because it was easily evaded. If they doubled the duty, they would likewise double the inducements to evade it; and he was satisfied that the expectations that had been formed as to what it would realize would be falsified. Moreover, it was a tax upon capital, and a tax upon produce. As for the proposals in regard to the income tax, it was enough to say that they had been condemned by the strongest supporters of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer however had taunted them by saying that it was of no use to object to these taxes, without suggesting something in their stead. Now it would be presumptuous in a private Member of the House to undertake such a task; but since they had been so taunted, he would venture to make a suggestion. Why did they not suspend the financial hocus-pocus called paying off the National Debt by Terminable Annuities, which was simply a revival of Pitt's sinking fund in its worst form? When that scheme was first proposed, it was recommended to the House as a plan that could be suspended in unfavourable or exceptional years; and was not the present such a year? If these were, as the Government said, transition Estimates, why was not their pledge redeemed? Bad as the present position of affairs was, he could not look forward more hopefully to the immediate future, after hearing the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, showing that matches were to be taxed this year, agricultural horses next year, and other branches of industry, it might be presumed, in rapid succession. From that speech, he thought anyone would be justified in coming to the conclusion that we were only commencing a mischievous resolution. Of all the indefensible propositions ever made, the idea of taxing horses engaged in agriculture was, perhaps, the worst. If animals engaged in trade were to be taxed, why not also the inanimate machinery similarly engaged? Was the poor farmer to pay a tax on his horses, and the rich one to pay none on his far more useful agricultural machinery? The logical mind of the Chancellor of the Exchequer could soon perceive the anomaly, and they might expect to find all trade inplements taxed down to the common wheelbarrow. He now came to the second part of his statement, that the money asked for by the Government was not necessary. In the first place, it might be said—"You have voted the money even if it were not necessary, and by so doing, you are precluded from objecting to the expenditure;" and, in the second, that the money was necessary in order to place the country in a state of proper defence. To both of those statements he gave the most emphatic denial. As to his proposition that the sum asked for was not necessary, the House having already voted the money, thereby preventing any objection being offered to the expenditure, this seemed to him to raise a vitally important question of Parliamentary procedure. If from the mere fact that Estimates had been introduced into the House, they were supposed by anticipation to have voted the whole of them, that took away one of the most important privileges of voting the Estimates in Committee of Supply, which would become a farce and a delusion. If that were so, and the Government pressed the objection, the course of Parliamentary procedure must be greatly deranged, and before these Estimates were introduced, and before a single Vote was taken upon them, the House ought to have the Financial Statement of the year. One important point was, that before the House voted a single Estimate, they must ascertain what extent of expenditure would be justifiable, without having recourse to the imposition of new taxes. He was accused the other night of going about the country "howling" for the abolition of the purchase system. He believed that he had never uttered six words on the subject, except to state that he intended to vote for the abolition of the system. But if he had to choose between the alternatives of voting for its abolition this year, and imposing a new, vexatious, and iniquitous tax, such as that on matches, he would wait one, two, or three years. This plea of one not being able to object to the expenditure came with peculiarly ill grace in the present year. Why was this large expenditure required? Because of the Army Regulation Bill. If that Bill did not pass—and who was confident enough to predict it would pass?—the whole of the Estimates would have to be revised, and therefore they had a clear and constitutional right, although certain Estimates had been laid on the Table, to say they had not voted the money until every Vote in Supply had been discussed and passed. Perhaps his greatest difficulty would be to substantiate the allegation that this expenditure was unnecessary. It might be said that he knew nothing about naval and military matters. He did not pretend to have the slightest knowledge of naval and military affairs; but statements had been made in the House which it did not require professional knowledge to understand. It was said that they who objected were wanting in patriotism, and were careless of the security of their country. That was an unjust insinuation. If naval and military authorities had come forward and pledged their professional reputation that the £27,000,000 which the House was asked to vote this year, would give security to our shores, he would have felt himself unworthy the name of an Englishman if he uttered one word of murmur or objection to the proposal. But he had not forgotten the unanswered speech of the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho). He had not forgotten the speech of the hon. and gallant Member for Stafford (Captain Talbot), nor the able speech of the hon. and gallant Member for South Durham (Captain Beaumont), who all spoke with great authority on military matters, and they said that this £27,000,000, which they were asked to vote, would not give security or safety; but that a great portion of the money would be wasted, and poured into the insatiable gulf of military extravagance and administrative incompetency—that they would not have their money's value for their money's worth. They were asked to vote more and more money every year, and each time military authorities laid greater stress on the prevailing incapacity, inefficiency, and waste. The same remark applied to the Navy. Recent disclosures showed that millions of money were wasted because civilians were placed at the head of the Admiralty for political reasons, and overruled the opinions of professional authorities upon professional questions. They had worried out of the service one of the ablest of our public men. [*Cheers* and *laughter.*] Wait till they had heard what he had to say. He referred to the late Chief Constructor of the Navy. And what did he say? That our naval defences were at the present moment in a most unsatisfactory condition. He did not say that this was because they had not voted sufficient money, but because they had built ships of heavy draught when they should have built ships of light draught; and he distinctly asserted that at the present moment thousands and millions were being wasted because there was no concert between the two great spending Departments. But let them view the question in a wider aspect. Was it not the duty of England, by her example, to discourage Europe from rushing on in that career of financial embarrassment in which she was now embarked? Up to 1850 there had been no increase, but rather a decrease of National Debt in Europe. But, for the last 20 years, leaving America out of consideration, the Debts of Europe, and one or two other countries, had increased to the extent of £1,500,000,000. Almost every country had each year a deficiency; and if England spent an increased sum of money, it induced other countries to do the same. It might be said against those who thus argued, that last year they supported a Vote of Credit in support of Belgium. They could easily justify the position. If they were to free themselves from treaty obligations let them do so in time of peace, and not in time of peril. It must be borne in mind that the House was now called on to vote a great deal more money than they were called on to vote last year. In addition to this the condition of Europe had changed. When they were called on in July last to vote £2,000,000, it was supposed that the country which most threatened England was then in the zenith of her power, and possessed of the most powerful Army in Europe; but France had been worsted in a war, her Army was destroyed, and she would not be able to threaten England again for years to come, during which time all her energies must be devoted to restore her finances and secure internal order. He ventured, in conclusion, to address a few words to the Government. He hoped that they would retrace their steps before it was too late. Let them withdraw their Budget and revise their Estimates. They obtained their majority because they pledged themselves on innumerable hustings to check expenditure, and if they persisted in their present course of prodigality, returning evil for good, from John o'Groat's to the Land's End, in every cottage, and workshop, and mart where men gathered together, it would be said that the Government had deluded and deceived them; that where the Government had promised economy they had given extravagance; and that the confidence once placed in them could no longer, so far as financial affairs were concerned, constitutionally continue.

Mr. DISRAELI: Whatever may be the difference of opinion upon the various points of controversy in this debate, there is one point upon which we must all agree—namely, that our financial condition at the present moment is not satisfactory. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Statement has made us formally and officially acquainted with the fact that we have to encounter this year a deficiency of, at least, £2,700,000. But the amount of our liability cannot be measured merely by these figures. That can only be clearly apprehended by a reference to two Bills now on our Table, and to which I will advert very shortly. The first is the Army Regulation Bill, which occasions this year an expenditure of £600,000, and which for the next year secures us a certain expenditure of £1,200,000, and an ambiguous and still indefinite item of expenditure, which has been estimated at a considerable amount by an hon. and gallant Friend of mine (Sir Percy Herbert) this evening, and which even the gallant Gentleman opposite (Captain Vivian) the Financial Secretary of the War Office acknowledged in his speech must certainly involve considerable expenditure. Now, we must recollect we already feel the inconvenience of the first £600,000 which it is proposed to spend in the Army Regulation Bill, because it is quite clear, from the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it is in consequence of the necessity of providing for this item in the Estimates that he has proposed the new system of assessing the income tax—not, I believe, one of the least unpopular and the least injudicious portions of his financial scheme. Then we must not lose sight of another Bill when we are called upon to consider the Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Ways and Means he proposes — the Bill with regard to local taxation. As the House will recollect, that Bill proposes to deal with a very important branch of the Imperial Revenue, relegating it to a local and provincial object. Now, I have always looked upon the house tax as one of the soundest portions of our financial system. It is admitted by everybody to be the most just tax which can be devised. It is the most equal in its incidence, as the highest authorities have always acknowledged; is founded on the justest principles of finance; and increases always with the progress and prosperity of the nation. Well, I have never been among those who wish to reduce the just portion of our direct taxation. It seems to me that it would be most short-sighted to counsel such a policy. But I have always looked upon the machinery of the house tax as a means by which an amount of direct taxation might at a proper period be raised, which would recommend itself to the feeling of justice of the country generally preferable to the income tax. I know it is a question with respect to which it is easy to excite prejudice, because I have myself, among others, been the victim of prejudice on the subject. That, however, does not prevent me from taking this opportunity of expressing my opinion of the excellence of the tax. I cannot conceal my dissatisfaction at the attempt which has been made by the Government to degrade this tax into a rate, and to divert from purposes of national necessity such a source of revenue in order to cut the Gordian knot of some local and provincial difficulty. But the House will recollect that our resources are to be diminished to the amount of £1,200,000 by the measure on the Table, should that policy be successful. In considering our deficiency, therefore, we must look upon our financial position when this year elapses; because I must protest against the habit which is growing up on both sides of the House of doubting the Estimates of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We must take these Essimates as factors in the sum which we have to calculate, and the policy of his scheme must depend on the conviction in our minds that these are Estimates given to us by a person who has the very best means of forming them. What is the use of a Financial Statement made by an officer so important as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if, when he gives us certain results on his official responsibility, with his own thought and upon the mature opinions of his Colleagues, we immediately say—"Such and such is not the case; your Estimates are wrong; they are either exaggerated or depreciated; and, in fact, the items you offer us, in order that we may form a judgment on the condition of the country, are not trustworthy." Such a course would, it appears to me, leave the House open to every financial freak which can occur to any hon. Member. I must, therefore, protest against that, and take the Estimates of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as grave communications made to Parliament with the due sense of the responsibility of a statesman. Now, according to the Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a deficiency of about £2,700,000 will still exist at the end of this year, as he does not take a sanguine view of the progress of the different branches of the Revenue. In addition to that, we shall have to meet the requirements made by the two Bills on the Table, to the amount of £2,400,000 more, without calculating in the least that still dark and indefinite item for which the Army Regulation Bill, in consequence of the expenditure connected with retirements, demands our consideration. We have to bear in mind, therefore, that we are touching on a position in which we may have to encounter a deficit of £5,000,000. Our position is, under these circumstances, a grave one, and we must consider the nature of the Ways and Means which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has proposed for our acceptance. Now, Sir, as to these Ways and Means, there is not one of them, I am sorry to say, which I can approve. I heard with great regret—I was not present at the time—of the hurried vote at which the House arrived the other night with respect to the tax on matches. But I found on inquiry that the matter was explained by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that the Division taken was merely a technical one, and that it does not debar the House from again expressing its opinion on the subject. Well, Sir, we have been reminded to-night of the great agitation that was created by the window tax when we were told that it was a tax on light: I little supposed that the time would so soon come when another tax on light would be proposed—a tax also upon warmth, one which in so many ways will affect the comfort of the great mass of the people. That this proposed tax is one which can be evaded no one will deny, and although I would never doubt the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Estimates, still we have, I think, a right to criticize statistics on a new tax. I must say that the statistics which he has given with regard to the number of match-boxes appear to me to be amazing. He states that the number of match-boxes manufactured in this country every year is 560,000,000. Now, here, in the United Kingdom, we have 7,000,000 houses, counting everything rateable, from the palace to the hovel, and this calculation would give, on an average, 80 boxes per annum to each house. That appears to me, I confess, to be a rate of consumption quite inconceivable. I am told there is a great export trade in these matches; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not tell us whether that was the case, although he did inform us that there was an export duty still in existence. That, however, was, I think he will find, abolished in 1860. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: There is no export duty now.] Exactly so: this tax on matches is one which I regard as being very objectionable, inasmuch as it affects the manufacture of an article which gives a great deal of employment, to the humbler classes especially, in this metropolis, who have for some considerable time, as it is, been in want of sufficient employment. Indeed, it seems to me to be as injudicious a proposition of the kind as the right hon. Gentleman could have well fixed upon. Then comes the question — what are the other Ways and Means of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? Are they more popular or better adapted to the circumstances of the occasion? We have an increase of the succession and probate duties. Now, these are taxes essentially of a permanent character. If we agree to them we shall never get rid of them; all that can happen with regard to them is that they will be increased. Let us, therefore, look at the circumstances under which we are asked to increase the succession duty, and other analogous taxes. Here I must remark the loose manner in which Her Majesty's Government discuss the present financial crisis. Our Estimates are sometimes described as transition Estimates; as if the expenditure was only passing and temporary, and would in a short time be necessarily diminished. But if those views are just, how are they to be reconciled with the policy of Her Majesty's Government, in making propositions of this character, in order to meet such transient difficulties and deficiencies as those to which they refer? There are great objections to the succession duty in itself. The highest authorities have disapproved it. It is a tax on capital, vexatious, levied at a time when it is most inconvenient to pay it, and when its injustice is most felt. It would be very difficult to propose any tax likely more to excite the suspicion and disrelish of society, and which, at the same time, will do so little to meet the immediate object which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has in view. The right hon. Gentleman estimates that he will obtain eventually £1,000,000 per annum from the succession and probate duties; but he admits that he will receive only £300,000 this year. Now, when he has a deficit of nearly £3,000,000, and when he and his Colleagues lead us to believe that this deficiency will be only of a transitory character, it appears to me highly unsatisfactory that he should propose a tax which is not only of a permanent nature, but which would scarcely give him any usufruct for the year in which the deficiency really exists. Then I come to consider our old friend the income tax. I think it unfortunate that the income tax should be used as a matter of course upon slight occasions, and that whenever £1,000,000 or £1,500,000 is wanted, a disturbance should be caused throughout the country by an increase of the income tax. At the same time, I admit that it is not at all surprising that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his combined plan, should to some extent avail himself of the income tax. If the right hon. Gentleman had proposed a certain specific amount to be raised by the income tax, I would not have objected. But what I greatly object to is that he proposes to increase the income tax in a mode the result of which will be that no one in the country will ever know what he has to pay, thus increasing immensely the vexation of an impost already sufficiently odious. And observe, that it was perfectly unnecessary for the Government to have recourse to this new-fangled scheme of assessment, were it not to meet an item in the Estimates which we have not yet voted, and which no one pretends for a moment is of an urgent and pressing character. Now, I have never viewed with any prejudice the scheme of the Government for the re-organization of the Army. Part of it consists of a plan for the abolition of purchase. Were there a passionate conviction throughout the country that the system of promotion at present prevailing in the Army was one extremely injurious to the public interests, and we were in possession of an affluent and abounding Exchequer, the Government of this country would be perfectly justified, with due and complete regard to vested interests, to consider the propriety of terminating such a system. When I had an opportunity of making some observations on this subject to the House, a little while ago, I said then that it appeared to me that the propriety of the course which the Government were about to pursue with regard to the abolition of purchase mainly depended upon the state of our finances, and that it would be extremely desirable, before the House irrevocably committed itself to the policy of abolition—which fortunately it has not—that it should at least become acquainted with that state. At that time there was an unfortunate delusion in high quarters that the condition of our Revenue at the end of the year would be very different from what it turned out to be. Well, if I were asked my own individual opinion, after having given the subject the most anxious, and I am sure, impartial consideration, I would frankly say that I should be in favour of maintaining the present system of promotion in the Army, accompanied, as I believe its maintenance could be, with measures which would render the Army efficient and the education of our officers and the forces generally, more scientific. I believe these two things are perfectly consistent. Sir, it might, under any circumstances, be a question whether we should incur the responsibility of involving the nation in such an immense expenditure as the abolition of purchase would inevitably entail; but now, when a tax upon matches is proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to extricate us from the difficulties that surround us, and when London—plaintive London—assembles round the House to entreat us to spare the only industry on which they depend in the quarter in which they live, I cannot conceive that it is our duty to proceed with a scheme which certainly can keep, and which the country will have an opportunity of giving an opinion upon next year with a much more complete acquaintance with its merits. So far as my opinion is concerned, I must say that the three divisions of the Ways and Means to which I have referred are extremely objectionable. Then the question arises—What is the course we ought to take under such circumstances? I will express, without the least desire to conceal it, the course which I should have preferred to take. I should like to have taken a course myself which, while expressing the opinions entertained on this side of the House, would have permitted Her Majesty's Government to withdraw their proposal with dignity and with honour. I should myself have been prepared to propose a Resolution on the subject, as to the course it would have been proper to take, of which that would have been the purport and the object. And I should have hoped that had that course been taken, we might have disembarrassed ourselves of this scheme of Ways and Means, and by the agency of the Government itself proceeded to consider measures better adapted to the occasion. But it has not been in my power to take that step. I was present on the occasion of the Budget, and I listened to it with the attention it deserved. That was on Thursday last. The course which we had to take was one which could not be settled in a moment. It was a grave subject which required great consideration; which demanded on my part counsel with many others, and co-operation with a large party; and it was necessary that some little time should elapse before action could be taken under such circumstances. The result of our deliberations I was prepared to announce to-day, and I should have asked the opinion of the House upon the measures of the Government. But the ground was occupied. I do not in the least object to any hon. Member availing himself of his privilege. This is a complete Republic; we are all equal here; the Declaration of Paris unfortunately does not apply to Parliamentary privateering; and the Regular forces therefore are sometimes extremely inconvenienced and embarrassed. But when criticisms are sometimes freely made upon the course of those who are responsible, by their advice, for the general conduct of a large party in Parliament, I beg to state that the time has gone by when an Opposition could choose the exact occasion and the exact form in which they could ask the opinion of the House. I have, therefore, to consider the Amendment of which Notice has been given by the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. White) and it is the only opportunity, mind you, upon which a general opinion on this Budget can be given. There are no other means. The language of this Amendment has been criticized; but I confess myself, though I did not come down originally to support it, and would rather have proposed an Amendment of my own; still, when I read it I do not find that there is anything in its language inconsistent with the general views and opinions expressed on this side of the House. It declares that—

> "The additional taxation proposed by Her Majesty's Government will entail burdens upon the people which are not justified by existing circumstances."

Well, it will entail burdens, and grievous burdens, upon the people, and I do not think they are justified by existing circumstances. I do not think that any existing circumstances could at all justify the increase of the succession duty. I do not think that any existing circumstances can justify the interference with the manufacture of matches. I think, therefore, that these measures will entail burdens upon the people which are not justified by existing circumstances. Well, I want to impress upon the House that there is no other opportunity of giving an opinion upon the financial proposals of the Government than this Amendment of the hon. Member for Brighton, and, therefore, those who do object to these three Ways and Means which are proposed must take this opportunity, or they will have no other. There is no probable opportunity of an Amendment afterwards while you, sir, are in the Chair, and in Committee Amendments will be limited to points of detail. Now, under these circumstances, I shall feel it my duty, if a Division is called for — entirely disapproving, as I do, the Ways and Means of the Government—to vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for Brighton. But I want to know why a Division should be necessary. I have watched the debate this night, and must say that two-thirds of the speakers have been on the other side of the House, and, without any exception that I can recall, they are devoted supporters of the Government. In general they have all objected to these Ways and Means. Under these circumstances, we have not put ourselves in any hostile position to the Government. Why should not the right hon. Gentleman, without any regard to us, say that in consequence of the expression of opinion from such a variety of his warmest supporters, even of the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Crawford), who sits behind the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and appears to me always to be his man-at-arms, ready to give him a new shield and a new spear when necessary, he will do that which probably he will ultimately have to do — re-consider the Budget? That would be acting in deference to them. We will not claim any portion of the deference for ourselves; we will not cheer or utter any expression of triumph; and we shall be perfectly glad if, without a Division, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer will take back his Budget for a moment, and re-consider it, and follow some of the many suggestions which have been made to him by his Friends, particularly by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London, and bring it forward again in an amended form. I must say there is one point in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to-night, to which I must offer my objection, and that is his argument, which he repeated several times during the course of his speech, that because we objected to his proposals we were bound to propose an alternative to the House. I thought there had been some quarter-of-a-century ago an immortal answer given to an argument of that kind. I remember that a Chancellor of the Exchequer—also a Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer—did most plaintively appeal to an eminent statesman then Leader of the Opposition, and he received an answer which I thought had become what we call a household word. But, probably, the right hon. Gentleman was then in a distant Colony, and it did not make that impression upon him which it did upon every hon. Member of the House of Commons at that time. All of us who were then Members of the House are perfectly familiar with it. Now, Sir, I do not think it is our duty to offer alternatives to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. All we can do is to give him respectful attention and consideration, and I can assure the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will, I will not say withdraw, but adjourn the discussion of his Budget for a short time, and give the House the result of his improved experience, and show the advantage which he has obtained from the criticism of his Friends—for I do not want him to be influenced in the least by what has been said on this side of the House—it would be most agreeable to our feelings, who have no wish whatever to place Her Majesty's Government in a minority. Now, we have heard something said this evening of Votes of Want of Confidence, and all from that side where the right hon. Gentleman sits; all, I may say, from his intimate and devoted Friends. Now, Sir, I have always heard that a defeat upon a financial question was no reason why a Minister should retire from the responsibility of his situation, so long as he felt that he possessed, for his general policy, the support and confidence of his Colleagues, and that has always been accepted as a Parliamentary rule. I may be taunted as having acted once differently. But when the Government of Lord Derby were defeated on a financial measure in 1852, we had no assurance of general support from the majority in this House upon our policy generally, and, therefore, it was expedient that we should retire. But that is not the position of the right hon. Gentleman, and, therefore, I think we may dismiss from our minds the idea that he will do anything so silly as to bring about a political crisis at this time of the year and tender a mock resignation, and by so doing waste the time of the House in the way in which some of his hon. Friends seem to contemplate. Therefore, we may dismiss all these considerations from our minds. This is a most serious question so far as we are concerned, and we cannot be silent or inactive. The principles of finance brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer are highly disapproved by his party. We also look upon these propositions as injurious in their character—the propositions with regard to the increase of succession duty, and the manner in which the income tax is increased in order to carry out a policy which we highly disapprove of—namely, the abolition of purchase. We must record our opinion on the Budget, and such are our Parliamentary rules and our Parliamentary practice, that although we are prepared to ask the opinion of the House on our Motion, we are deprived of that opportunity. It cannot be supposed that we are to forego the only occasion we now have of defeating measures which will have so bad an influence on the interests of the country. I wish it to be clearly understood that if this Budget is to be defeated—this Budget which outrages some of the most important principles which we have always upheld —this is the only occasion which we shall have to record our disapprobation of it.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Mr. Speaker—Though the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire has been almost pathetic in his reference to the loss of the opportunity, which he thinks he has sustained, for raising upon purely Conservative principles the issue of the present Budget, I must be permitted to say that, with a great deal less than he possesses of knowledge and experience of the forms of the House, I think that if he had been desirous of finding such an opportunity he would have experienced very little difficulty indeed, for it is certainly the first time that I have learnt that a party objecting to a financial proposal was bound to take his objection upon the first stage. The right hon. Gentleman is perfectly aware that it is in his own choice, without the slightest reference to the embarrassment in which my hon. Friend the Member for Brighton, by his superior agility, has placed him, to fix the time at which he may let loose all his patriotic zeal in opposition to the plan of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has laid down a doctrine with respect to the Budget which I am not prepared to admit, and which I do not conceive to rest upon any recognized Parliamentary rule or precedent. He says it is a thing perfectly understood, that a Government may withdraw a Budget and subject it to any amount of change—in fact, give it a character entirely new—without loss of influence or credit, provided it has not reason to believe that it has lost on other matters the general confidence of Parliament. Well, Sir, my experience of Parliament has not been in conformity with that of the right hon. Gentleman. I know of no single example, and I challenge anyone to give me a single example, in which under the pressure of an adverse vote of the House of Commons—of a vote resisted by the Government, a Budget has been taken back and remodelled. There is no such case. [An hon. Member: Sir Charles Wood took back a Budget.] No; Sir Charles Wood did no such thing; Sir Charles Wood collected for himself the state of opinion upon certain proposals that he had made, and availed himself of the opportunity which he thought he possessed of reconsidering them; and for a long series of years that formed one of the most fertile topics to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire, on which to assail him. Sir Charles Wood availed himself of the opportunity, which he thought he possessed, for gathering from the general comments of the Press and from the remarks of Members of this House the conclusion that it would be well for him to remodel or materially alter the proposals that he had made. The only case in which a Budget has been defeated in my recollection, is the case of the right hon. Gentleman himself, who retired from office in 1852 in consequence of the defeat of his Budget, though up to that time the confidence of the House had never been withdrawn from his party since 1839, when they entered upon office—yet, immediately, when the Budget was defeated, they treated that matter as one in which it was impossible for them to acquiesce. At the same time, do not let me be supposed to place this doctrine too high. The Budget is a measure of the Government, and such a measure is not so essentially fixed in all its parts, as that the Government that proposes it is precluded from profiting by experience and by the advice of Members of the House. The Budget, as a whole, cannot, so far as I know, compatibly with the credit of the Government, be withdrawn, and replaced by one essentially and radically different. The details of the Budget, in proportion to their importance, are naturally open to consideration and review; especially when that review does not involve a diminution or efficiency of the Supplies which the Government have proposed to meet the expenditure of the year. Now, Sir, I am not about to discuss the details of the Budget. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on a former night, in speaking of the duty upon matches, himself declared the difficulty that he had experienced in gathering adequate information upon the subject. Every day that elapses after the promulgation of such a proposition adds very materially to the information that both the House and he may possess; and, considering the impossibility of entering into full and free communication upon proposals of this kind before they are made to the House, no Government and no Minister can be ashamed under the circumstances of a novel case, in confessing that their information is susceptible of addition. It was never the intention of my right hon. Friend, or of the Government, to shut their eyes to the force of evidence, if it should appear that a proposition which does not lie at the root of his financial proposals, such as he has made with reference to a duty on matches, is likely to entail inconvenience or provoke irritation in the country out of proportion to the financial benefits in view. Sir, upon another item of the Government Budget the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire has commented, which unquestionably stands in the same category in one material respect. I mean the proposal in regard to the succession and legacy duties. Neither am I about to discuss that proposal upon its merits; but I will simply answer the objection which the right hon. Gentleman has taken. He says it has been represented on the part of the Government, that the augmentation of expenditure we have proposed in the Estimates and measures of the year is connected, in their view, with a period of transition, and, therefore, not of a permanent character; and he asks us—"Why, with reference to a state of expenditure which you can describe as happily wanting in permanency, do you charge a duty that is undoubtedly of a permanent character?" Sir, I admit that description of the present state of our expenditure to be true. I admit, likewise, that the probate, succession, and legacy duties are duties of a permanent character. The view of my right hon. Friend and of the Government is that the proposal he has made with regard to this moderate enlargement of these duties—["Oh!"] Moderate I mean, on the whole. ["No."] Call it what you like in your speeches; allow me to call it what I think it is in mine. Our view is that it is a moderate enlargement—that it is an improvement in those duties, and a change which may, with profit and advantage, be adopted in our financial system, without reference to the fact that the immediate exigency is one of a temporary nature. That is to say, there are other charges and other burdens on the people, which, in case we found ourselves able to do so, might more properly be remitted. And without attempting, Sir, to argue that matter at length, I would just remind the House of the observation of my right hon. Friend, what no one has attempted to deny, and that cannot for a moment be questioned—namely, that at the time when the Act for the succession duty was passed, it was passed under the belief of Parliament, on this side of the House, that we were imposing an annual tax of £2,000,000; and on that (the Opposition) side of the House, that you were imposing a tax which no one of you estimated at lower than £4,000,000, and many of you placed at still higher; and that the yield of it has been only one-third of what we on this side, and one-sixth of what you on that side supposed it would produce. Well, to that succession tax my right hon. Friend proposes an addition which in the coming year will bring £300,000 from landed property and settled personalty. In respect of the legacy duty there is a larger change; but I need not speak on that matter at present, because I do not take it to be a question on which a lively and sympathetic interest has been expressed to-night on the other side of the House. I observe, however, that in this debate, with regard to expenditure the most obvious and palpable difference of view has been stated on the two sides of the House. On this side, the objectors to the policy of the Government and the supporters of the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Brighton (Mr. White) have brought almost the entire weight of their opposition to bear upon the expenditure of the country. On the other side of the House, the objectors to our policy have brought almost the entire weight of their opposition to bear not upon the expenditure itself, but upon the Ways and Means by which that expenditure is to be met. There is one exception on each side. Having listened carefully to the sentiments of hon. Members who have spoken, I found that, on this side of the House, almost every speaker, if not quite every speaker, objected to the duty on matches, while on the other side almost everyone—perhaps, absolutely everyone—has objected to a particular item of expenditure connected with the Army Regulation Bill, and to be incurred in consequence of the decision of the House against the system of purchase. Well, Sir, I was in hopes, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire rose, that he at least would have been precluded from taking this objection, because I bear in mind the refreshment and satisfaction with which I heard him, at the end of a long debate, give in his deliberate adhesion to the abolition of purchase. I set aside now what he may have said, that is not clearly in my recollection with regard to the point of time; but I did hope that at any rate we should have heard a renewed profession of belief from the right hon. Gentleman in the same sound sense as that with which he had formerly favoured us. Certainly, Sir, when we heard that profession on a former occasion we could not but feel some compassion for the right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington), because he, on the other hand, had been a frank and out-spoken opponent of the abolition of purchase in the same debate. The example of concord that was thus exhibited was, perhaps, not altogether edifying; but if there was any sense of sympathy or of pity for the right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich on that occasion, it must unquestionably be transferred to-night to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire, who now explicitly describes, without any reference at all to the mere difficulty of time, the expenditure required by the abolition of purchase as an expenditure to be incurred "in the carrying out of a policy which we highly disapprove." [Sir JOHN PAKINGTON: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Baronet says, "Hear, hear!" and I am bound to congratulate him, after having on a former occasion seemed to be, as I thought, "thrown over"—he is familiar with the use of the phrase—I am bound to congratulate him on having now completely vindicated himself, and re-established his supremacy on the Bench opposite in respect to the question of purchase. Let us look, however, at the question of time. By getting rid of the Army Regulation Bill, you would relieve yourselves undoubtedly to the extent of £600,000, as nearly as we can judge, in respect to the finance of the present year. And it is argued—I am not sure whether by my hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Crawford), for I have been listening so carefully to everyone that I am afraid I may have mixed up some of the suggestions made—but it was argued by the right hon. Gentleman opposite certainly that the question of purchase might be disposed of on account of this charge of £600,000. Now, I own that is not the opinion of the Government. The opinion of the Government is, that the abolition of purchase in the Army is indeed a most serious matter, not on account of those apprehensions—fantastic apprehensions as I think—held out to deter us from the prosecution of that work, under the idea that they are to be followed by some other great additional charge in consequence of the abolition of purchase, in order to secure a proper and perpetual supply of officers of high qualities for the Army; for, as I said before, looking at the material you can desire nothing better; and nobody has attempted to show how it is that by making the officers of the Army a present of £320,000 a-year you are to place yourselves under the necessity of likewise presenting them with some other and further large sum in order to secure a due supply and succession of those officers. But I own I do not think it would be becoming or desirable to postpone the Army Regulation Bill on account of this charge of £600,000. If there is to be Army Regulation, if there is to be a system of Army Organization, in any such regulation, or organization, our belief is that the officers of the Army are the brains of the Army; and, for my own part, I do not hesitate to say that if the abolition of purchase be the way to obtain the best and highest class of officers, not in material only, but in training and knowledge of their profession, then you had much better save your £600,000—if you want to save it—upon some merely material object, than by postponing a measure which goes to the very heart and root of the whole subject, and on which more than on anything else—if we are right in our view of the question of purchase—the future excellence and efficiency of the British Army depend. I hope the House will forgive me, after what has been said by the hon. Member for Brighton and by other speakers on both sides of the House, for referring for a moment to the remarks which had been made on the professions of the present Government in regard to the subject of economy. I have heard several quotations from speeches of my own delivered in Lancashire during 1868, and I exceedingly admire the arithmetic, the chronology, or be it what it may, of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South-west Lancashire (Mr. A. Cross), who thinks that my denunciations in 1868 were aimed at the policy of 1866 and 1867, which he treated as the subject to which they referred. I will not now say what I think of the expenditure of 1866; but this I will say—that the subject of my complaints was the great, the rapid, and, as I thought, the unnecessary augmentation of the military Estimates which had gone on up to 1866 and 1867, after the change of Government. I may have been right or I may have been wrong in my opinion as to that. There is nothing in them to which I do not fully and absolutely adhere. Those professions were not forgotten when we came into office. I know the allegation from the other side of the House is, that we sacrificed efficiency to economy: but our counter proposition is that we improved efficiency while we pursued economy. But I am now on the point of economy alone, and I am not ashamed to look my hon. Friend the Member for Brighton in the face, and to say we did act in the spirit of those pledges. In 1867 the military and naval Estimates were reduced by £2,000,000; and in 1868 they were reduced by £2,000,000 more. That was not done by Parliamentary pressure or through the influence of adverse Motions. In 1869 the net military expenditure, excluding the Abyssinian charge, was £13,429,000, and that was the lowest amount of military expenditure which had ever been known in this country since the period of the Crimean War. Therefore, Sir, I am not at all disposed to shrink from avowing the language I held in 1868, and, moreover, I think my hon. Friend the Member for Brighton himself must feel that these reductions of £4,000,000 entitle us to somewhat milder and more favourable treatment than we have had at his hands to-night. We have now got, I am sorry to say, large Estimates; and when in July last, in consequence of the events occurring abroad, we with sorrow abandoned for a time the course of reductions we had been pursuing, did we by the proposals we made show any disposition to rush into extravagance? When the Vote for £2,000,000 was laid before the House, was the general sentiment of the House of Commons disappointed by its greatness or by its smallness? It is said that the circumstances have changed since. Well, Sir, in some respects they have changed; but, recollecting what were the causes that led us specially into that augmentation of expenditure, he is a bold man who would say—bearing in mind that we were led into it not by apprehensions as to invasion, but by the desire to be in a condition to perform honourably our duties in regard to other Powers of Europe—he would be a bold man who would say that the Continent has now attained to such a state of settled security as altogether to put out of sight the necessity which the House of Commons was then so forward and free to meet. But that is not all. We invite the investigation of these Estimates, and, I must remind the House, that in almost all particulars, these augmentations of charge relate to changes recognized to be necessary in order to perfect our military system, and changes to be made once for all. With respect to that, for example, which entails a burden of more than a million of money, that is occasioned by an increase of 20,000 men and of a large number of horses for our Army, and the argument we urge in support of that proposal is that by obtaining that augmentation of force we shall be enabled to carry out with energy and rapidity the work which was received with favour by the House, and which we consider the vital and central point of good Army organization—namely, the rapid formation of an effective Army of Reserve. Still, after taking into consideration the great enlargement to be made in our military forces, the heavy charges coming into the Estimates in connection with the armament of the forts, and also the money we are about to spend for the abolition of purchase, our expenditure, with everything laid on its back, is somewhat smaller than that which was adopted for purely ordinary purposes in 1868 by the Government whom we have succeeded, and which was accepted by this House without any of the vigorous and vehement remonstrances that my hon. Friend is disposed to offer us now. The hon. Member for Manchester, in his short but able speech, said that from the present Government they expected a reduction of taxation, and they were threatened with an increase. Is that really a fair statement of the case? That is the case at the present moment certainly, because at this moment my right hon. Friend is proposing to impose additional taxation to the amount of £2,800,000. But is that the whole case of the Government? No, Sir; but it should be borne in mind that, after deducting from the £8,600,000 which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had in late years taken from the shoulders of the country, the £2,800,000 of taxation now proposed to be imposed, there would still remain a remission of £5,800,000 given in the way of relief to the country, and I think the memory of my hon. Friend requires refreshing on this point. I will not press too much the claims of my right hon. Friend or of hon. Members to be provided with substitutes for the taxes they object to. So long as I can recollect it has been the practice of Chancellors of the Exchequer to invite the very thing, and it is sufficiently well established to warrant my right hon. Friend in running in the same groove. On the other hand, it is quite true that it has been the practice of Gentlemen in Opposition, and independent of office, gratefully but decisively to decline that responsibility. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire was not quite accurate in his reference to Sir Robert Peel. It was on the Corn Laws that Sir Robert Peel was challenged to find a substitute. The Whig Government had proposed an 8*s.* fixed duty, and Sir Robert Peel, on objecting to it, was asked what he proposed. To that question Sir Robert Peel replied by saying—"Call me in as a regular physician, and then I will give you my prescription." Admitting that we are not entitled by any Parliamentary right to call on the objectors to the present Budget to state what their Budget is, still I would point out that no Member has indicated anything of a very satisfactory character in place of the Budget of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for, despite the great authority of the hon. Member for the City of London, it could not be maintained to be possible to obtain the required amount of money by an alteration of the duties on tea and sugar for a temporary purpose. Neither would it be proper to borrow the money, or entertain the idea of breaking down the machinery by which we have secured a great reduction of the National Debt. Or would it be possible to trust to my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer having under-estimated the Revenue? I thank the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire for having pointed out that he cannot attempt seriously to question the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Estimates of ordinary revenue. All who have had the honour of serving the Crown as Minister of Finance know that it is upon the careful experienced advice of the permanent servants of the Crown that these Estimates are framed. I know I have often been under fire for over-estimating the Revenue; and in 1860 and 1861 it was almost a fixed article of faith on the other side of the House, and even among some hon. Members on this side, that I had deliberately over-estimated the Revenue in order to mitigate my deficiency. The truth is, that the vicissitudes of the seasons and other causes of variation largely affect the product of taxation, and unless the Estimates were framed with some margin of allowance, the result might be that the Government would be landed in a deficit that ought never to have been allowed to occur. We have therefore nothing to help us in anything that has been suggested. I ask, then, my hon. Friend the Member for Brighton what are we to do with him and his Motion? My hon. Friend has framed what I should call a most astute Motion; but I believe he has done it unconsciously. I call it a most astute Motion. It is the first time I ever recollect the framing of a Motion with a very serious purpose by a much respected Member of this House, in the terms of which it is perfectly possible for different bodies of Gentlemen to concur, not only those who are not united in general policy, and who would be what is sometimes called a very unprincipled coalition, united in their opinions in the Lobby to-night, and then for ever divorced, but those who would not even be united in their opinions in the Lobby to-night, who would be obliged to keep back from each other, by their very low tone, the observations they make on the character of the Division, or they would infallibly go to loggerheads together before they returned to their seats in this House. It is not a question of shades of difference—it is black, direct contradiction. It is not expenditure that is the question. We cannot appease the feeling on this side of the House in relation to expenditure by setting aside the £600,000 for the abolition of purchase no more than we can appease the feeling on the other side of the House by giving up the tax on matches, against which there is such loud indignation. It is not necessary to follow with minute comments the observations of all the speakers; but I did listen to them with the greatest care, and I find a uniformity of tone has pervaded the whole debate. Increased expenditure is the thing to which objection is taken on this side of the House; on the other side of the House the mode of providing for that expenditure is the thing to which objection is taken. My hon. Friend is so good as to say that he does not intend this as a Vote of Want of Confidence. I should be very sorry to take it on me to say then what is the meaning of my hon. Friend's Motion. My objection to it is of a different character. My objection is that it is very difficult not to give to it two or three meanings. I know of no authority that is to determine what is the right meaning of it; and if it should please the House to adopt it, nothing but a fresh Vote of Confidence could possibly relieve us from the dilemma in which we should find ourselves placed. What my hon. Friend says, is that the expenditure should be reduced, and hon. Gentlemen opposite hold it is not to be reduced. It is impossible to find the means of reconciling not variances, but conflicts of opinion such as these, which are to be found among the several bodies of hon. Gentlemen who are united in opposition to the measures of Her Majesty's Government. It reminds me of an old and famous saying of our school days, of an oracle which might be read either way, and the misunderstanding of which led famous personages into serious mistakes —"*Aio te, Æacide, Romanos vincere posse*" —"I tell thee, son of Æacus, that you can conquer the Romans," is one perfectly grammatical exposition of the oracle. That is my hon. Friend's exposition. But there was another exposition, also perfectly grammatical—"I tell thee, son of Æacus, that the Romans can conquer you," and that is the exposition of the other side. But there is but one question that is before us, and that question my hon. Friend has raised, but in a form the most unfortunate, because he is the last man who seeks to conceal his purpose, and he finds that on the other side an opinion diametrically opposite prevails—that the expenditure shall not be reduced. ["No, no."] Is that your sense or is it not? The real question for my hon. Friend and for those who think with him is—Can the expenditure in the Estimates be substantially reduced or not? And here I must remind my hon. Friend of the steps taken by the House itself in respect to this matter. On the Army Regulation Bill, it was moved that the House would not incur the charge required by that measure for the abolition of purchase. We had five nights' debate. It is quite true the Motion was not rejected on a Division; but it was rejected without a Division. It was negatived as the result of that prolonged and careful consideration. It was impossible to give a more authentic declaration of the views and intention of the House upon that question. We then come to the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), who moved that while the House approved of the abolition of purchase, it was their opinion that the Army might be put into a state of efficiency without increasing the Estimates of last year. But what was the decision of the House? Ayes, 91; Noes, 294. Then came the Motion of the hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham), who said, reduce the Army by 20,000 men. The Ayes were 74, and the Noes 304. Then we come to the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool (Mr. Graves), who said, "Reduce the auxiliary force"—chiefly referring to the Militia—and the Division was—Ayes, 16; Noes, 92. Then, again, the augmentation of charge on the Navy Estimates was voted without objection of any kind. I, as belonging to the Government who recommended these changes under the circumstances of the country, do not mention them for the purpose of disparaging the view taken of them, but for the purpose of entreating the House to consider what effect will be produced on its character, if it be possible that, after they have been sanctioned one by one, in the most decisive manner, as main and great heads of charge in the Estimates, they reverse that decision now. Whatever you may wish or desire—whatever you may contemplate for future years, is it possible for you, compatibly with your desire to occupy a consistent position in the country, to take advantage of the fact that my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has proposed a tax on matches or calculated the income tax by a percentage instead of by pennies, as if that were a vital portion of the policy of the Government? Is it possible, after these grave, deliberate, repeated, decisive votes, to arrive at an alliance with Gentlemen who have sympathies diametrically opposed to yours? Such conduct would not be compatible with the rules by which I am quite sure my hon. Friend,

as well as every other hon. Member, would wish that the proceedings of this House should be regulated. Whether this is a Vote of Confidence or no Confidence, it is not in the power of my hon. Friend to give to it a construction of his own. No doubt, if he were called on to give his own construction to it, he would give it a most mild and lenient construction. But if he seduces the House into the adoption of a Motion of this kind, which no human being can construe by private interpretation, I really do not know what is to follow. On the part of the Government we must reserve our liberty of action; but before my hon. Friend with all his agility takes his final leap, and before it is too late, I entreat him, and those who think of following him, to give another thought to the matter, and ask themselves whether such a combination of parties joined—not by a casual concurrence of opinion, but by known palpable differences of opinion, thinly covered and veiled under dubious forms of words—whether the adoption of such a Motion as this, under such circumstances—can either be conducive to the credit of the House, or conformable to the duty we all owe to the country.

COLONEL LOYD LINDSAY said, until his right hon. Friend the Member for Buckinghamshire addressed the House, he did not know how he should vote; but he certainly should not follow the hon. Member for Brighton, who was a Radical Reformer, into the Lobby. When on a recent occasion he proposed that the House should not incur the expense of abolishing purchase in the Army, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire asked him to relieve the Opposition side of the House from the embarrassment of voting on that subject. He yielded to the appeal; but after hearing the opinions expressed this evening by the right hon. Gentleman, he regretted that he did not then proceed to a Division. The object of the Motion of the hon. Member for Brighton was the reduction of the Army and Navy; but as he did not coincide in his views, he could not go into the Lobby with that hon. Gentleman.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 257; Noes 230: Majority 27.

AYES.

Acland, T. D.
Adair, H. E.
Agar-Ellis, hon. L. G. F.
Amcotts, Col. W. C.
Anderson, G.
Anstruther, Sir R.
Antrobus, Sir E.
Armitstead, G.
Ayrton, rt. hon. A. S.
Aytoun, R. S.
Backhouse, E.
Bagwell, J.
Baines, E.
Baker, R. B. W.
Barclay, A. C.
Bass, A.
Bass, M. T.
Baxter, W. E.
Bazley, Sir T.
Beaumont, Captain F.
Beaumont, H. F.
Beaumont, S. A.
Beaumont, W. B.
Biddulph, M.
Bolckow, H. W. F.
Bonham-Carter, J.
Bouverie, rt. hon. E. P.
Bowmont, Marquess of
Bowring, E. A.
Brand, rt. hon. H.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, H. A.
Brassey, T.
Brewer, Dr.
Brinckman, Captain
Bristowe, S. B.
Brocklehurst, W. C.
Brown, A. H.
Browne, G. E.
Bruce, Lord C.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord E.
Bruce, rt. hon. H. A.
Buckley, N.
Buller, Sir E. M.
Cadogan, hon. F. W.
Campbell, H.
Cardwell, rt. hon. E.
Carnegie, hon. C.
Carter, Mr. Alderman
Cartwright, W. C.
Castlerosse, Viscount
Cavendish, Lord F. C.
Cavendish, Lord G.
Chambers, M.
Chambers, T.
Cholmeley, Captain
Clay, J.
Clifford, C. C.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Coleridge, Sir J. D.
Collier, Sir R. P.
Corrigan, Sir D.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Cowper-Temple, right hon. W.
Crawford, R. W.
Dalrymple, D.
Dalway, M. R.
Davies, R.
Denman, hon. G.
Dent, J. D.
Digby, K. T.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, J. G.
Downing, M'C.
Dowse, R.
Duff, M. E. G.
Duff, R. W.
Edwardes, hon. Col. W.
Edwards, H.
Egerton, Capt. hon. F.
Ellice, E.
Enfield, Viscount
Ennis, J. J.
Erskine, Admiral J. E.
Ewing, A. O.
Eykyn, R.
Finnie, W.
FitzGerald, right hon. Lord O. A.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hn. C. W. W.
Fletcher, I.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Fordyce, W. D.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Fortescue, rt. hon. C. P.
Foster, W. H.
Gavin, Major
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, W. H.
Goldsmid, Sir F.
Goldsmid, J.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Gower, Lord R.
Graham, W.
Gregory, W. H.
Greville, hon. Captain
Greville-Nugent, hon. G. F.
Grey, rt. hon. Sir G.
Grieve, J. J.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Grosvenor, Capt. R. W.
Grove, T. F.
Guest, M. J.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Harcourt, W. G. G. V. V.
Harris, J. D.
Hartington, Marquess of
Haviland-Burke, E.
Headlam, rt. hon. T. E.
Henley, Lord
Henry, M.
Herbert, H. A.
Heron, D. C.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hoare, Sir H. A.
Hodgson, K. D.
Holland, S.
Hoskyns, C. W.
Howard, hon. C. W. G.
Hurst, R. H.
Hutt, rt. hon. Sir W.
James, H.
Jardine, R.
Jessel, G.
Johnston, A.
Johnstone, Sir H.
Kay-Shuttleworth, U. J.
King, hon. P. J. L.
Kingscote, Colonel
Kinnaird, hon. A. F.
Knatchbull-Hugessen, E. H.
Lambert, N. G.
Lancaster, J.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Leeman, G.
Lefevre, G. J. S.
Lewis, H.
Lewis, J. D.
Lindsay, Col. R. L.
Loch, G.
Locke, J.
Lowe, rt. hon. R.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lusk, A.
Lyttelton, hon. C. G.
Mackintosh, E. W.
M'Arthur, W.
M'Clean, J. R.
M'Clure, T.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Mahon, P.
Magniac, C.
Maguire, J. F.
Marling, S. S.
Maxwell, W. H.
Melly, G.
Merry, J.
Milbank, F. A.
Miller, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
Monk, C. J.
Monsell, rt. hon. W.
Morgan, G. O.
Morley, S.
Morrison, W.
Mundella, A. J.
Nicol, J. D.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Conor, D. M.
O'Conor Don, The
Ogilvy, Sir J.
Onslow, G.
O'Reilly-Dease, M.
Palmer, J. H.
Palmer, Sir R.
Parker, C. S.
Parry, L. Jones-
Pease, J. W.
Peel, A. W.
Peel, J.
Pelham, Lord
Philips, R. N.
Playfair, L.
Portman, hon. W. H. B.
Potter, E.
Potter, T. B.
Price, W. E.
Price, W. P.
Ramsden, Sir J. W.
Rathbone, W.
Reed, C.
Robertson, D.
Roden, W. S.
Rothschild, Brn. L. N. de
Rothschild, N. M. de
Russell, A.
Russell, H.
St. Aubyn, J.
St. Lawrence, Viscount
Salomons, Sir D.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H. B.
Sartoris, E. J.
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Seymour, A.
Sheridan, H. B.
Sherriff, A. C.
Simon, Mr. Serjeant
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Stacpoole, W.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stapleton, J.
Stepney, Colonel
Stevenson, J. C.
Stone, W. H.
Storks, rt. hn. Sir H. K.
Strutt, hon. H.
Stuart, Colonel
Synan, E. J.
Tollemache, hon. F. J.
Tracy, hon. C. R. D. Hanbury-
Trevelyan, G. O.
Verney, Sir H.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, H. H.
Vivian, Capt. hn. J. C. W.
Walter, J.
Waters, G.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Weguelin, T. M.
Wells, W.
West, H. W.
Whatman, J.
Whitbread, S.
Whitwell, J.
Williams, W.
Williamson, Sir H.
Wingfield, Sir C.
Winterbotham, H. S. P.
Woods, H.
Wyndham, hon. P.
Young, A. W.
Young, G.

TELLERS.

Glyn, hon. G. G.
Adam, W. P.

NOES.

Akroyd, E.
Allen, Major
Amphlett, R. P.
Annesley, hon. Col. H.
Arbuthnot, Major G.
Archdall, Captain M.
Arkwright, A. P.
Arkwright, R.
Baggallay, Sir R.
Bagge, Sir W.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Barnett, H.

Barrington, Viscount
Barttelot, Colonel
Bateson, Sir T.
Bathurst, A. A.
Beach, Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bentinck, G. C.
Bentinck, G. W. P.
Benyon, R.
Beresford, Lt.-Col. M.
Bingham, Lord
Birley, H.
Bourke, hon. R.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Bright, R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brogden, A.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Buxton, C.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Candlish, J.
Cartwright, F.
Cave, right hon. S.
Cawley, C. E.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chadwick, D.
Chaplin, H.
Charley, W. T.
Child, Sir S.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Clowes, S. W.
Cole, Col. hon. H. A.
Collins, T.
Corrance, F. S.
Corry, rt. hon. H. T. L.
Craufurd, E. H. J.
Crichton, Viscount
Cross, R. A.
Cubitt, G.
Dalglish, R.
Damer, Capt. Dawson-
Davenport, W. B.
Dawson, R. P.
Denison, C. B.
Dickinson, S. S.
Dick, F.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dimsdale, R.
Disraeli, rt. hon. B.
Dixon, G.
Dowdeswell, W. E.
Duncombe, hon. Col.
Dyke, W. H.
Dyott, Colonel R.
Eaton, H. W.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Egerton, Sir P. G.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, G.
Elphinstone, Sir J. D. H.
Ewing, H. E. C.
Fawcett, H.
Fielden, J.
Fellowes, E.
Figgins, J.
Finch, G. H.
Floyer, J.
Forde, Colonel
Forester, rt. hon. Gen.
Fothergill, R.
Garlies, Lord
Gilpin, C.
Gilpin, Colonel
Goldney, G.
Gooch, Sir D.
Gore, J. R. O.
Gourley, E. T.
Graves, S. R.
Gray, Lieut.-Colonel
Greaves, E.
Gregory, G. B.
Guest, A. E.
Hambro, C.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, Lord G.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, rt. hon. G.
Hardy, J.
Hardy, J. S.
Hay, Sir J. C. D.
Henley, rt. hon. J. W.
Henry, J. S.
Herbert, hon. A. E. W.
Herbert, rt. hon. Gen. Sir P.
Hermon, E.
Hervey, Lord A. H. C.
Hesketh, Sir T. G.
Heygate, Sir F. W.
Heygate, W. U.
Hick, J.
Hill, A. S.
Hodgson, W. N.
Holford, J. P. G.
Holford, R. S.
Holmesdale, Viscount
Holt, J. M.
Hope, A. J. B. B.
Hornby, E. K.
Hunt, rt. hon. G. W.
Illingworth, A.
Jackson, R. W.
Jenkinson, Sir G. S.
Kavanagh, A. MacM.
Kennaway, J. H.
Keown, W.
Knight, F. W.
Laird, J.
Langton, W. G.
Laslett, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Learmonth, A.
Leatham, E. A.
Legh, W. J.
Lennox, Lord G. G.
Lennox, Lord H. G.
Liddell, hon. H. G.
Lindsay, hon. Col. C.
Lopes, H. C.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, W.
Lush, Dr.
M'Laren, D.
Mahon, Viscount
Malcolm, J. W.
Manners, rt. hn. Lord J.
March, Earl of
Matthews, H.
Mellor, T. W.
Meyrick, T.
Miall, E.
Milles, hon. G. W.
Mills, C. H.
Mitford, W. T.
Montagu, rt. hon. Lord R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. J. R.
Muntz, P. H.
Neville-Grenville, R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Newry, Viscount
Noel, hon. G. J.
North, Colonel
Paget, R. H.
Pakington, rt. hn. Sir J.
Palk, Sir L.
Parker, Lt.-Col. W.
Peek, H. W.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Earl
Powell, W.
Raikes, H. C.
Read, C. S.
Richard, H.
Ridley, M. W.
Round, J.
Royston, Viscount
Russell, Sir W.
Salt, T.
Sclater-Booth, G.
Scourfield, J. H.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Shaw, R.
Shirley, S. E.
Simonds, W. B.
Smith, A.
Smith, E.
Smith, F. C.
Smith, J. B.
Smith, R.
Smith, S. G.
Smith, W. H.
Somerset, Lord H. R. C.
Stanley, hon. F.
Starkie, J. P. C.
Steere, L.
Straight, D.
Sturt, H. G.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Talbot, hon. Captain
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, P. A.
Tipping, W.
Tollemache, J.
Torrens, W. T. M'C.
Turner, C.
Turnor, E.
Verner, Sir W.
Walker, Major G. G.
Walpole, hon. F.
Walpole, rt. hon. S. H.
Walsh, hon. A.
Waterhouse, S.
Welby, W. E.
Wethered, T. O.
Whalley, G. H.
Wheelhouse, W. S. J.
Williams, C. H.
Williams, Sir F. M.
Wilmot, H.
Wise, H. C.
Wynn, C. W. W.
Yarmouth, Earl of

TELLERS.
White, J.
Rylands, P.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Ways and Means *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

House adjourned at
One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 25th April, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, The Duke of Saint Albans *added.*

Public Bills—*First Reading*—Citation Amendment (Scotland) * (76).

Second Reading—Local Government Supplemental * (58); Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Supplemental * (62).

Committee—Report—Fairs * (44).

Third Reading—Public Parks, &c. (Land) * (55), and *passed.*

POST OFFICE (IPSWICH).

MOTION FOR A PAPER.

LORD KINNAIRD moved for Copies of the Reports laid before the Postmaster General on the state of the Post Office at Ipswich, with the Correspondence relating thereto. It was represented that the atmosphere of the building, owing to defect of ventilation, was so bad and fetid as to be injurious to the health of the clerks employed, who were frequently compelled to work for many hours continuously. The air of the Post Office had been analysed by competent chemists; and it was found to contain, on an average, 5,501 parts of carbonic acid gas in every 1,000 parts. In point of fact, that air contained more than five times as much carbonic acid gas as was contained in the atmosphere of a crowded theatre; and it was 150 per cent worse than the air found in some mines. The proportion of carbonic acid gas to be found in pure air was only 0·347. No time should be lost in remedying this state of things, which threatened to sacrifice the lives of the clerks employed in the Post Office; but the Post Office was powerless in the matter, inasmuch as the Post Office authorities had no power to make alterations, even by putting in a small ventilator. In the Post Office Bill which the Government were about to introduce, he hoped that power would be taken to enable post offices to effect such alterations, with the consent of the Treasury, without having to go to another Department about the matter.

Moved, "That there be laid before this House the Reports laid before the Postmaster General on the state of the Post Office at Ipswich, with the Correspondence relating thereto."—(*The Lord Kinnaird.*)

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE said, the Motion was unnecessary, for the state of things which had been represented as so desperate had been already remedied. The production of the Papers, therefore, would serve no useful purpose.

LORD KINNAIRD said, that the only remedy that had been applied was the insertion of a ventilator, which, however, acted when there were certain currents in the room. Not a single thing had been done to improve the room where the unfortunate clerks were confined.

LORD CHELMSFORD said, he could not see any objection to the production of the Returns.

EARL GRANVILLE pointed out the inconvenience of producing correspondence of such an unimportant character.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE observed that he was reluctant to produce the Returns because the cause of complaint had been removed; but, if the noble Lord thought their production desirable, he would not offer any further objection.

Motion *agreed to.*

HABITUAL CRIMINALS ACT (1869)—SUPERVISION OF CRIMINALS.

OBSERVATIONS. QUESTION.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON rose to call attention to the inadequate and unsatisfactory nature of supervision exercised over convicts on ticket-of-leave and habitual criminals, and to inquire, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce any Bill to amend the Habitual Criminals Act of 1869? He would in the first place remark, in reference to his Question, that measures were not unfrequently passed through the Legislature with so much haste and so little consideration, that they were found to contain ambiguties and complications which rendered action upon them extremely difficult. This was the case with the Act of 1869, for some of its clauses were full of contradictions and defects. Some referred to the wrong schedules, and some misdated previous statutes to which reference had to be made, and some referred to Acts that had been repealed; others were expressed in terms so ambiguous that it was difficult to assign any distinct meaning to them. In consequence, the Courts had pronounced some of its provisions to be absolutely unworkable. On his calling attention to this matter last year, his noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) admitted the existence of these defects, and promised that an amending Bill should be introduced. A similar assurance was subsequently given in the other House; but no such measure had yet been brought forward. He would now ask whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce an amending Bill during the present Session? With regard to the supervision of criminals, under the present system the supervision was a complete nullity—the law was not adequate for the purpose for which it was intended. Their Lordships would remember that under the Act of 1864 every criminal at large on a ticket-of-leave was required to report himself to the police once a month. A prejudice, unfortunately, arose against this provision, it being thought to interfere with a man's power of finding or retaining employment; and, accordingly, though the Act of 1869 dealt with another and distinct class of offenders, a clause was introduced—he believed in the other House—repealing that section. The ticket-of-leave holder was now required only to report himself to the police in the event of his changing his residence within the police district. Many of these districts, however—especially in the densely populated Northern and Midland counties—were so extensive that this provision had become nugatory, no report, as a matter of fact, being made, and the ticket-of-leave men being wholly free from supervision. Under the Act of 1869 a person twice convicted of felony incurred certain disabilities and became liable to police supervision. The procedure adopted was that within seven days of his discharge the governor of the gaol reported to the registrar's office in London that such a person would be discharged—adding, if he knew it, the place whither he was going. The convict, however, was under no compulsion to name the place at all, or to give correct information, and in many cases he refused to give any, so that in *The Police Gazette*, the column for residence was left blank, all pretence of supervision being consequently abandoned. Thus supervision, which was the very essence of the Act, was necessarily nullified. A Return, ordered by the House of Commons in 1866, contained the opinions of various chief constables and police authorities on the old system of monthly reporting, of which they were almost without exception in favour; and the late Sir Richard Mayne, though originally opposed to it, subsequently stated that it had not in any case, as far as was known or believed, prevented a man from obtaining employment or led to the loss of employment. In Ireland, it also worked satisfactorily, and commanded the approval of many competent authorities. But the Act of 1869, unfortunately, set it aside, both in England and in Ireland. When criminals refused to disclose the localities to which they were going, as it was natural they should do, the police were bound to make good the defect in the law as well as they could, the result being that a system of *espionage* was generated. He held in his hand a large number of letters from the police authorities of the principal towns and counties, who, in reply to inquiries, regretted the repeal of the clause in the Act of 1864, and stated that it was almost impracticable to give a return of the residences of discharged criminals. Liverpool, indeed, was an exception; a great deal of time and expense having been devoted there to the establishment of an office for the registration of criminals. This scheme was so perfect that during the last 12 months only two cases escaped registration, the criminal being traced from place to place; but this organization was too expensive and elaborate for general adoption, and it was desirable that the provision of the Act of 1864 should be revived. The intention, at that time, was that the agency and co-operation of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society should be obtained—and even now this method had not been wholly abandoned, its advantage being that the holder of the ticket-of-leave had perfect confidence in the persons with whom he was dealing, and that no hardship was involved in the monthly report. People were too much inclined to forget that transportation had entirely ceased, and that we were exposed to the danger of a concentration of criminals in the large towns, and sometimes in the rural districts; while he doubted whether our system of punishment was adequate to the necessities of the case. He feared that the registration office in London had not performed the work which it was expected to carry on; and he always thought it an unfortunate step to place it in the hands of the Chief Commissioner of Police, who had plenty of other duties on his hands. It would have been far wiser to assign the duty to a special officer. As regarded punishments, the Government ought seriously to consider whether the Act passed in 1869, with such great hopes of success, was working satisfactorily. He had never doubted the soundness of the principle on which it was founded, but justice had not been done to it. It had been worked negligently and indifferently, the number of prison Inspectors being insufficient to insure its proper administration. He feared that unless something was done, a general break-down might ensue; and that difficulties might arise which, though not very serious in times of peace and order, might be serious, if they occurred under unfavourable circumstances.

THE EARL OF MORLEY admitted that many discrepancies and inaccuracies existed in the Act of 1869, and that it had proved impracticable to carry some of its provisions into effect. It was with extreme regret that the Government were unable, owing to the press of public business, to introduce an amending Bill last Session; but he was glad to inform their Lordships that such a measure had been framed and was almost ready, so that he hoped it would shortly be introduced in this or the other House. With regard to the supervision of convicts, the subject was at present engaging the attention of the Home Secretary. He admitted that the existing system was not altogether satisfactory, but it was doubtful whether it would be expedient to revert to the system of monthly reports. It was true many gentlemen peculiarly qualified to give an opinion were in favour of it; but there was a feeling in 1864, that it tended to interfere with the ticket-of-leave man's obtaining an honest livelihood. The Act of 1864 left it to the discretion of the Secretary of State to attach such a condition to a licence or not. He thought there was a good deal of force in the objections urged against the system of monthly reporting. It was very difficult to steer between too much supervision, which prevented a convict from getting employment, and too little, which left the discharged convict unlimited freedom; and there might, perhaps, be devised some expedient to meet the case, other than a monthly report—such as more stringent regulations as to reporting a change of residence within a district, or from one district to another. In view of the immense number of malefactors at large, this question was one of great importance. As to habitual criminals, the Home Secretary was considering whether it was desirable to place them under the same kind of supervision as the ticket-of-leave men. The noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) might rest assured that the opinions of the best authorities would be obtained, and that the points to which he had called attention, particularly the supervision of convicts at large, were under careful consideration.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND hoped that the measure promised by the noble Earl would speedily be introduced, so that it might not share the fate of its predecessor by being sent up to their Lordships too late for proper consideration. He hoped also that it would not be, as in another case, when the inquiry was conducted by one House, and the legislation initiated in another. He was astonished to hear the noble Earl admit that the Government could not find leisure during the Session of 1870 to bring forward a remedy for the inaccuracies which had crept into the Act of 1869. He agreed with his noble Friend (the Earl of Carnarvon) as to the desirability of a prompt and thorough investigation into the operation of the Act of 1869, and into the supervision of criminals generally. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Morley) said there was great difficulty in steering clear of too much supervision and too little; but he feared the result was that at present there was no supervision at all, for in the Return alluded to by his noble Friend, "Not Known" appeared, in the great majority of cases, in the column devoted to the place of residence. He feared that the remedy which had been suggested would be equally inoperative, and that, without some vigorous legislative action, that supervision which, owing to the abolition of transportation was so necessary, would not be effected. As the time of the other House was likely to be fully engrossed with other matters, he would suggest that the Bill should originate in their Lordships' House.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY hoped the Government would pause before reverting to the system of monthly reports. He would point out that common lodging-houses were the great receptacles of thieves, and he believed that if the Home Secretary directed the police to rout them out, and prevent the congregating of criminals in them, more would be done to check crime than by all the other sections of the Act put together. Such nurseries of vice and crime should be under the strictest supervision. They should be looked to not occasionally but systematically — indeed, nearly every week.

Lord REDESDALE said, that the defects of the Act of 1869 were attributable to the fact that though the measure was introduced here early in the Session, and was sent down in good time to the Commons, it only came back to their Lordships at the close of the Session. The Commons Amendments were considered on the day but one before the Prorogation, and were accepted by their Lordships on the assurance of the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) that they were all right. He hoped the same thing would not occur again. This was the very class of Bills that required more vigilance than any other.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, he had not had an opportunity of learning much as to the working of this Act, but he had been assured that the powers given to the police of exercising strict supervision over the assemblage of criminals in publichouses had been extremely useful, and had proved one of the most valuable portions of the measure. He understood that his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department was not quite satisfied with the stringency of the regulations with respect to criminals reporting themselves, and was desirous of making them more effective. He thought the system of requiring criminals to report themselves only when changing their places of abode was preferable to requiring them to report themselves monthly. The latter might frequently occasion great hardship.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, that when Bills were sent up to their Lordships' House at so late a period of the Session that it was impossible to consider them with due care, they must either be rejected altogether or passed with all defects and errors.

Earl GREY thought this was just another illustration of the necessity for improving the relations between the two branches of the Legislature, which had long been most unsatisfactory. Such important measures as the one under review should undergo critical examination by some competent lawyers before they were submitted to either House.

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, to Thursday next, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 25th April, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—*Second Report* —Committee of Selection [No. 71].

WAYS AND MEANS— THE MATCH MAKERS PROCESSION.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE gave notice that on Thursday next he would ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department by whose orders a peaceful procession of persons carrying a Petition to that House against a financial proposal of the Government had been broken up and their banners destroyed or taken from them.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I think it is desirable that an answer should be given at once to a Question of this kind; and as my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State is not present, which I regret, yet, as he consulted me on the subject, I have no hesitation in answering the hon. Baronet's Question. The House is aware that it is not permitted in this country for bodies of persons petitioning Parliament in large numbers to convey their Petition to the Houses of Parliament. Having been given to understand that a great assemblage was to meet for the purpose of bringing corporeally a Petition to the House, we deemed that this was a resolution rather suddenly adopted and communicated; but, being made known to us yesterday morning, we determined that the best course which could be taken was immediately to send a friendly warning to the people on the spot where they were to gather; because we thought the resolution had been come to in ignorance of the law, and not with any evil intention whatever, or the slightest disposition to do anything discreditable to themselves. Instructions consequently were given to the police to convey that information to the parties. With regard to what followed I have no distinct information. I am not aware that any circumstances at all serious or extraordinary occurred.

Mr. BAILLIE COCHRANE: I shall feel obliged to the right hon. Gentleman to state to the House what is the law of public processions. The right hon. Gentleman must be aware that on Sunday some of the streets of the metropolis were blocked by—[" Order, order!"]

Mr. GLADSTONE: A question of that kind cannot be asked without notice. I only took the opportunity of answering the Question of the hon. Member for Chelsea immediately, because I was desirous of removing at once any impression that there was any disposition on the part of the people yesterday to break the law.

THE BUDGET.—NOTICE.

Mr. DISRAELI: Sir, I beg leave to give Notice that on Thursday next, on the Order of the Day for going into Committee of Ways and Means, I shall move that the financial propositions of the Government are not satisfactory, and it is expedient that Her Majesty's Government should re-consider them.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE TAX ON MATCHES.—OBSERVATIONS.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Mr. Speaker—I am anxious to make a short announcement to the House. Notwithstanding the divisions that have occurred on the subject, Her Majesty's Government have observed with regret that the proposition made by the Government for placing a tax on matches has excited considerable dissatisfaction and disapprobation in many quarters of this House. They are at all times, as far as they can, without materially damaging or departing from their policy, anxious to conform to the wishes of the House; and I have therefore to announce that the measure with regard to matches will not be proceeded with further. The other Resolutions will be proceeded with on Thursday next.

Mr. DISRAELI: As the right hon. Gentleman has announced that the proposed tax on matches is withdrawn, of course its withdrawal will occasion a considerable *lacuna* in the Ways and Means, and I beg leave to ask whether, before proceeding with his other Resolutions, the right hon. Gentleman will make a statement as to the mode in which he proposes to meet the deficiency?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I think, Sir, the request of the right hon. Gentleman is perfectly reasonable, and I shall be prepared on Thursday next to make the statement he suggests.

Mr. DISRAELI: After the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, which in complete form will be a new Budget, of course time will be given to consider the whole, and we shall not be asked to come to a Resolution on any of the items of the previous Budget.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I shall ask the House to go into Committee for the purpose of considering the Resolutions before it—on the income tax and legacy and probate duties. Whether the House will be pleased to do so after I have made the statement the right hon. Gentleman requests will, of course, be for them to decide; but I will press these Resolutions.

IRELAND—RAILWAY SYSTEM.

QUESTION.

Mr. WILLIAM ORMSBY GORE asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce any measure for the reform of the Railway system in Ireland; and, if so, on what day?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, in reply, that, so far as he was aware, the only measure to reform the railway system in Ireland which had been pressed on the Government by Peers and Members of Parliament connected with Ireland was the proposal to purchase the Irish railways by the State. To that proposal the Government were not prepared to accede, at all events in the present Session. In fact, the only distinct proposals which were before the Government were those of the Dublin Mansion House Financial Committee and the Town Council of Belfast, neither of which met with very general assent in Ireland, and the Government could not adopt either of them. Certain suggestions it was true had been made by individuals to his noble Friend the Lord Lieutenant for the reform of the Irish Railway system. These suggestions were under consideration; but he was not able to say whether a measure would be founded upon them during the present Session.

POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION.—QUESTION.

Mr. GORE-LANGTON asked the Postmaster General, Whether the telegraphic communication so long promised between Bridgwater and Cannington and Stogursey will be soon completed?

Mr. MONSELL, in reply, said, the telegraphic communication in question would, he hoped, be opened in the month of August.

INDIA—"POLITICAL PLEA" IN INDIAN AFFAIRS.—QUESTION.

Major General FORESTER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to a statement made by him that the phrase "Political Plea" was not known at the India Office, Whether his attention has been drawn to the case of the Soosung Rajah of Bengal, who having in 1856 been deprived by the Indian Government of part of his possessions, by an inaccurate line of survey, instituted a suit against the Government, and after three successive judgments given in his favour, the last by a full Bench of the High Court of Calcutta, the Government lodged an appeal to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council on the 17th of August 1868; nevertheless they took the step, while that appeal was still pending, and in which they were defendants, of introducing a Bill in the Legislative Council of India to remove the lands in question altogether from the estate of the Soosung Rajah, thus rendering the judgments given in the Rajah's favour null and void, and depriving him of the property he had acquired under them, the reason assigned being "Political Necessity;" and, whether he will grant a Committee to investigate the question of the administration of justice, or bring in a Bill for the better administration of justice in regard to that portion of Her Majesty's Indian subjects who are exposed to such rules of procedure?

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman had taken great pains to state his question with great particularity, but he doubted whether the House would follow a detailed answer if he went into the case at large. It was needless to do so, because the question of the hon. and gallant Gentleman was summed up by the closing words. On the question itself, his attention had been called to the subject. The hon. and gallant General appeared to him to overlook the distinction between that to which he had originally referred in the discussion of this subject—namely, the use by the Executive Government of the "Political Plea" in the Courts of Law as a means of anticipating the operation of law on behalf of those with whom they might be in litigation—and the founding of legislative measures on political expediency. The case to which he had referred was evidently not of Executive but of legislative procedure. With regard to the other part of the Question, as to the appointment of a Committee, he might say it had not been in his power to procure adequate information from the Indian Department since notice of this Question had been given; but he had made it known to the Secretary of State for India, and would inform the hon. and gallant Gentleman of the conclusion he had arrived at.

ARMY—OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY.—QUESTION.

Colonel ANSON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he is aware that the retirements of the Officers of the Indian Army, although less than two-thirds of the number of the Officers of the Royal Army, costs no less than £880,000 a year, according to the report in "The Times," of General Norman's financial statement?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Sir, the hon. and gallant Gentleman seems to be in error as to the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in this matter of importance. It is not a departmental question, to be dealt with by him, but it is one to be dealt with by the whole Government. I have sanctioned this expenditure in no other sense than my colleagues sanctioned it when it was brought before them. I had, however, asked my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War for information on the subject, and he gave me just the information he gave to the House—that is, that it was vain to ask him, because data did not exist on which calculations could be based. As to the statement in *The Times*, I am not aware whether it is correct or not, and I am not aware that it is my duty to be aware.

Colonel ANSON: I asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer because it is impossible to get any information from the Secretary of State for War.

METROPOLIS — ORNAMENTAL WATER IN ST. JAMES'S PARK.—QUESTION.

Mr. MONK asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether his attention has been called to the offensive effluvium arising from the exposed mud in the basin of the ornamental water in Saint James's Park; why so unusual a season of the year has been selected for cleansing the basin; and, whether he will take steps to expedite the work with a view to the readmission of the water as soon as possible?

Mr. AYRTON said, in reply, that he had been to the Park that day, but he could not discover the offensive effluvium, probably because the precaution had been taken to cover the mud with lime as soon as it was discovered to be necessary, so that no great inconvenience had been suffered, and of course the mud would be cleared away as soon as possible. The reason why the work was being done now was that it could not be commenced until it was certain that frost would not return. The work would be carried on as rapidly as circumstances would permit.

ARMY REGULATION BILL—COLONELS OF ARTILLERY.—QUESTION.

Major ARBUTHNOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Colonels of Artillery to be appointed to districts, in connection with the new Reserve Organization, are to have Adjutants; and, if so, from what rank such Adjutants are to be selected?

Captain VIVIAN: Sir, it will be unnecessary to make new appointments of the character referred to in the hon. and gallant Officer's Question, as the permanent staff of the Reserve forces is already very numerous, and will probably supply any required assistance to the colonels who will be appointed to districts. It is eventually intended that the adjutants of the Reserve artillery should be taken from the officers of the Royal Artillery.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE. QUESTION.

Mr. BOURKE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is his intention to introdue a Bill this Session relating to the Customs and Inland Revenue?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Sir, as at present advised, I know of no change contemplated in the Customs, and, therefore, there will be no Bill; but, knowing what the hon. Member has got in his mind, I will undertake that there shall be an Inland Revenue Bill, in order to give him the opportunity of moving a clause.

IRELAND—SEA FISHERIES.—QUESTION.

Mr. M'CARTHY DOWNING asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If he has ascertained whether there is any Act of Parliament still in force under which aid could be given for the promotion of the Irish Sea Fisheries; and, if not, whether it is his intention to introduce a measure to carry into effect the Recommendations of the Commissions of 1835 and 1870, of the Select Committees of the House of Commons of 1849 and 1867, and of the Inspectors of Fisheries in their Report for 1869 in favour of the above object?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, in reply, that he had consulted the Law Officers of the Crown, and had ascertained that there was no Act of Parliament in force under which assistance could be given; and, under these circumstances, it had been referred to the Inspector of Fisheries to consider whether any, and, if any, what assistance could judiciously be given.

LAND SETTLEMENT.—RESOLUTION.

Mr. WREN-HOSKYNS rose to call the attention of the House to the injurious effect of the existing practice of land settlement and entail in diminishing the permanent investment of capital in the soil and obstructing the freedom of the land market, and to move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the present Law of Land Settlement is opposed to public policy, by diminishing the investment of capital in the soil and preventing the freedom of sale and purchase."

The hon. and learned Gentleman said, the subject was one of increasing importance, and his apology for introducing it was that circumstances had made him specially familiar with it. It was one also of a very mixed character, partaking almost equally of law, of political economy, and, he might add, of agriculture. In dealing with the subject he did not at all propose to treat it as a political question; it did not appear to him to be essentially a party question; it appeared rather to belong to those sciences which required in some degree calmness and caution in their study, and it was from that point of view he ventured to bring it before the House. He should be obliged to trespass upon the patience and probably to run counter to the prejudices of many hon. Members, and, therefore, he would bespeak that consideration which the House always gave to those who did not frequently address it. Fortunately, he was able to begin with a view of the case about which there was little difference of opinion—that was, the extraordinary difficulty and uncertainty in the transfer of land; and the expense and difficulty of the transfer of land had the effect of diminishing the purchase of land by the middle and poorer classes of the country, and of placing those who purchased on a large scale in a position of peculiar advantage. It was now nearly 40 years ago since an Act was passed to make titles indefeasible after a possession of 20 years, and there was still the same difficulty in dealing with titles, the same necessity for going back 60 years in order to obtain a title; and during the 40 years we had had Commissions, Committees, and Blue Books without number. The last attempt at legislation on this subject was made by Lord Chancellor Westbury, who passed a Bill for the establishment of a registry; but that measure did not produce any satisfactory results. The Commissioners stated that no fewer than 20 Bills had been introduced into Parliament in as many years to simplify the transfer of land, but not one of them had succeeded. What was the difficulty which stood in the way of these efforts? He believed the fact was that English estates were not capable of easy transfer, as, in consequence of the length of the settlements and the entails, it was not possible to bring them within such a compass that they could be safely put on a register. This, he thought, was the cause of the ill success of Lord Westbury's measure, and he was justified in that conclusion by the opinions of two of the witnesses examined by the Commission, Mr. Christie and Mr. Bellenden Kerr; and, indeed, the Commissioners themselves in their Report stated their opinion that it was impossible to discuss any system for the more ready transfer of land without feeling that an impediment was caused by entails and settlements. This difficulty had been previously pointed out by Lord John Russell, who, at the meeting of the Social Science Association at Liverpool, in 1858, spoke of the mass of technical difficulties in which our law of real property was involved—he said that it was the most abstruse branch of English jurisprudence, and that, under the civil law, the regulations concerning the transmission of real estate were neither numerous nor difficult to understand. The noble Lord added that in the State of New York, it was the law that no settlement or entail should extend beyond the lives of two persons living at the time of the creation of the estate. It must be clear to anyone who had studied this question that the difficulty of transfer arising from the necessity of going back to establish and investigate titles must be correlative to the power assumed by our landowners to charge their estates and subject them to settlements for a long period. Now, what was the origin of the modern settlement which extended to unborn lives? Nothing of the kind existed in the Roman civil law or in the Anglo-Saxon laws, nor was there anything like it in the feudal system under the two great laws "*Quia emptores*" and "*De Donis.*" The ordinary family settlement dated from a far later period, as was clearly shown in a paper read before the Juridicial Society. No instance of anything like it was found prior to the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary; but it was brought into general use at the time of the Usurpation in order to provide against forfeiture for treason. The period when it originated was very different from the present. Lord Macaulay informed us that in the middle of the 17th century the arable and pasture lands in England were not supposed to amount to much more than half the area of the kingdom, the remainder being moor, forest, and fen; while the population at that period was only estimated at 5,500,000. Again, those who occupied their own lands were more numerous than those who farmed the lands of others. Large tracts of land were uninclosed; and even at Enfield, now within the smoke of the metropolis, there were only three houses in a circuit of 25 miles, and scarcely any inclosed fields. It appeared that since that time the number of landowners had considerably diminished: the last Return gave the number at 30,700. It was difficult to believe that the number was so small, and he regretted that they did not possess any trustworthy statistics on the subject. He did not know why this should be, for he could not think that there was anything in the question which called for concealment. There had been a tendency in every stage of the world's history for land to aggregate into a few hands. In the Greek States every addition to the population occasioned great dissatisfaction on account of the deficiency of public lands; in Rome the same cause led to the agrarian controversies described by Niebuhr and Dr. Arnold, and an eminent writer had expressed the opinion that our own Saxon ancestors would not have been subdued so completely as they were at the Battle of Hastings but for the dissatisfaction existing in the minds of the people in consequence of the estates of the smaller landowners being systematically absorbed into the manors of the larger proprietors. It was the natural tendency of land to accumulate into large holdings; but he thought it a grave defect that the law should tend to promote this aggregation. In France the law of *amorcellement* was enacted with the avowed object of destroying the aristocracy; but according to the testimony of M. Lavaleye its effect had rather been to destroy the population. The law of England professed to abhor perpetuities, but allowed the existence of that species of private entail the effect of which was to multiply perpetuities, and so increase the great evil he wished to see remedied. He did not think that, so far as the cultivation of land was concerned, there was much to complain of in this country, because on farms of great extent it was not only possible but profitable to use costly implements. When a landowner found himself in the possession of a very large estate he wished to diminish his trouble as much as possible, and therefore he sought to get rid of his smaller farms. As to the question of large and small farms, there was no necessity for comparison between them, and there was no competition between them. From late Returns it appeared that farms below 20 acres in extent amounted to nearly one-half of the holdings of the kingdom. What he wanted to see was not so much an increase in either category as a better distribution of the land, to be brought about by affording greater facilities than now exist for purchasing land in medium and small quantities. They were told that not very long ago the yeomanry of England were so numerous that they exceeded the farmers in number. This body of yeomanry was a most valuable class. They were extremely independent, and they formed a medium between the great landowners and the small ones. Various recondite reasons were assigned for their decline, which was, in his opinion, due simply to the uncertainty and the enormous cost and delay attending the transfer of land. If this, which might be called the merely mechanical part of the English land question, were put on a proper footing, he felt convinced that a great and salutary change would speedily follow. In every European country, even including Russia and Austria, the ownership of land had now been rendered as simple and easy as possible, and what he desired was that England should imitate the good example set her. It had been said that England was so limited in acreage and so wealthy that the land ought to be looked upon as the playground of the rich rather than as a mere subject of sale and purchase; but what he wanted was that the privilege should be extended to all classes, for there was no earthly reason why the comparatively poor man should not invest in land according to his means just as the rich man did. There was a prejudice and almost a vulgarism, which existed among us, that nothing could be done that was not conducted upon a large scale. It was said that poor men could not afford to compete for the purchase of land with men so rich that they could afford to hold estates which did not yield a return of more than 2½ per cent upon the capital invested. But there could be no reason why land, if easily transferable, should not be as eagerly sought after by small proprietors in England as it was upon the Continent. There was, he thought, a point at which the State ought to step in and say to the owners of land—"Thus far shalt thou go and no further." It appeared to be a natural thing that a man's power over land should end with the lives of those in being at the time of the disposition of his property; but by the law of entail as it now existed in this country a man was able to settle his land for any number of lives in being and for 21 years afterwards. How, he would ask, could it be right for a man to be able to control the disposition of his land for 21 years after the death of those in being? In other countries the transfer of land had been very much simplified, with the happiest results as far as the welfare of the poorer classes was concerned. There was in this country the greatest mass of wealth, and, side by side, the greatest mass of pauperism —indeed, such a mass of pauperism as compelled us to admit the lamentable fact that out of every 20 Englishmen born there was one pauper. How was it that those two extreme classes could not co-operate together so as to mitigate those evils of which we all complained? The reason was to be found in our land system, which gave to the one class a vast monopoly of ownership, whilst it deprived the other of the means of becoming owners of such land. Our political economists, from Adam Smith downwards, had told us that the distribution of wealth was far more important than its aggregation, and of all forms of wealth the distribution of land was, perhaps, the most important. If we could only consent to abandon the fag-end of the right of settlement, and bar that portion of the entail which was included in the 21 years after the death of living representatives, we should then, he believe, be able to have an effective register such as that used in other countries where rights like those conferred upon landed proprietors by the law of entail had been abolished. The effect would probably be to remove the slur which now rested upon the country, as possessing laws which divorced the tiller from the soil. He was satisfied that we should never find a solution of the trouble among our poorer classes; that we should never get rid of the dissoluteness of life and the want of better education which now existed; until we had accomplished some such reform as this. The hon. and learned Member concluded by moving his Resolution.

Mr. W. FOWLER said, he rose to second the Motion of his hon. Friend, and he did so with much pleasure for he was sure they would all agree that they had just listened to a very interesting speech, whether they agreed or not with all the conclusions. For his part, he agreed with all his hon. Friend had said—he even went further than he did; but he would not dwell on that. He wished to confirm his statements by some considerations which had occurred to his own mind. In the outset he wished to say that he had no sympathy with the views of some reformers whose programme had lately been sent forth backed by names of high repute. They desired to take from the landlord part of the increase in the value of the soil. He (Mr. W. Fowler) believed that such a policy would be most disastrous, for it would tend to take away from the landlord the incentive to improve his estate, for he would not do that, if he could not be sure of retaining the results of his labours. The object of land laws, in his opinion, should be not merely to obtain a happy, but also a productive population, so as to secure as much produce as possible from the soil. Hardly any country was so dependent on foreign nations for her supply of food as England, and therefore the question of the production of food at home was one of the utmost importance. He doubted whether, even in that House, the effects of the application of capital to the soil were fully appreciated. Without capital the land was impotent. He could give instances *ad nauseam* of the results which had followed from the application of capital, but he would content himself with two, which he took from *The Times* of November 11th, 1870, and *The Mark Lane Express* of October 10th, 1870. In the former paper, Mr. Prout's case was fully described. In 1861 he purchased 450 acres for £15,750. In four years he spent £3,800 in draining and improving, and last year, after spending £3,450, his crops were sold for £5,330, leaving a profit to the tenant of £1,880. The average outlay was £3,450, including £2 an acre for rent, and 10*s.* per acre for other charges, as rates, &c., and the average return for four years was £4,600, leaving a tenant's profit of £1,150. The other case was that of Mr. Ruck, at Braydon, in Wiltshire—

> "When Mr. Ruck took this farm in hand, in 1862, the rent was £165 per annum, for the 300 acres (11*s.* per acre), and he bought it for £4,000, or £13 6*s.* 8*d.* an acre. He sold off £600 worth of timber, got rid of the rough gorse and wide spreading hedges, levelled the ditches, and properly drained the land; and he has lately been offered £600, or £2 per acre, rent."

It was needless to say more on this head. Now, if capital was to be applied, that could be done in one of two ways—

either by a man buying the labour and materials of others and using them on a farm, or by a man using his own labour in cultivation. These cases answered to the cases of large and small farms and large and small holdings, about the merits and demerits of which so much was heard. This controversy was quite beside the point he wished to lay before the House. It has been proved by M. de Laveleye and many others that small holdings and small farms answered well in Belgium and various other parts of the Continent. That system had turned Flanders from a sandhill into a garden, and this case alone was enough to prove the success of small holdings even where some of the holders were merely tenants. It was well known that here in England large farms were very successful. We have many small holdings in this country, but his hon. Friend (Mr. Wren-Hoskyns) did not ask for any change in the law which would compel men to break up their farms. He only asked that the law should accord with nature more closely than it now did, and should interfere less than now with the distribution of land. He knew some would say—"Why ask for any change, for surely England is well cultivated, and that is all you require?" To that he (Mr. W. Fowler) replied that England was not well cultivated, speaking of it as a whole. It was the opinion of a man better qualified to speak on the subject than any other in England that they might obtain one-third more produce from the land if the cultivation were what it ought to be. Now the demand for land was great, the price was high, and the competition for farms was great; how was it, then, that sufficient capital was not applied in cultivation? He believed there were two reasons—first, that the land was tied up by settlements in the hands of impoverished owners; and, secondly, that sufficient security was not given to the farmer for the return of the capital invested by him in cultivation. The very object of a strict settlement was to prevent land being sold by an impoverished owner; so that, no matter how poor a man might have become, the land should not be sold so as to pass out of the hands of the family. But he (Mr. W. Fowler) thought that such a man should sell his land, and that if he did not, the natural flow of capital to the land was checked. Take, for instance, the case of a noble Duke, whose name recently appeared in *The Gazette*. How much capital would be expended on his land during the remainder of his life? His estates were held by him for life; but if he held the fee-simple—as under a natural system of law he would do—the land would have been sold, the creditors would have been paid, and capitalists would come in and work the land with advantage to the whole community. This was no fancy of his (Mr. W. Fowler's). Mr. Caird, in a very interesting work written in 1851, descriptive of an agricultural tour throughout England, pointed out distinctly that wherever he found an estate more than usually neglected the cause assigned was the inability of the owner to make improvements owing to encumbrances. No one would dispute that a very large part of the whole area of England was held by life-owners; and to this system he objected, because the life-owner had neither the motive nor the power to spend money. In most cases, he had not the power, as was seen from the laws which had been passed to enable him to borrow money for the purpose of making improvements. Why should this favour be shown to the owner of land? Other owners were not so treated. No Acts were passed to aid them. They had to raise money as well as they could, without assistance from the State. The fact was, that the law, having locked the land up was compelled to counteract the mischief by lending money to the limited owner. What he (Mr. W. Fowler) said was that we should have owners in fee who could take care of themselves. But further, the life-owner had not the motive for spending. Such an owner was rather a manager for the family than owner, and however well-disposed he might be, he was afraid to spend money in improvements, such as cottages, &c., because, by so doing, he would be merely increasing the share of the heir, which was very often far too large already; so, common fairness to his younger children almost compelled him to stay his hand. He had to save for them rather than to lay out money. By this system they were embarrassed with that "double ownership" which the statesmen of Prussia had at the cost of so much labour abolished, and that with results which almost exceeded belief. But his objections did not end here. He said that the difficulty and cost of the conveyance of land were mainly due to this system of settlements. What made the Courts demand so long a title? Nothing but the fact that owners had, by law, the power of making such long settlements. The Court was naturally afraid of dormant settlements by will or deed —and no one could wonder at it. He had been told that it was very common to have to pay a year's rent as the cost of a purchase of land. He asked hon. Gentlemen how long they would endure this burden? This was the opinion of Mr. Caird as to what the effect of greater simplicity would be—

> "We see no reason to doubt that, if the transfer of land were simplified, its value might be increased by five years' purchase; for persons seeking investment would look not merely to an immediate return, but to the certainty of a prospective increase of value which land in this country affords. A rise in value to this extent would free many an embarrassed landlord from his difficulties, and would, at all events, enable him to borrow money for the improvement of his estate on more reasonable terms."

They had had plenty of Registration Acts, but they had been failures because they had registered titles, and had not enabled an owner to transfer the fee-simple without reference to trusts and charges. Why should there be so much nervousness about a change of the law? At the Bank of England, stock was transferred without any questions being asked as to the trusts on which it was held, and he wanted to know why there should be different proceedings with respect to transfer of land. All over the Continent, and even in our own Colonies, land could be transferred as easily as stock; but he feared they would never effect this in our own country until the settlement of land was forbidden. This was a question which affected borrowers as well as sellers. Mr. Caird had well remarked that on the Continent, land was a favourite security for loans; but here, unless a man could afford to pay heavy costs, he could only raise money on land with difficulty and at high interest. A large owner might raise money at a moderate cost, in proportion to his large wants, but a small owner could not do so. There was another objection, which he took to our system—that it tended to a forced accumulation of land in few hands, so that the number of owners was much reduced from that which it would naturally be, and he regarded this as a serious social danger. One of the ablest economists in Europe, M. de Laveleye, concurred in this view, and in an essay recently written, urged it on the attention of Englishmen as one of our gravest social defects. We were so accustomed to see good order prevail, and to expect our people always to behave with respect for the laws, that we ignored these things; but the day might come when we might regret that we had not a larger body of owners of land interested in the good order of the state, and the due observance of the laws. Another consequence of this law was that the possession of land was regarded as a luxury, and as a source of power rather than as an investment. When a man bought an estate, he was apt to inquire what votes and what influence he would obtain by the purchase, and not so much to consider other points of far more real importance. So an enormous price was given for land, and thus men of moderate means were hindered from buying, though they were often found to be most capable and excellent owners. He wished now to refer to a social consequence of these laws which had been too little considered. The fact that young men knew they were heirs to great estates very often led them into extravagance not merely in itself, but because they fell into the hands of money-lenders, who knew their position and tempted them. He was told the other day by a noble Lord of the case of a young man who had borrowed £650,000 during his father's life, and was now living on an allowance from his creditors. Had the father been able to give his estate to whom he pleased, most probably the young man would have been saved. Such men when they came into their property, could do it no justice. He had only one point more to mention under this head. He referred to the effects of the laws in discouraging the building of cottages and depressing the wages of the labourer. The less capital was spent, the less money would there be as a wage-fund for the labourer. This was clear in theory, and well-known to be a fact. The evidence as to the state of cottages was appalling. [The hon. Member read two extracts from the Appendix to the first Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of women and children employed in agriculture—the first being the evidence of the present Bishop of Manchester, and the other that of Mr. George Culley, an Assistant Commissioner—describing the dreadful condition of the cottages in the agricultural parishes lying within their districts.] He thought, then, that a case had been made out deserving the consideration of the House, and he should like to have an answer to the question—Why England alone clung to this antiquated system? Before concluding, he should like for a moment to refer to the condition of the occupier of land. He believed that in no country in Europe had he so little security for the return of the capital invested by him in cultivation. He knew that many landlords were very lenient, and allowed their tenants to retain their land at very low rents. But this was a bad system. The tenant from year to year at a low rent had no security, and was often a bad farmer. Mr. Caird instanced the case of a great estate in the North of England where the tenants paid low rents, and were never disturbed, and yet the land was in a bad condition, and the tenants were not satisfied. Now, in Flanders, on the contrary, they had a system by which the out-going tenant was always paid for his improvements by the in-coming tenant on a valuation, and the plan was said to answer well. M. de Laveleye says of it—

> "In Flanders all agricultural authorities agree that the *Pachter's Regt* is indispensable to good culture. . . . The land in Flanders is so poor that if the out-going tenant neglects it during the last two years of his occupation, the farm is ruined."

He knew that landlords objected to this system, and that Mr. Caird says it does not answer in those counties where a similar custom exists; but he (Mr. W. Fowler) knew also that some of the best farmers had quite a contrary opinion, and he thought it was a subject which well deserved the attention of this House. He repeated that they asked for no revolutionary change. He did not want to interfere with the rights of any man—all he asked was that we should be less anxious about the future generation, and should have the courage to trust our children, as our fathers might had trusted us. He asked for a natural law, which should not interfere with that dispersion and that accumulation of property, which the ordinary course of events was sure to bring about. And even if such a change should cause the ruin of some families, whose members have distinguished themselves for extravagance and folly, such a result would be far better than that the law should remain in an unsound and unnatural condition. They need not fear the influx of men who had made their fortunes elsewhere. No estates were better managed than those which had been bought by men who had made their fortunes in trade. Take the case of an estate in Sussex, bought in 1810 for £60,000, and duly settled and neglected till 1850, when it was bought by Sir Charles Lampson, who had improved it, and recently received an offer of £75,000 for it. Sometimes they were told that the Peerage would be endangered by any such change, as we might have Peers without estates. They had seen that phenomenon already, and it was very clear that if Peers with all their advantages of position and education could not take care of their own property, they were unfit to review the decisions of this House. He asked for nothing but a more natural law, and he made this request with confidence; and therefore with much pleasure seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> That, in the opinion of this House, the present Law of Land Settlement is opposed to public policy, by diminishing the investment of capital in the soil and preventing the freedom of sale and purchase."—(*Mr. Wren-Hoskyns.*)

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE said, that if he needed any reason for not supporting the Motion before the House, he would be able to find it in the marked difference of the tone and line of argument adopted by the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) compared with those which had marked the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman who made the Motion before the House. The speech of the hon. and learned Mover was studiously cautious and moderate in its political *dogmata*, but the speech of the hon. Member for Cambridge might be described as one general indictment against the landed proprietors of England. The hon. and learned Mover's statements, indeed, impressed him with the idea that the Motion went too far, because the grievance he set up in his speech was so moderate that in the end there appeared to be no grievance at all. On the other hand, the speech of the hon.

Gentleman the Member for Cambridge was a general indictment of the whole class of landed proprietors throughout the country, charging them with neglect of their duties, and almost of a forgetfulness of their Christian obligations, and closing with the assertion that the tenant's position was less fixed, less certain, and less valuable than in any other country in the world. He was himself for free trade in land within due limits by the alternative permission either of a tenancy-at-will, or of a lease, according to the respective circumstances of the different estates, and the means of the landlords and tenants; and as the choice could be freely offered under existing circumstances, he asked where were the grounds for an alteration of the present law? To carry out the views urged by the hon. Member for Cambridge, they would have not only to abolish the rule of primogeniture, but to make land a mere commodity of profit, dissevered from social and residential influences. If the present Motion was to be a first step in that direction, he should certainly give it his unqualified opposition. They had been told by the hon. and learned Mover that nothing was wanted but an alteration of the law of settlement to cheapen land in the market; but, after such a change had been made, if they accepted the views of the hon. Member for Cambridge, this cheapening of land would not be for the benefit of the poor, but for the advantage of the newly rich. The abolition of the 21 years over was all that the hon. and learned Mover of the Motion asked for upon the assertion that it would develop the land market; but he did not think the poor cottier would be the person benefited by any such accelerated change of ownership, because his would not be the hands into which the soil would pass. The prosperous capitalist would buy it, and he would be a personage with no greater abstract motive to care for the poor man than his predecessor, and with none of the traditionary kindness which bound together the old master and his dependents. The ancient squire would simply be replaced by the rich speculator. The hon. and learned Mover and Seconder ought first to agree as to the argument they should advance before asking the House to assent to the Motion. He had stated the moderate, though, he believed, mistaken proposition of the hon. and learned Mover. The argument of the Seconder wandered into the charge of breach of moral obligation against the landowners with respect to their cottages. This argument touching cottages was an *ad captandum* one, and such being its character it was the argument which was likely to have the most weight out-of-doors. But it really answered the hon. and learned Mover's proposition. To make land a mere crop and beast producing thing would be to introduce a very hard and grinding state of things for the labourer. It was the simple conclusion of common sense that the man who had the most money was the most likely to provide good cottages. When a man must live by his land, "live" came first with him, and "let live" came second. England being a comparatively small country, with but little unoccupied land, the question of labourers' cottages could only be solved by leaving on the land a residential body who would be bound to the soil by considerations other than mere financial profit—which profit alone could dominate the considerations of the struggling owner of that scrap of soil which was his all-in-all. A landowner lived under the stress of public opinion; perhaps he desired a seat in this House; he feared the gossip of society, and had every inducement in the world not to be written off as a hard, grinding skinflint. Now, a farmer might have the same wishes, but what made the squire a skinflint was only natural, and, perhaps, necessary on the part of an impecunious man. Communism was what some hon. Gentlemen were really driving at, perhaps unconsciously. Let every man have a bit of land, they said; let him have a good cottage; let there be a Minister of Public Dwellings, and then the poor man will live and lodge luxuriously. A bright dream this, no doubt; but in an old and small country like ours, with no immeasurable extent of unoccupied land and uncut building material, this question of labourers' cottages could only be solved, short of the intervention of the State, by encouraging a residential class of proprietors who had money to spend, and did not invest it in land merely for the percentage they could get out of it. Who are the men who have led the movement for cottage improvement? He answered, the gentry and nobility of England. One member of the highest peerage, the Duke of Bedford, stood forward prominently among the improvers of cottages. The late Prince Consort, who made himself an English country gentleman, was also a leading cottage improver. Who had been at the head of all societies formed for the same object? Persons with land, who had brains and capital behind the land. He was indignant at the reproach that had been cast upon landed proprietors, as though they had neglected their duties in this respect. By abolishing entails and settlements the trade in land might be increased, though he did not believe it would, but if it were, and if land got into the hands of people whose wish was to produce a balance-sheet which would look well in a statistical journal, the happiness of the labourer would sensibly diminish. Altering and building on your estate was a pleasurable employment; but as a matter of profit, he could say from much personal experience, give him any other investment and any occupation—even law stationery—rather than cottage-building or alteration if done with a benevolent regard for the comfort of cottagers. The hon. and learned Mover somewhat invidiously called the land the playground of the rich, meaning that rich men bought land not simply to get a productive return, but for the pleasurable occupations and duties, the *modus vivendi* in short, derived from its possession. Well, this highly developed taste for country life had both the commercial advantage of keeping in England a capital which might otherwise be embarked in foreign speculations, and it also insured in the country a residential class of persons who had something else to fall back upon besides their land, and whose residence, with all its incidental expenditure, was a great advantage to the people in the locality. The hon. and learned Member for Hereford asked for more free trade in land, so that a greater number of men in comparatively easy circumstances might invest in it and occupy it for their own comfort than there were at present. [Mr. Wren-Hoskyns: Hear, hear!] He was glad the hon. and learned Member heard him, and that the controversy between them was reduced to that narrow limit. He was now bound to point out that the hon. and learned Gentleman appeared to have forgotten one important fact—namely, that the allowable pride of founding a family underlies the desire of most men to invest in land, instead of making their investments more profitably in other undertakings. That feeling—and it was a laudable and useful one within right limits—was met and yet not unduly nursed, by the present law of entail; for the power of cutting off entails was sufficiently provided, while no such moderate alteration, such as that proposed by the hon. and learned Member opposite, would be sufficient to accomplish the root and branch alterations advocated by his Seconder. Balancing the probabilities of the scheme proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Hereford, it appeared to him that the inconvenience of disturbing a state of things which had not worked ill would exceed the advantages, apart from the prospective evils that lay beyond the first scope of the scheme. The change which the hon. Member proposed would materially interfere with the residential sentiment, and increase the tendency—which he should be sorry to see increased—to invest money in personal securities which carried with them no personal responsibilities. Even if he were for a moment induced to look with complacency upon the change proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Hereford, he would at once be confronted by the hon. Member for Cambridge, who said that his Friend had not gone far enough, and who brought a broad and revolutionary indictment against the landed interest of England. His objections to the Motion were manifold; but, above all, he protested most strenuously against the doctrine which lay under the argument of the hon. Member for Cambridge. On these grounds he opposed the Motion, and hoped the House would not assent to it.

Mr. JESSEL said, he wished to recall the attention of the House to the words of the Motion, rather than, in imitation of the very entertaining speeches they had listened to, adopt the discursive mode of treatment which had been pursued for the last hour and a-half. Was it true that the existing law of settlement and entail did diminish the permanent investment of capital in the soil, and obstruct the freedom of the land market? He was by no means prepared to admit the truth of those propositions. The Mover and Seconder of the Resolution had said that we did not get permanent investments of capital in the soil. But why did we not? Not, as was asserted, on account of the system of land settlement, but because the owners of land in this country, for reasons not at all unknown, were unwilling to grant long leases to their tenants. Hon. Gentlemen all knew that every tenant-for-life had a right to grant a lease for 21 years; he was not prevented from doing so by the law of settlement but by his own will, and if he were made owner-in-fee to-morrow that would not alter his disinclination to grant long leases. When tenants-for-life were convinced that it was desirable to abolish the game laws and to give up their political influence, then they might be persuaded that it was for their interest to grant long leases; but they did not choose to do so now, because they liked to enjoy their own property in their own way, and preferred this to the benefit which would accrue to them from an increased amount of rent. That, he believed, was the true answer to these objections made to the law of settlement. As to other objections, it had been said that cottages would be built were it not for settlements; but everyone who had any knowledge of the subject would agree with the hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. B. Hope) that a more unprofitable investment in a pecuniary point of view there could not be. He did not think it was true that better cottages were built on the estates of the owners-in-fee than of the tenants-for-life, for was it not rather the truth that where the owner, whether tenant-for-life or in fee, was a rich man, there good cottages were to be found; where he was not rich, they were not? There was really no connection between the law of settlement and the building of cottages. Then it was said that the law of settlement and entail obstructed the freedom of the land market. Now, he had had a quarter of a century's experience of the working of this law, and his experience was that in every well-drawn settlement a power of sale was given to trustees at the request of the tenant-for-life. Then, why did he not sell? Simply because he did not choose. Because he wished to retain the estate for himself, and have it descend to his son, his grandson, and his great grandson; and, therefore, if he were made a tenant-in-fee to-morrow, he would not sell. A great proportion of landowners had, either by purchase or otherwise, obtained no inconsiderable properties which were at their absolute disposal. Well, how did they dispose of those properties? With the most anxious desire to tie them up as long as possible. In giving instructions for their wills to their solicitors or conveyancers, it was always with an injunction to keep the properties in the family to the utmost, and if the owner of such a property prized it more than another it was because he could keep it in the family for one generation longer. There was no greater addition to the value of a landed estate in the mind of the proprietor than the sentiment, the feeling, the idea that he could by way of settlement secure it to his descendants. He utterly denied that by abolishing this law we should increase the value of estates; and he was further of opinion that instead of giving increased freedom in the disposal of land, the proposal would have quite an opposite result. The great attraction of every wealthy manufacturer or trader, or successful lawyer, was that he could buy a large estate and found a family which would transmit his name to remote generations. We could not change the nature of a society, or the feelings of an old and long-established country like this, and must legislate for the wants of the community as we found it. It had been said that the law of settlement made a man a mere agent or manager of an estate, not the owner. But that was not true. Did we not see rich tenants-for-life pulling down old mansions and rebuilding them at an enormous expense out of their own pockets, and laying out vast sums on the improvement and embellishment of their estates? Why did they do so? Because they felt that they were the owners, and not merely agents or managers for their eldest sons. This was a question of sentiment and not merely of law. Then, again, they were told that the law of settlement prevented the transfer of land. It did not; but, to a certain extent, it increased the cost of transfer, and with great deference to his hon. Friend the Member for Cambridge (Mr. Fowler) he said it was not true that the costs of transfer were anything like one year's rental of the estate, for take away the stamp duties, which were of course a percentage payable to the Government, and the costs of transfer were almost a fixed quantity. They had no relation whatever to the value of the estate; and they depended a great deal upon the way in which the parts of the estate had been got together. If you had an estate which had been formed by the acquisition of a large number of small properties, the showing of the title to them would very much increase the cost of transfer of the estate; but in ordinary cases it did not matter whether the estate was worth £10,000 or £100,000; irrespective of the stamps, the cost of transfer would be exactly the same. And more than that, inasmuch as great care was taken to avoid difficulties in the title to large estates, the costs of transfer, as a general rule, were proportionably less with regard to the estates of wealthy men than they were with regard to the estates of poorer men, the title to which had not been so well drawn or so well taken care of. It was supposed that by the abolition of the law of settlement, the number of properties separately held in this country would be increased. He took upon himself to deny that, and for this reason—that they would not do so, unless the French, or he might almost say the Continental law, which prevented a man from dealing with his property by his last will, and which compelled an equal division of that property among his children, were introduced into this country, and the introduction of which would effect the object of those who desired an increase of the number of properties separately held; unless this was done, that object could not be accomplished; and even then it would not be accomplished in any degree corresponding to the wishes of the hon. Mover of the Resolution. According to the investigations of eminent statisticians, it was found in France that so great was the desire for the acquisition of land, so intense was the passion of adding acre to acre, that the result was this—that, notwithstanding the law of *amorcellement*, which compelled the division of a man's property equally among his children, the number of proprietors had not of late years increased. There were several instances in this country in which, by cutting off the entail, a nobleman who had only a limited interest in a large estate became the absolute owner of the fee-simple. What became of the estate then? With only one exception, in every such case that he was acquainted with, the absolute owner of the estate left it to the next heir exactly in the same way as it would have gone if it had been settled in the ordinary manner. Men did not act altogether upon their own free will in matters of this kind. They were influenced by their friends and relatives and by the usages of society. Our present system was not so much the result of the law of settlement as of the usage which prevailed among us, and which induced landed proprietors to look to their property not merely as a means of putting money in their pocket, but as a means of acquiring and retaining a social position which no other kind of property gave to a man.

Mr. G. B. GREGORY said, that he could endorse almost every word that had fallen from the hon. and learned Member for Dover (Mr. Jessel); and could add that there was ample opportunity for all who were desirous to purchase land. To his own knowledge there was at present in the market upwards of 100,000 acres of land in various lots in all counties, and of all descriptions, and this had been the case ever since he had been in practice. It occurred to him that the discussion had been proceeding on two fallacies. In the first place, the hon. and learned Member for Hereford (Mr. Wren-Hoskyns), who introduced the Motion, appeared to suppose that the limit of 21 years for which property was tied up was a consequence of the law of entail. It was no such thing. An entail was a limitation of an estate for a life in being with remainder to the issue who was tenant-in-tail; but such tenant-in-tail, at the age of 21, could acquire the absolute dominion over the property, with the consent of the tenant-for-life, if existing; or, if that estate had determined, by his own act, and quite independently of the number of years which had elapsed since the determination of the life estate. In the next place, it appeared to be assumed that these limitations were confined to real estate—but substantially they were equally applied to personal property. Take the ordinary case of a marriage settlement, the property was given to trustees, in trust for the husband, then, in trust for the wife, and next, in trust for the children. But the latter, with the disability of infancy, could not deal with the property till they attained the age of 21 years. The case of personal property was the same as that of real property. Did the hon. Member who brought this Motion forward contemplate putting real property on a different and a worse footing than he did personal property? As regards the disappearance of small estates, he held it would proceed from a different cause than that assumed—a man would realize but a small income from a limited quantity of land; but he saw his neighbour, who had the value in money, investing it in houses, trade, or business, and realized a considerable income, and he was tempted to do the same. And in this way he accounted for the extinction of the class of yeomen. With respect to cottages, it was not on the larger estates that the cottages were in a bad condition, but where they were in the hands of small owners, beerhouse keepers, and small tradesmen, who looked not to the comforts of the occupants but to their own profit. He knew of no estates better managed than those subject to minorities, and where the trustees who received the rents laid out part of the money in repairs; or the property which was in the hands of the large proprietors.

Mr. DENT said, the opinion had been expressed that the granting of leases would lead to the expenditure of capital to be laid out in the cultivation of the land; and this had been urged by the hon. and learned Member for Dover (Mr. Jessel), but his remarks only applied to the case of the rich landowners, and could not by any means refer to poor tenants-for-life; for in the present day, it would be found that the tenants were not ready to spend all the money required in the cultivation of the land, but they insisted that the landlords should put down their share in making the permanent improvements. And to a great extent this was done; but would be still more if it were not for the restriction imposed upon needy tenants for life who could not sell. He thought an unjust criticism had been made on the speech of the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Fowler), who was charged with making a very revolutionary speech; and he was accused of having made a raid on the landlords, attacking them for having neglected their duties towards the cottagers. But the hon. Gentleman only quoted what was before the House in printed Returns; he did not accuse the landlords as a class of neglecting their duty to the cottagers—neither could he, since the cottages, as a rule, which were the worst, belonged to very small speculators, and after these to owners, whose estates were embarrassed, without power to sell. He believed that if a measure in the direction in which the Resolution of his hon. Friend pointed were carried, it would add to the number of residential landowners, by enabling men of wealth to purchase land which was not at present in the market. The great thing wanted for both landlords and tenants was a larger investment of capital in the cultivation of land. The poor impoverished landlord who was only a tenant-for-life was unable to do his duty either to his tenants or himself. It was because he believed that the abolition of entail would set the landlord free to deal with his land as he might wish, and would produce a beneficial effect by causing a greater amount of capital to be applied to the land, that he should support the Motion.

Sir ROUNDELL PALMER expressed his regret at not having heard the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Hereford (Mr. Wren-Hoskyns), who had paid such great attention, and had already made such valuable contributions to the literature upon the subject. He felt satisfied, however, that the conclusions arrived at in the speech of the hon. and learned Member must be substantially different from the terms of his Motion. To diminish the cost of the transfer of estates, to simplify titles, to make conveyancing cheaper, and even, perhaps, to reduce the period during which land can be entailed, might be very rational propositions to be discussed at the proper time, and if they were put in the form of a Bill they might perhaps deserve a good deal of support; but that furnished no good reason for the House pledging itself to this wide, vague, and large abstract Resolution, which might be interpreted ten different ways, and it might—though he knew his hon. Friend had no such object in view—appear to the minds of some men to denounce the existence of the landed interest in this country, and to assert dogmatically that the time had arrived when it ought to be abolished. Of course, it was not in that sense that the Resolution was understood by the hon. Member and by the House; but it was impossible for hon. Members to shut their eyes to the fact that extremely strong notions had been put forward of late, such as made them open their eyes and their ears with astonishment, and ask themselves whether, in a short time, there would be any sort of property in existence in which a man could invest his money, landowners having been told that unless they were on their good behaviour the time was coming when the question whether they were entitled to have any property in land would have to be discussed. Under these circumstances it was important, before they passed such a Resolution as that now before the House, that they should know its precise meaning and the meaning likely to be put upon it out-of-doors. For these reasons, while very much agreeing with the hon. Member that it would be an exceedingly good thing to simplify titles, and to get rid of the encumbrances of our present conveyancing system, and while not refusing to consider, on the proper occasion, the question whether the diminution of the length of time during which settlements could endure might not be salutary, he must decline to support the present Resolution. Indeed, the present did not appear to him the exact time to engage in abstract speculations; he rather thought that the House would legislate more wisely upon this subject, if they abstained from committing themselves to a Resolution calculated to excite different expectations in the minds of different men. He forbore to enter into the various matters so well referred to by the hon. and learned Member near him (Mr. Jessel); but in reference to the observations of the hon. Member who had preceded him (Mr. Dent), he might observe that in cases where a tenant-for-life was a poor man, he was empowered by law to borrow money upon mortgage of the property in order to effect permanent improvements upon it. He was inclined to believe that all classes in this country derived substantial benefit from the graduated system of society under which we lived, and that the poor agricultural classes, as much as any, derived benefit from the permanent character of landed estates, and from the feelings engendered by the wish to continue those estates in particular families. Under the present system, the poor were dealt with more liberally, more affectionately, and with more personal regard than they would be if land were looked upon as mere property for the investment of money. He trusted, therefore—and he was sure his hon. and learned Friend would join him in this hope—that nothing would be done by that House which would take from land its present character and reduce it to the position of mere property for speculative investment. If it did so, he thought the poor agricultural labourer would be the first to suffer.

Mr. PELL said, he thought the Mover of the Resolution, in speaking of the very few hands in which land was now held in this country, had confined his attention to land of one kind only—namely, that devoted to agriculture. Possibly the number of owners of that description of land had decreased, as the hon. and learned Gentleman had stated, within the last century; although in the time of Queen Elizabeth it was in much fewer hands than at present. He believed, however, that the number of small parcels of land now held in this country for other than agricultural purposes was much larger than ever it was. Those who wished to invest their savings in small pieces of freehold land often went near some town and bought plots on which they might build houses and homes for themselves, instead of investing them in green fields, in the cultivation of which they would probably make serious blunders. That was the case in regard to a large portion of his own constituents in South Leicestershire, he believed to the numbers of about 2,700, who voted on account of freeholds which they owned within the walls of Leicester. A broader view should be taken of the question. Our system of colonization had been greatly influenced by the transmission of large landed estates from fathers to their eldest sons, and wealthy traders or manufacturers acquiring landed property generally followed the same rule in reference to its descent as the great nobleman. Younger sons, having little expectation of succeeding to any of their father's real estate, turned their energies to India or the Colonies, where they sought their fortunes, and generally with success. Any arbitrary rule tending to the minute sub-division of land would be injurious to the country. He, for one, did not think it advantageous to have enormous landed estates over which the personal influence and care of the owner could not possibly extend. That county or district was more happily situated which contained some 10 or 20 squires with £5,000 or £10,000 a-year each, instead of one great landowner with £100,000. But to legislate for the sub-division of land was a different thing; and he did not think the House were prepared to give an opinion on that point. And in dealing with the subject he should rather concur in the propositions of the hon. and learned Mover than in those of the hon. Seconder.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, the Government were quite sensible of the extreme importance of, as far as possible, facilitating the transfer of land, and, as he had already stated, on more than one occasion, a very elaborate and carefully considered Bill had been prepared, chiefly under the direction of the Lord Chancellor, which nothing but the pressure of Business prevented their introducing this Session. They hoped, however, to be able to introduce it early next Session. The Government had also expressed their intention of bringing in a Bill, much the same in effect as that once or twice proposed by the hon. Member for East Surrey (Mr. Locke King), to regulate the descent of land in cases of intestacy upon the same principles as now applied to personal property. The present Motion, no doubt, opened a wide and interesting field of inquiry, as to how far the present law of settlement and entail interfered with the free circulation of land, prevented its coming into the market, and discouraged the application of capital and industry to its cultivation. That subject had already been discussed at considerable length, and he would only say that, although to some extent, the law of settlement and entail might interfere with the transfer of land, there were undoubtedly other considerations, which had been indicated, that possibly, on a survey of the whole circumstances of the case, might tend to counterbalance any inconvenience resulting from that. But be that as it might, he thought that if the most important question was to be dealt with at all, it ought to be by careful and well-considered legislation; and he trusted that the hon. and learned Mover would be satisfied with that discussion, and not deem it necessary to take the opinion of the House on an abstract Resolution dealing with a very comprehensive and complex subject, and which appeared to be susceptible of almost any number of different interpretations. They had seen it interpreted in one sense by the hon. Mover, and in another by the hon. Seconder. But a further difficulty, in itself insuperable to the adoption of the Resolution, was that it related to land only, although the law with respect to the settlement of personal property was very similar, or, at all events, analogous to the law with respect to the settlement of real estate. By the intervention of trustees, they could settle personal property on a number of tenants-for-life and 21 years afterwards, just as they could do with land; so that if they passed that Resolution they would affect land with a disability which did not apply to personalty. But, after all, what was meant by the Resolution? They heard from the hon. Mover that he would prevent land being settled upon persons unborn, and allow it only to be settled on lives in being; while from the hon. Seconder they heard that there was to be no settlement at all; that every holder of land must hold in fee-simple; and he had even spoken of it as a grievance that a man should be in possession of land who was not the owner. He did not know whether the hon. Member would have every man farm his own land; but that would bring them back to a very primitive state of society indeed. All that, however, illustrated the inconvenience of abstract illustration, and, in conclusion, he would only say that the subject was one of great importance, and one which might, perhaps, hereafter require to be dealt with by maturely-considered legislation.

Mr. ACLAND (who spoke amidst great interruption) said, that though on many points he agreed with the arguments of the hon. and learned Mover of the Resolution, he should vote against it because of the vague and uncertain terms in which it was couched. Under the present law there was no difficulty in obtaining for the owner in possession the full control and disposal of his land.

Mr. WREN-HOSKYNS replied, observing that, though the discussion had to some extent effected his object, he could not withdraw his Resolution. He could not coincide in the very limited technical view taken by lawyers on this subject; and, in saying this, he was afraid he could not even accept from his disclaimer the opinions and sentiments expressed by one he so highly valued and admired as his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Richmond (Sir Roundell Palmer). Most of the lawyers who had spoken appeared to think that man was made for the land, not the land for man. He thought the land should be disseminated as widely as possible among actual holders. He was sorry that his Resolution should have been inadequately or indefinitely worded; he was not wedded to the wording but to the principle of his Resolution, and he must press it to a Division.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he was in hopes that his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Hereford (Mr. Wren-Hoskyns) would have consented to withdraw his Motion, after the very useful discussion which had arisen; but, as he had not thought fit to take that course, he would state in very few words why he felt compelled to decline to vote for the Motion, and what he did not mean by voting against it. He objected to encumber the clear consideration of the subject by registering beforehand the condemnation of the present law of land settlement. He considered that sort of condemnation was inconvenient on general principles. It was not satisfactory—especially it was not satisfactory for the Government—to set the example of dealing with a subject of this kind by a mere vague declaration. It was recorded, but there was no pledge to act upon it, and the only effect was to excite expectations which they could not bind themselves to fulfil, and which it was not desirable to excite until there was some prospect of fulfilment. Then, again, he knew no sufficient reason why, if the law of land settlement should be dealt with, action should be confined to settlement as affecting landed property alone; he therefore did not feel at liberty to say "Aye" to a Motion of this kind. On the other hand, he was by no means inclined to say that the present state of the law of land settlement was satisfactory; on the contrary, he believed, indeed, that the accumulation and disposition of land was governed mainly by causes that lay much deeper than any law of settlement, yet he admitted that was a subject to which the attention of the Government might very usefully be directed. He did not like to make any promise in relation to it at a time when the attention of the House was so much occupied with weighty matters—more than they knew how to dispose of; but he thought they would be able much better to approach it when the opportunity arrived if no previous Resolution of this kind were recorded. What he said of the Government applied also to independent Members. If his hon. and learned Friend were disposed to deal with the subject, no one was more capable of doing good service to the public by the amendment of this law.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 49; Noes 79: Majority 30.

VALUATION (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

THE O'CONOR DON rose to call the attention of the House to the evidence given before the Committee on the General Valuation of Ireland in the Session of 1869; and to the Papers and Returns since presented to the House on the subject; and to move for a Select Committee to inquire into the Constitution and Management of the Department of the General Valuation of Ireland, the cost of the Townland and Tenement Valuation, and all matters connected with the Annual Revision thereof. The hon. Member said, that a Committee, upon the Grand Jury Laws of Ireland was appointed in 1868, over which he presided, and before them the valuation question came up. They, however, had not time to investigate the matter, and reported in favour of further inquiry. In 1869, accordingly, a Committee upon Valuation was appointed, but so near the close of the Session, that they were unable to report fully upon the matter; but they resolved that it was desirable that there should be a careful examination of the books and accounts relating to the valuation, and that the question of the apportionment of the charges to the different counties should be submitted to the Auditor General. That Committee had never concluded its labours or made a Report. The Committee had therefore delegated to others the further prosecution of their inquiry, because of the extraordinary revelations made respecting the increase of expenditure involved in the annual revision of the valuations. The townlands valuation cost £190,000, and a tenement valuation £325,000; besides which there was an annual revision according to the changes in occupation. In 1868 the local charges were about double what they were in 1860. The hon. Member then went into a minute detail of the inaccuracies and misrepresentations alleged to have been made by the witnesses before the Committee, and said that if the Select Committee now moved for was appointed, it would be able to show that the Returns were grossly inaccurate. The hon. Member concluded by moving for the appointment of a Select Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Constitution and Management of the Department of the General Valuation of Ireland, the cost of the Townland and Tenement Valuation; and all matters connected with the Annual Revision thereof."—(*The O'Conor Don.*)

Mr. BAXTER admitted that what had been complained of was a serious grievance; but he thought the hon. Gentleman had hardly made out his case for the re-appointment of a Committee. The Committee of 1869 sat 17 times, and went into the whole of the management of the Office for a period of 14 years; but they finally contented themselves with passing two Resolutions, one of which had been referred to by the hon. Gentleman. The opinion of the Committee was, that the accounts were not in a satisfactory state.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. BAXTER resumed:—The second Resolution was that all matters in account between the Treasury and the Committee should be submitted to the Auditor General. The Government had acted upon the first Resolution by sending Mr. Vine, a very competent officer of the Treasury, to make inquiry; and it was impossible to read his Report without seeing that he believed that the accounts of the Valuation Office were in an unsatisfactory condition. The Government had in preparation a Bill for the re-valuation of Ireland, by which it would be proposed that instead of, as at present, charging the expenditure one-half against the counties and the other half against the Treasury, for the future the counties should be required to pay a fixed annual sum, subject to revision every seven or ten years. Such an arrangement would obviate the necessity of acting upon the second Resolution of the Committee, which advised that all matters in account between the Treasury and the Committee should be submitted to the Auditor General. He maintained that the Government had acted upon the recommendation of the Select Committee. They admitted that things were not in a satisfactory condition. They were prepared to advise an improvement for the future which would prevent disputes with regard to money payments; and they had already made very great alterations in the office about which such serious complaints had been made. In his opinion, the work of the Committee had been done; and he knew from communications which he had received, that nearly all the members of the Committee declined to act again. They considered that a re-appointment of the Committee would involve a waste of time and public money, and called upon the Government to take the initiative in bringing forward a measure which should put an end to all the grievances which had led to the original appointment of the Committee. For these reasons, he did not think it would be wise to agree to the Motion of the hon. Member.

Colonel FRENCH said, he had heard with the greatest astonishment that the hon. Gentleman declined on the part of the Treasury to consent to a re-appointment of the Committee. He wished to explain that the delay in going into business after the appointment of the Committee was occasioned by a request made by the then Secretary for Ireland. He contended that no such inquiry as the Committee directed had been made. His only desire in the matter was that there should be a proper valuation—one that would be fair to all the parties concerned.

Sir FREDERICK W. HEYGATE, as one of the Members of the Select Committee, wished to say that in his belief the reason why the Committee made no Report was, because after listening to the evidence for several months they could not see their way to making a Report in any shape whatever. He went into the Committee hoping to ascertain the principle on which the valuation of Ireland had been conducted; but he ascertained nothing of the sort, for the whole time of the Committee was taken up in investigating a number of personal complaints and charges, some of which were of the most trivial character. What Ireland wanted was a fair valuation for the whole country; and he suggested that it should be ascertained whether the present system of valuation was the best, or whether it might not be improved by affording to the Government officers the assistance of local men. But as to the re-appointment of the Committee, he could assure the House that none of those who sat upon it before would willingly embark in a fresh inquiry.

THE O'CONOR DON said, it would be useless to divide the House as the Government opposed his Motion.

Question put, and *negatived.*

HACKNEY CARRIAGE REGULATIONS.

RESOLUTION.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK, in rising to move the following Resolution—

> "Having regard to the large remission of Duties on Hackney Carriages which came into operation on the 1st day of January last, this House is of opinion that it is inexpedient to increase by any Regulations the fares and rates payable by the public,"

said, that by the provisions of the Act 32 & 33 *Vict.*, the Home Secretary was empowered to issue, from time to time, regulations with respect to certain matters specified in the Act. Accordingly, quite suddenly after midnight on the 9th of March, there came into effect certain regulations of a very remarkable nature. The point to which he wished, in the first place, to direct attention was this—that the regulations in question came into force without any notice whatever to the public, except through some very obscure paragraphs which found their way from time to time in a fragmentary manner into the newspapers. He wished to ask his right hon. Friend—first, whether he did not think it expedient that regulations of this nature should receive greater publicity; and, secondly, whether it would not be easy to find a mode by which that might be done? Before the taxes were remitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year, a cab, whether four-wheeled or two-wheeled, working seven days, had to pay £19 5*s.* duty, and the duty for one which worked six days was £16 13*s.* But now a four-wheeled cab, without reference to the number of days it worked, paid £5 10*s.* 3*d.*, and a two-wheeled cab £4 3*s.* 3*d.* Therefore, there was a remission as regarded four-wheeled cabs of £13 14*s.* 9*d.* in the one case and £11 2*s.* 9*d.* in the other; while as regarded two-wheeled cabs the remission was £15 1*s.* 9*d.* in the one case and £12 9*s.* 9*d.* in the other. But though the two-wheeled cabs gained considerably by this remission, his right hon. Friend gave them an increased advantage under the regulations, for they were allowed to charge 8*d.* instead of 6*d.* for every quarter of an hour they were kept waiting. The next regulation to which he would call attention was the 22nd, which provided that for every mile, or part of a mile, beyond the four-mile radius, the driver of a cab, whether four-wheeled or two-wheeled, was entitled to charge 1*s.*; but the 22nd regulation was to be read with the 23rd, which provided that the fare for a hackney carriage hired within but discharged without the four-mile radius was to be 6*d.* a mile within, and 1*s.* a mile without. Therefore, if a cab was hired at Charing Cross to go not more than five miles, one of which was outside the radius, the fare would be 3*s.*; but if a person was to hire the returning cab he would have to pay, not 3*s.*, but 5*s.* That seemed most unreasonable. The regulation also that the driver of a hackney carriage should be allowed to charge 2*d.* extra for luggage carried on the outside of the hackney carriage, whatever the number of persons carried, was unfair, and would give opportunities for extortion. Hitherto no such extra charge was permitted unless the number of persons carried was more than three; but under the new regulation the driver of a hackney carriage might charge an extra 2*d.* for any luggage which he might insist on being put on the outside of the carriage, even if it carried only one person. The hon. Member was proceeding to recommend the publication of a book of fares, under the authority of the Home Secretary, when—

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half afte
Ten o'clock

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 26th April, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—Poor Law (Scotland), *appointed* and *nominated;* Law of Rating (Ireland), *nominated.*

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Sunday Trading [8], *put off;* Public Prosecutors [35]; Matches * [116], Order *discharged.*

Committee—Report—Ewelme Rectory * [96].

Considered as amended—Bath City Prison * [100].

Withdrawn—Matches * [116].

SUNDAY TRADING BILL—[Bill 8.]

(*Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. John Gilbert Talbot, Mr. Thomas Chambers, Mr. M'Arthur.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading, read.

Mr. T. HUGHES, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, that this was the fifth occasion on which he had brought a Bill on this subject under the consideration of the House. The present measure, however, differed from its predecessors in this—that as it now stood it had reference only to the metropolis. The need for legislation, and the utterly unsatisfactory state of things in the metropolis, was more apparent than ever. Last year he had to state that the number of convictions for Sunday trading under the Act of Charles II. might, for the year, be numbered by tens; but for the year now last past that number might be counted by hundreds. He trusted, therefore, that the House would consider it necessary that, at last, some remedy should be applied to the evil complained of. Since he addressed the House last year upon this subject, a well-known society had been very active in the suppression of Sunday trading, and this society had during the year obtained many hundreds of convictions. He would give an instance or two for the purpose of illustrating the state of things in the metropolitan district. In Hammersmith there had been more than 250 convictions under the Act; and though the magistrate remonstrated against the necessity of convicting, he felt bound to comply with the requirements of the law, and the penalty, including the costs, generally amounted to 11*s.* or 12*s.* In the neighbouring district of Marylebone, the magistrates altogether refused to carry out the Act, merely imposing a fine of 1*d.* without costs. Surely it was time that such a state of thing should cease, for it threw discredit on the administration of the law and brought the office of magistrate into contempt. It was mischievous even here, and in any other country than in England would be dangerous. The first objection against the Bill that he now submitted to the consideration of the House came from those who opposed all legislation for the purpose of enforcing the observance of the Sunday; and the most plausible objection they urged was that this was a Bill by which Dives proposed to legislate for Lazarus—that it was, in short, class legislation directed against the poor. Whatever force that objection might have had in times gone by, it could not hold at the present moment. In a House elected by household and lodger suffrage such an objection was somewhat in the nature of bunkum. Besides, the objection had no truth in it, as the object of the Bill was to relieve 15,000 poor persons compelled to work on Sundays. It was also said that the Bill would diminish the comforts of the people; but anyone who read the Bill would see that this was not the effect of it. It only enacted that those comforts should be procured, and the shopping done before 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, which was a reasonable time in his opinion. It was objected that the Bill would prevent little children buying lollipops when they went out for a walk in the Parks on the Sunday; but by one of the sub-sections to the 3rd clause it was declared that pastry, fruit, or any beverage, for the sale of which no licence was required, might be sold before 10 o'clock and after 1 o'clock in the afternoon on Sunday. This would meet the children's case. With regard to costermongers, the Bill would certainly confine their trade, like all other trades, to a reasonable time on a Sunday, and would not allow them to be bawling about their articles up to the middle of the day, as they would not be allowed to trade after 10 o'clock. He thought, then, that the objections to the Bill which came from this part of the House were unreasonable; and as to those who had supported the Act of Charles II. and who were of opinion that any modification of it would be legalizing a breach of the Commandment as to the Lord's Day, he believed that this opposition had now virtually ceased. The conviction had grown that it would be better to have a moderate law which could be enforced, rather than an unreasonable law, the enforcement of which was opposed to public opinion. He submitted that this Bill would effect a fair compromise of the question, and the second reading had been several times passed by the House, and it had also been before a Committee. In this way its provisions had been thoroughly sifted; but still the promoters of the Bill would be perfectly ready in Committee to consider any sections that it might be thought would put matters on a better footing. Everybody who was responsible for good order in the metropolis had declared himself in favour of a measure like this. The head of the police had said that it would be a boon to London; and he did not think that there was a single metropolitan Member who would say that he did not consider that the Bill would be a very great improvement upon the present state of things, or that legislation was not absolutely required. Again, there was not a single police magistrate in London who had not declared that the Act of Charles II. ought to be repealed by a reasonable measure, and had not protested against being called upon to enforce the penalties imposed by that Act. He hoped that the Bill would be passed, and would continue in force until the Government should be prepared to bring in a Bill for the re-organization of the municipality of London.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Thomas Hughes.*)

MR. P. A. TAYLOR said: * In opposing this Bill of my hon. Friend (Mr. T. Hughes), which I do not do for the first time, I wish to do full justice to the motives which have actuated him in bringing it forward, and I trust that in any observations I may make on this Bill—a Bill which I hold in the most profound contempt — the hon. Member will not apply anything I may say against the Bill to himself. Virtue is by no means always hereditary, and this Bill is a very bad child of a very worthy father. My hon. Friend has told us something about the actual state of the law on this subject; but he has not told us all. The existing Act was passed in the reign of that eminently virtuous Monarch Charles II., and it is of so sweeping and severe a character that it is impossible to put it in general force. It is made, in certain localities, a means of persecution against a number of the poorer and more helpless traders; but its general application is simply impossible; and amongst other reasons is the fact, that on the face of it, it is an honest Act, dealing with the rich as well as with the poor, with tradesmen of every grade, and with labour as well as with trade. It enacts that—

> "All and every person whatsoever shall, on every Sunday, apply themselves to the observation of the same, by exercising themselves thereon in the duties of piety and true religion, publicly and privately."

Does my hon. Friend suppose that people are to be driven to religion in this way in these days? The Act goes on to say—

> "And that no tradesman, artificer, &c., or other person whatsoever, shall do or exercise any worldly labour or work of their ordinary callings, except necessity or charity;"

a provision that obviously might be, and, as I shall show directly, has been brought to bear with great effect on the convenience of the upper classes; in respect, for instance, to the use of their carriages on the Sunday. Well, this Act of Charles II. obviously cannot be made to work at the present day, and what my hon. Friend wants to do, is to bring in a Bill so much moderated in its provisions that it may be made to work —be brought to bear—that is, on the poor; for, as I shall show, the rich will escape altogether. My hon. Friend has divided the opponents of his Bill into two classes; those who on Sabbatarian grounds are opposed to all trading whatever on the Sunday, and those who are against all legislation on the subject, and are presumably careless on the subject of a weekly holiday. Now, my hon. Friend was hardly fair towards me on this latter definition, as I am distinctly in favour of a weekly holiday, as complete as is possible, for all; and if my hon. Friend will bring in a Bill free from the taint of Sabbatarianism, that would give good hope of approximation to that object, I promise him my best support. But my hon. Friend, in attempting to give new vitality to the principle of Sunday legislation, is giving encouragement, under the auspices of a so-called religious association, to a new class of persons exercising their ordinary calling, and that not exactly one of necessity or charity, on the Sunday—the miserable class of spies and informers who, on that day, go about to spy, and inform of, and ruin other people; and their ordinary calling is not interfered with by this Bill. Now, I will give as an illustration of this kind of Sunday labour a case that has happened to come under my own observation. I spent the morning of last Sunday in inquiring into it, and I trust that for so doing I shall not fall under the rebuke of my hon. Friend. There is a poor woman living not a mile from my own residence—in the high road between Kensington and Hammersmith—who sells ginger-beer, cigars, and lemonade. She has lived 22 years in the same house, was born in the parish, and has paid rates for 40 years. I hear of nothing to her disadvantage; but, on the contrary, that she is much respected in the neighbourhood. She has, however, unhappily fallen under the ban of these harpies, and has been four times already this year dragged before the magistrates for the sin of selling a cigar. On the last occasion, about a fortnight ago, the agent of a religious society—and it makes one sick to talk of religion in connection with such proceedings—an agent of a religious society called on this poor old woman, and, informing her his secretary was gone for a summons, added—"An old person like you, on the brink of the grave, breaking the Sabbath, and closing the gates of Heaven against you, ought to be ashamed of yourself;" and he added that he would summon her, and fine her 7*s*. every week unless she closed her shop; and no doubt he will be as bad as his word. This poor woman assures me that the harmless articles she sells on Sunday form an important proportion of her little business; and that, in face of this continued persecution, she has no alternative but to shut up her shop and go to the workhouse. I find her neighbours full of sympathy for her, and that assistance has been given her to help her to meet these prosecutions. [Mr. HUGHES: The punishment inflicted in this case is incurred under the existing law.] My hon. Friend knows very well that the action of these people would be precisely the same under his Bill; cigars and tobacco being among the prohibited articles. There is not only the injustice of such a case as this, but there is the opportunity given for indulging in personal malice and vengeance. I asked the poor old woman whether her neighbours were treated in the same way, and she said so far as she knew they were not; and I took the pains to go into a shop in the neighbourhood, selling the same articles, within a quarter of a mile of her house, and I said to the man—"Excuse my asking you; but have they persecuted you for selling on the Sunday?" and he said—"No; they have neither summoned me nor threatened me," and he expressed the indignation that he felt that this poor old woman should have been persecuted in this manner. I understand the old lady is a Catholic. Can this be, as has been whispered, an exhibition of Protestant liberality? I would fain hope not. Now, there is nothing that I detest more than violence; but I confess to the House, in confidence, that I advised the old lady to provide a mop and a pail of water and put them under the counter for use on a proper opportunity. My hon. Friend says that this is the fifth time that he has brought this Bill before the House; but these are only the last of a long succession of similar Bills. There have been at least 11 of these Bills since 1832, and against those various Bills as they have been brought forward, I will bring the opinion of distinguished Members of this House, who enjoyed the confidence of the House and of the country, and some of whom spoke most contemptuously of of them. It is said by the Sunday Rest Association, which my hon. Friend patronizes—or they patronize him—it is said that these Bills have some fatality about them; that they get through the second reading, or through Committee, and then, somehow or other, they sink, as it were, into the sand. The fact is easily explained; the House has no real intention of passing such Bills. There is a little harmless flirtation between a number of hon. Members and certain sections of their constituencies. There is a needless pretence of doing something, and, after a great deal of trouble has been given to the House, the end of the Session closes the farce. Amongst those who have from time to time opposed these Bills, I find such names as those of Mr. John Bright, Sir Benjamin Hall, Henry Drummond, Joseph Hume, Richard Cobden, Thomas Duncombe, W. J. Fox, and Mr. Massey. If our Government thought such a measure expedient, they ought to have brought one forward, whereas here upon a question clearly affecting the liberty of the subject, as advocates of which the Whig Ministry have risen to power, there is only one Member of the Government present. I am happy to see my hon. Friend (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) present. I am sure that, so far as his power extends, he will take care of the liberty of the subject. Then men who have occupied the position of Home Secretary have equally objected to these Bills—such men as Sir George Grey and Sir James Graham. I trust the Government will take a course somewhat different from that which they have hitherto taken. Hitherto they have said that needless labour on the Sunday was not a desirable thing; that the intentions of my hon. Friend were very creditable, and deserved approval; that the Bill itself was impracticable, and they would therefore give it a second reading with the view to render it more inoperative in Committee. No doubt that is a very convenient mode of dealing with the subject; but I maintain that it is throwing over the due responsibility of Government, and wasting the time of the House. But we are now told that the present Bill is an altered and improved Bill and that it only touches the metropolis. Only touches the metropolis! What has London done that it should be made the *corpus vile* upon which this experiment should be tried? Of all places in this country, it is the one place where it would be impossible that legislation of this sort could be carried out. To pick out London for the application of a Bill of this kind is an insult to the country, and an injury to London. My hon. Friend does not represent London in Parliament now. He did sit for one of the metropolitan constituencies once, but now he stands on a rock afar off, and fires at his old constituency. I do not believe that there is a single metropolitan Member who would venture to bring forward such a measure as this. It may be asked, how is it that there are no expressions of feeling on this subject out-of-doors. I will tell you how it is. A number of working-class leaders have told me that they have asked the working classes — "Why do you not oppose this Bill?" but they will not do so; they only laugh at it. The fact is that the cry of "Wolf!" has been raised so long, that they do not care for it. But let us pass this Bill, and then see what they will say. It was only on Monday last that you had a demonstration of match girls and women employed in the match trade, but it was sufficient to explode a Budget. If you go to the people of the East end of London, and tell them, not that you will cripple one branch of their industry, but that you will take the bread out of their mouths, the result will be such that bolder men than the Chancellor of the Exchequer will sit alarmed upon the Treasury Bench. My hon. Friend says that this is not a Bill against the poor; but I say that it is especially and decidedly against the poor—"a Bill in which Dives proposes to legislate for Lazarus"—and if my hon. Friend points to this House in contradiction of that view, I say it does not represent the mass, but the wealth of the people. It is obvious that any such restrictions as those contained in this Bill must act specially upon the poor. Their wages are often paid late on Saturday night, and it is convenient to them to make their purchases then or perhaps early on Sunday morning. Then they have no convenience for keeping food in their houses, and if they did so keep it, it would be subject to deterioration and damage. This is emphatically a law against the poor. If it were a law against work, such as was the Act of Charles II., there might be something consistent in it. The great work done in this metropolis on Sundays is the work of domestic servants. I should say that there is no Member of this House who has not one, two, or three persons ministering to his own comfort, and where the wealthy are aggregated together for their own convenience and comfort, as in the clubs and so forth, you find the same thing on a larger scale. But does the hon. Gentleman propose to deal with that? Not a bit of it. Our galleries of pictures, our gardens, and all that we possess of our own the poor cannot possess. The rich can join together in their clubs on the Sunday; or take the Zoological Gardens—there every Sunday you will see the wealthy by thousands, and I am told that since the Darwinian theory has been started, they congregate there more than ever, and I am not surprised at that. I am not surprised that the supporters of my hon. Friend should go to the Zoological Gardens on Sunday, and that they should think it a religious duty to do so, in order to observe the wisdom of our ancestors. And there is another respect in which this Bill is an injury to the poor. I have spoken of the poor consumer—his tradesman, the costermonger, is specially attacked. His coarse but welcome cry in the poorer neighbourhoods seems to be offensive, not, of course, to my hon. Friend, but to the principles of his Bill. My hon. Friend permits pastry and fruit to be sold; but there are other perishable articles besides pastry and fruit, which are considered quite as savoury by the poor, and which are quite as perishable. I see in my own neighbourhood costermongers going about with shrimps, periwinkles, and other articles which are really held in considerable esteem by the poorer classes of the community. Then no poor man can be shaved on Sundays. Now, my hon. Friend has been greatly exercised in regard to barbers. They appeared in some of his Bills, and were included in some clauses in Committee with various modifications. I have no doubt my hon. Friend again means to do something with barbers when he gets into Committee, if he ever does get into Committee. If I might make a proposal as a compromise for all parties, it would be that a man should only be shaved on one side of his face on Sundays. Although the statement that this Bill is a Bill against the poor may be denied or slurred over in this House, I am glad to say that in "another place" they are more frank. The Bishop of Gloucester distinctly declared in the House of Lords that this Bill "must greatly interfere with the means of livelihood of a great many of the poorer classes." Now, I say that that sentence alone ought to be sufficient to make this House pause before it passes this Bill. I declare, in all earnestness, that in the face of the present harrowing condition of suffering in many parts of this city—and especially at the East end—it would be, in my opinion, an act little short of insanity in the Government and the House to pass a Bill which throws any difficulty in the way of enabling people to get a livelihood. A poet—and I know my hon. Friend is himself a poet —has said—

"The poor man's sins are glaring,
In the face of saintly warning—
When caught in the fact
Of a lawless act—
Buying greens on Sunday morning.

"The rich man's sins are 'under
The rose' of wealth and station,
And escape the sight
Of 'the children of light,'
Who are 'wise in their generation.'"

Now, Sir, I will quote Henry Drummond. Perhaps there are not many of us here who knew him. He was an eccentric, but noble-hearted old Tory, and what did he say? He said—

> "The Bill is to put a stop to unnecessary trading on Sunday; but unnecessary trading on the Sunday can only be trading by the rich. If this were a Bill for shutting up the clubs, I would vote for it."

I have already alluded to the extent to which the Act of Charles II. might be applied to the avocation and recreations of the wealthier classes, provided there were magistrates who had sufficient courage and sense of justice to carry it out to its full extent. In one of these debates, an hon. Member told a story of a person in humble life who, having been convicted of Sunday trading, took out an information against the vicar's coachman, and the effect of this was to keep every carriage away from Islington church. The magistrate who tried the case held that it was contrary to law to drive a carriage on Sunday, unless it could be shown to be an act of necessity, in which category it seemed he did not include the act of riding instead of walking to church. I say, then, let the House beware of retaliation on the part of the working classes, if they pass this Bill; and let hon. Members recollect how many acts of the wealthier classes violate Sabbatarian legislation. The late Sir Benjamin Hall told an excellent story about the case of—

> "A fashionable barouche, with two slapping horses, and attended by two footmen in powdered wigs, taking up two dogs only, in a fashionable square, for an airing in the Park, which this Bill would not interfere with."

Nor would the Bill of the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. T. Hughes) interfere with such Sabbath breaking as this. Now, this Bill is defended on the ground that it would act as a protection to the honest and religiously-minded trader, who would be happy to shut up his shop on a Sunday, but who finds that the money-grubbers and irreligious shopkeepers of the neighbourhood will not permit him. This appears to me extraordinary reasoning, and that the hon. Member for Frome comes to a strange conclusion; as the operation of the Bill, when looked at from that point of view, would be simply to protect the scruples of the great at the expense of the necessities of the small. Here we have people who are wealthy and good, but who, at the same time, are afraid to shut up their shops on Sundays, lest their poorer neighbours should monopolize all the Sunday trade. If these rich people have scruples, let them indulge them at their own cost, and not endeavour to combine religion with worldly wisdom, by levying the cost of their abstention from Sunday trade out of the pockets of the poor. Mr. Henley, when replying to the arguments of Lord Claude Hamilton on the 15th May, 1867, said that the noble Lord's assertion was, that there were thousands in this metropolis who were afraid of obeying God's commandments, lest, by so doing, they might suffer in pocket; but, replied Mr. Henley—

> "If people are disposed to treat the commandments of God in that way, they had no right to ask Parliament to strengthen their hands."—[3 *Hansard*, clxxxvii. 591.]

Mr. W. J. Fox, speaking on the 18th of June, 1851, said—

> "It seemed to him that the sect for whom this Bill had been introduced were the classes who loved the Sabbath much, but loved the shop more. They had great solicitude for the salvation of their souls, but still greater solicitude for the retention of their great profits."—[3 *Hansard*, cxvii. 963.]

Mr. Craven Berkeley mentioned, in evidence given before the Committee, the case of a boy who had been taken up opposite Sir Edward Buxton's brewery for selling dry figs on the Sabbath, whilst, at the same time, within the brewery itself heavy work was being performed, steam was issuing, chains rattling, and every other noise incidental to a great factory in full work. Sir Edward Buxton assured the House that his firm sanctioned no Sunday labour that was not limited to works of necessity. But Mr. Muntz, in reply to this, asked was it less a work of necessity for the boy to sell figs in order to live. Again, Lord Beaumont described the Sabbath Bill of the period as a measure to protect the larger shopkeepers against the smaller. My hon. Friend proposes that the operation of his Bill shall be confined to the metropolis, and I am informed that certain hon. Members, who were once my staunch supporters, have been bought off by this limitation. They were very enthusiastic at first, but now, having been told that their constituents shall not suffer, they are inclined to relax in their opposition to the Bill. My hon. Friend the Member for Warrington (Mr. Rylands) has been my warm supporter up to the present time; but I am given to understand that he is cooling very much, and talks about an equitable compromise. Is the meaning of this compromise that Warrington is not to come within the operation of the Bill? I can remember when my hon. Friend used to have larger and more generous views, which I am much surprised to find can be modified by such a compromise as this. I can remember also how indignant my hon. Friend was on behalf of the orange girls, and how he said that the only way of abolishing Sunday trading was to improve the taste, raise the education, and elevate the religious feeling of the poor. I shall have to trouble the House but for a very little longer; but I must make one further observation. My hon. Friend may say that gigantic evils demand exceptional remedies. Now, if my hon. Friend thinks that the whole morality of London is in danger of being swallowed up by the amount of Sunday trading in existence, he is very much mistaken. As a matter of fact, that amount is by no means alarming. There are no grounds for indulging in the slightest apprehension on that score. If we take a Sunday ramble through our London streets, we shall find little to complain of as exceptions to the dull and decorous demeanour characteristic of the British Sunday. In corroboration of this I appeal to my right hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets, who, in the course of a debate in this House on the 3rd March, 1869, said, "he concurred in the opinion that the inhabitants of London were not degenerating in regard to the observance of Sunday." I may also quote the Report of the Committee of the Sunday Rest Association. In the pamphlet published by that Association on May 25th, 1869, I find the following passage—

> "The Committee have made another inquiry into the extent of Sunday trading in London, and

are able to say that Sunday trading remains, on the whole, in the same state as it was 12 years ago."

Let me also appeal to the magistracy on this point. When Mr. Burcham, the late police magistrate for Southwark, was examined before the Committee on the Sale of Liquors on Sunday, in 1868, he gave the following evidence. In answer to Question 503 he said—

> "There are in certain districts shops open on Sunday morning; for instance, in the New Cut for the sale of vegetables, and, generally speaking, for necessaries; but with these exceptions I do not think that Sunday trading is at all common.
>
> "So that in fact, so far as your district is concerned, there is no necessity for further legislation even upon Sunday trading?—No."—[Q. 504.]

Well, Sir, I have done. This is not the time at which to discuss the ridiculous absurdities and gross anomalies to be found in the details of this Bill. If, unhappily, my hon. Friend should persuade this House and the Government to trouble us further with the Bill, these absurdities will come under consideration in Committee; but let me mention one or two. Here I find, in one place, that the sale of human food is prohibited after 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, and immediately after that the sale of pastry is permitted. A shopkeeper may sell oranges; but if he attempts to sell cabbage he is sure to be prosecuted. Pastry is permitted; but shrimps are prohibited. Then, again, tobacco, which the public is not to be permitted by my hon. Friend to buy of my poor old lady in Hammersmith, they can, however, purchase without reproach at any publichouse; her shop must be shut up, but smokers may get that, and a glass of gin besides, next door. But there is a still more terrible prohibition. No newspaper is to be sold after 10 o'clock. Let us hope that my hon. Friend will add a provision prohibiting all classes from all sorts of reading on Sundays, except the Bible or Prayer Book. Then let us look at the penalties of this Bill. The penalties which poor people may have to pay are—for the first offence 20*s.*, and for subsequent offences 40*s.*; or, in default, imprisonment for one month. But enough of details; all I shall say further now will be to pledge myself to oppose, as I have done before, by every means in my power, at every stage, and in every way, a Bill which I look upon as being needless, harrassing, tyrannical, and uncalled for. I beg to move that the Bill be read a second time this day six months.

Sir DOMINIC CORRIGAN seconded the Amendment. He said, he did not believe that by legislation people could be made either moral or religious, or that anything in the New Testament imposed upon society such Sabbath observances as were contained in the Bill. The hon. Promoter of it had stated that the heads of the police had given evidence in favour of the measure; but some of the magistrates had fined those who broke the law as it now stood only 1*d.*, which showed their opinion of such legislation. Instead of being a recommendation, he thought it an objection to the Bill that it was confined to the metropolis. If it was a good Bill for the metropolis, why should it not be extended to the whole country? Such a Bill would not teach the poor respect for the law, for when they saw that poor children could not get lollipops on Sunday, but that the rich could go into the Zoological Gardens and get lollipops, sandwiches, whisky, and wine, they would look upon the law as very unjust. He believed the Bill would encourage drinking on Sunday. A small tradesman must not sell tobacco, but it could be got at the publichouse and other places, as hotels, taverns, and beerhouses, which were exempted from its operation. This Bill reminded him of a controversy he once had with a very good man; but, like many other good men, an enthusiast in his way. Enthusiasts generally carried their views on subjects like this just to that point where their own feelings and their own stomachs were not interfered with. His friend told him he would not take a cab to go to church, and never employed his servants in cooking upon Sundays, for he always dined upon cold meat. "Well, then," said he to his friend, "you need never ask me to dine with you on a Sunday, for I don't like cold potatoes." "Oh, but," said his friend, "we always have potatoes boiled."

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Taylor.*)

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, he was deeply impressed with the great advantage to be derived from the observance of one day in seven as a day of rest, so far as it could be so observed without interfering with the necessities and comforts of the people. Not only was this so in England; but in America the observance of Sunday was even more strictly carried out than in this country, so that it could not be charged against this Bill that it was an attempt upon the part of the upper classes to coerce the lower. With respect to this Bill it should be remembered that they were not now going to deal with the subject *de novo.* The question was, should they enforce, repeal, or improve the present law as enacted by the statute of Charles II.? The Act could not be absolutely enforced; the religious feeling of the people would not allow it to be repealed; it only therefore remained to improve it. They should endeavour so to regulate the observance of the Sunday as to protect those who could not protect themselves. There was a very large class of assistants to shopkeepers, who were employed from early morning to the latest hours on Saturday night, who had no Saturday half-holiday, and now worked great part of the Sunday, and without some protection of this sort they would have no Sunday rest whatever. No Government had ever opposed these Sunday Bills. The present Home Secretary supported this Bill, and even the Prime Minister shared his opinion. He altogether denied that the Bill was intended or calculated to oppress the poor, and he should give it his hearty support.

Mr. M'MAHON said, he thought it was inexpedient to allow the Bill to pass in its present form, and he should, therefore, oppose it. The Bill being a local Bill should have been introduced as such, its requirements applying quite as exclusively to the metropolis as those of the Metropolis Local Management Act. The Bill would produce this extraordinary state of things — it would make certain acts criminal if done within a certain line, and not criminal if the same acts were done just beyond that line. Nothing could be more monstrous than that. [Mr. T. Hughes said, the hon. and learned Member for New Ross had misread the Bill.] The Bill would allow things to be done within the metropolis that it would not permit outside; and making 3,000,000 of people subject to exceptional legislation, which they did not require, as it did, it would have been much better if his hon. and learned Friend had looked more to the legal effect of the measure before he had brought it in. For the reason above stated alone it ought to be rejected. If the metropolis had really required such a measure it ought to have been introduced by one of its representatives, and not by one who had ceased to have any local connection with the metropolis. The Act of Charles II. provided that all the penalties recovered under that Act should be paid to the poor of the parish in which the offence was committed; but the fines imposed under this Bill would be paid in the City of London to the City Chamberlain, and in the metropolis to the receiver of the metropolitan police. It was wrong in principle that justices should have the remotest interest in the disposal of penalties. This was not, properly speaking, a Sunday Trading Bill, but one for the repression of certain trades in London on the Sunday. On all these additional grounds also he hoped it would be rejected.

Mr. MUNTZ said, the speeches of hon. Members who approved the object of the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. T. Hughes), but who quarrelled with all he proposed, entitled him to say—

> "Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love,
> But why did you kick me downstairs?"

What the hon. Member sought to remedy would be remedied by degrees by education and the formation of religious habits. There could be no doubt that the Bill had been introduced with the best intention, and with the desire of settling the question, and it was impossible to deny that some legislation was wanted. The Act of Charles II. was passed by a very bigoted House of Commons, and in the hope that it would largely contribute to the power of a profligate Court to tyrannize over the people. The Bill proposed to lay down a rule for the future, and yet it embodied a clause to the effect that nothing in the Bill should interfere with the Act of Charles II.; so that a man who, under the Bill would commit no offence, might still be convicted under the Act of Charles II. It would be impossible to have both in operation together; that would make confusion more confounded; and, instead of diminishing, it would increase difficulty. The

Bill was an improvement on that of last year, and it might, perhaps, be further improved by a year's delay. Instead of passing this Bill, it would be better to say that, after a certain date, the operation of the Act of Charles II. should cease. If Parliament legislated on the matter at all, it must legislate not for London only, but at the least for the towns of England and Wales. This was a case of legislation for the poor by the rich; by those who had no idea of the circumstances, wants, and sorrows of the poor, and of the anxiety with which the last halfpenny was expended. In the manufacturing districts the rule was to pay wages early on the Saturday afternoon; but the rule was not extended to vast numbers, who were obliged to trudge three or four miles to market at night or to make purchases on the Sunday morning; and for these people Sunday trading was a necessity. We had a higher authority than an Act of Parliament for holding that the Sabbath was made for man, and, where Sunday trading was a necessity, we ought not to be severe. There was a feeling in the country, and it was a growing one, that if the satisfaction of the necessities of the poor were interfered with by Act of Parliament, the unnecessary luxuries of the rich should be curtailed. He hoped the Bill would be withdrawn.

Mr. BRUCE said, that while he admitted there was great force in the observations of the last speaker, he must remind the hon. Member that this Bill was entirely in accordance with his sentiments, inasmuch as it gave increased facilities to the poor to buy necessaries on the Sunday morning. Perhaps it might be urged, with some apparent justice, that the Bill conceded facilities to the people who least required them, because it could not be said that in London poor people had to travel four or five miles to make their purchases. He was anxious to answer the appeal which had been made to him by the hon. Member for West Kent (Mr. J. G. Talbot). Having spoken once or twice on the subject, he wished it to be understood he had spoken in his own name, and not as representing the opinions of the Government, who had not gone thoroughly into the matter, as they would have done if they had felt that they had time to deal with this important and difficult question. Speaking, therefore, not as representing the Government, but as expressing his own opinions only, he thought there was much in this Bill to recommend it. He could not gratify the anticipations in which the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Taylor) had indulged, for he did not mean to propose that the Bill should be read a second time for the purpose of being dropped. The object of the Bill was to get rid of a great scandal which continued to exist under the Act of Charles II. It might be said that the Bill was imperfect, inasmuch as it did not extend to the whole country, but it had been pointed out in the course of the debate that the necessities of one district were not always those of another; that publichouses were not open in the country at the same hours they were in London; and that, in many cases, local authorities were invested with the power of making bylaws for promoting good order and decency in the towns under their jurisdiction. It happened in this case that the demand for legislation had arisen in the metropolis, and not in other parts of the country. He was assured that there were vast numbers of people in London who would be heartily glad to be relieved of the necessity of carrying on their trade on the Sunday, and would cease to do so, if that would not put them in a disadvantageous position as compared with their competitors. In fact, there was a general coincidence of feeling that, while increased facilities should be given to the poorer classes to supply themselves on Sunday mornings with the necessaries of life, something should be done to promote that good order and decency which an enormous majority of the people desired to see observed. The necessity for a change was greater in London than elsewhere, and for these reasons and no other he supported the measure. He did not mean to say it was complete; but there were matters of daily occurrence under the present law which it was desirable to reform, and as a measure of amendment he could not refuse it his support.

Mr. J. GOLDSMID said, it might be thought he had no business to interfere in a Bill of this character, but he should like to see everybody observing his Sabbath, whatever it was. He was convinced, however, that we could not make people observe their Sabbaths, any more than we could make them moral by Act of Parliament. If Parliament passed this Bill, it must also pass the next Bill on the Paper, for assuredly a public prosecutor would be required to look after the lawbreakers, who would be created by this Bill; or else there would spring up a class of informers who would go about making small purchases, in order that they might summon traders before the magistrates. Another objection to the Bill was its partial application, for that which was wrong in London could not be right in the country, and *vice versâ;* and we could not have a criminal law applying only to the metropolis and not to other parts of the country. The Act of Charles II. was passed under peculiar circumstances. He supposed that at that time we had the most immoral Court which had ever existed in this country; he believed that, in consequence of the immoral condition of the Court, the people generally were rather more than less immoral; and the Act was passed in order to preserve a kind of outward decency which did not cover any beautiful internal state of things. For a long time that Act had been treated as a dead letter; but recently a society had endeavoured to enforce it. It was most partial in its operation, and it oppressed the little trader who could not afford to close his shop because he lived in a poor neighbourhood, in which the people were paid so late on the Saturday that they could not make their purchases that night, whilst it did not interfere with the great trader who made large profits. It was a bad Act; and this Bill would, in some respects, aggravate its inequalities. For these, and various other reasons, he considered it was a very bad Bill. For himself, he always paid his labourers in good time on Friday, so that they might buy provisions on Saturday, because he wished all to observe their Sabbath; but as this observance could not be promoted by Act of Parliament, he opposed the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. COLLINS said, he supported the Bill, because it was for the general convenience that Sunday should be observed as a holiday as far as possible, and because a majority of those in London who traded on Sunday were compelled to do so against their will by the action of a minority. Upon those grounds, he considered that the Bill should be read a second time.

Mr. DILLWYN said, he objected to exceptional legislation of the nature provided by this Bill. He wished to know why, if the metropolis wanted the Bill, it had not been introduced by the metropolitan Members? He believed there was not one of them present to support it, and certainly not one of them had spoken in its favour. He hoped the Bill would be rejected.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, if the Act of Charles II. were repealed, there would be no necessity for this Bill; and he drew a distinction between the trades affected by this Bill, which in themselves were harmless, and the licensed trade in drink, which admittedly involved evil that required curtailment. Local by-laws were not forced upon any town without being asked for; but, in this case, it was proposed to force upon London that which was not asked for. The subject ought to be dealt with as a whole, and not in that partial manner; because, in the matter of legislating for Sunday trading, it was impossible to separate London from the country. If it were necessary to make legal provision for a general holiday, it ought to be done upon some intelligible principle, providing under what circumstances Sunday trading should be allowed; and if the Government took the matter in hand he hoped they would deal with the whole question upon principle. He regretted that he could not support the Bill.

Mr. BOWRING said, that he had on former occasions supported the Bill of his hon. Friend; but he regretted that he could no longer do so, for the following reasons:—He objected to legislation for London alone, agreeing as he did with the hon. Member for Knaresborough that legislation on the subject should apply to the whole country. He further thought that the matter was one which ought to be dealt with by the responsible Government, and he heard with regret from his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary that the Government were not at present prepared to introduce a Bill on the subject. But his special objection to the present Bill was, that he feared it would bear more hardly in practice upon the poorer classes than the existing Act of Charles II. The magistrates appeared to look upon that Act as an antiquated statute, and imposed the lightest penalties under it that they possibly could; whereas, if it was re-enacted in the shape proposed in this Bill, they would probably feel it their duty to impose much heavier penalties, in deference to what they would consider to be the recently expressed decision of the Legislature. On these grounds he should reluctantly be compelled to vote against the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. T. HUGHES said, in reply, that the hon. Member for Leicester had deliberately based his argument against the Bill on a false issue.

Mr. P. A. Taylor rose to Order.

Mr. SPEAKER ruled that the expression used by the hon. Member for Frome was improper.

Mr. T. HUGHES apologized, and explained that he had merely used the expression in the technical and legal sense, and had no intention of imputing falsehood to his hon. Friend. The Act of Charles II. was a disabling Act. According to it, all that was done in the markets and shops of London on every Sunday at the present time was illegal. There was a society in existence for enforcing this old Act. Last year, it instituted between 300 and 400 prosecutions, and in nearly all the cases the magistrates felt themselves obliged to convict and to impose penalties. But this Bill was an enabling Bill; it would take away the hardship of the present law, and would enable some thousands of persons to do that which was now absolutely illegal; that was to say, it would enable them to sell and buy necessaries on the Sunday morning. This was the real issue, and not that which had been raised by the hon. Member for Leicester. Every instance of oppression which he had cited was due to the operation of the present law, and would be relieved by the operation of the Bill. It would enable the old woman who had been named, to sell ginger beer; and, as to cigars, he was quite willing to introduce a clause to allow the tobacconists to open their shops during the hours that the publichouses were open. At present great fairs were held in certain districts of London up till 1 o'clock, and decent poor people living in them could neither get rest, nor walk comfortably to a place of worship. This state of things was becoming more and more serious every year; and unless Parliament passed this Bill, or some measure like it, the matter would grow until, as Earl Russell said, it would pass out of their hands.

Question put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 47; Noes 80: Majority 33.

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Second Reading *put off* for six months.

PUBLIC PROSECUTORS BILL—[Bill 35.]

(*Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. Eykyn, Mr. Vernon Harcourt, Mr. Rathbone.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY, in rising to move the second reading of the Bill, said, that he felt that he owed some apology to the House for introducing a measure which, he thought, ought to be in the hands of the Government, but he did not do so until the Home Secretary, who did not disapprove its principle, and fully admitted its importance, declared that his hands were too full to allow him to undertake it. And yet it was too important a measure to be indefinitely delayed. He did not know for what Members were in that House if it were not to provide for the due administration of justice, which was so important as to sink into insignificance many of the questions which occupied much of the time of the House. In fact, the measure had already been too long delayed. The amount of authority in favour of the proposed change was absolutely overwhelming. Among those who had taken an active part in law reform there was really no difference of opinion. As far back as 1845 the Criminal Law Commission had reported in favour of it, and had used these words—

> "The existing law is by no means so effective as it ought to be; the duty of prosecution is usually irksome, inconvenient, and burdensome. The injured party would often rather forego the prosecution than incur the expense of time, labour, and money. The intrusting the conduct of the prosecution to a private individual opens a wide door to bribery, collusion, and illegal compromise."

In 1856 a Committee of the House of Commons, after inquiring very fully into the matter, had reported in favour of it, and had sketched out a scheme very similar to that which he now proposed, which they said would be—

> "A means for placing the administration of criminal justice on a footing more consistent than the present with the necessities of the existing state of society, and the requirements of an enlightened jurisprudence."

Unfortunately, Mr. Phillimore, who had proposed the change, shortly afterwards ceased to be a Member of that House, and the question had been allowed to sleep almost up to the present time. Curiously enough, another change in the criminal law had been recommended by that Committee, the object of which was to secure the attendance of witnesses necessary for the defence of prisoners, and to provide for the payment of their expenses by the public. That measure, too, had been allowed to sleep until three years ago, when it had been carried into effect by a Bill which he had the honour to introduce. He had now to ask the House to adopt the other recommendation of that Committee in regard to the appointment of a public prosecutor. Last Session a Bill on the subject was introduced by the hon. Member for Windsor (Mr. Eykyn), and after a second reading was referred to a Select Committee, which carefully considered all the details, and moulded the measure until it assumed almost the precise shape in which he now submitted it to the consideration of the House. With this weight of authority in favour of the proposed change, he might almost rest contented; and he hoped he might be able to discharge his duty by very briefly stating the evils it was proposed to remove, and what, in his opinion, was the most appropriate remedy. In the first place, he set out with the principle that the detection of guilt, and the punishment of offenders, were the duty of the State; and that independently of the interests of the private party who might have been injured. The State suffered when guilt remained undetected, and when offenders remained unpunished; and the State suffered even more when, under the forms of law, and by means of the forms of law, the innocent were unduly harassed, and their lives, which were often dearer to them, put in peril. And it was scarcely possible but that the guilty should at times escape, and the innocent be put in peril, so long as prosecutions were in the hands of private and irresponsible persons. We saw, in some of our forms which still remained, what was the notion of our ancestors long ago. Many hon. Members were, doubtless, familiar with the terms of the Proclamation made so soon as the jury were sworn—

> "If any one can inform my Lords the Queen's Justices, the Queen's Attorney General, the Queen's Serjeant, of any offences committed by the prisoner, let him come forward and he shall be heard."

The Queen's Attorney General and the Queen's Serjeant were supposed, by virtue of their offices, to be the proper persons to be made acquainted with the circumstances affecting those about to be put on their trial; and see what was the effect of leaving prosecutions in the hands of private irresponsible persons—some were smarting under the sense of a real or supposed injury, and the temptation was to struggle, not for justice, but for victory. He would say nothing now of that class of cases constantly to be found becoming more numerous, in which criminal proceedings were commenced, not for the punishment of the criminal, but for the enforcing of private rights. But in far the larger portion of cases, the office of prosecutor was merely ministerial. He was bound over to prosecute, not for his own sake, but for the benefit of the public. Well might Lord Denman say, in the evidence he gave—

> "Our procedure for the purpose of preliminary inquiry is open to great objection. The injured party may be helpless, ignorant, interested, corrupt. He is altogether irresponsible, yet his dealing with the criminal may effectually defeat justice; on general principles, it would evidently be desirable to appoint a public prosecutor."

Anyone who frequented our police courts would see upon whom the real duty of conducting a prosecution too often fell. He would see there a number of persons, sometimes attornies, much oftener persons practising in the names of attornies, who, through personal touting, or through the intercession of policemen, got the prosecutors into their hands; and what did he see when the case was brought into Court? He saw a brief put into the hands of counsel at the last moment—the case negligently prepared —the counsel gaining his only valuable instructions from the policeman who was a witness in the case. He knew not how this was to be prevented as long as the present system lasted; but the sight was not a pleasant one to one who felt for the character or honour of the Bar, and the effect on the police was bad, as they became not only witnesses but partizans. It might be thought that where he had gained the greater part of his experience matters were worse than elsewhere; but he had had the opportunity of judging from what he had seen on different Circuits, and he found from the evidence before Committees that the evils which he had described were not confined to the metropolis, and he did not hesitate to state, as the result of his experience, that the present system of conducting prosecutions was neither conducive to the protection of innocence, or to the detection and punishment of guilt. So strongly had this been felt in many of our large towns that they had taken the matter into their own hand, and public prosecutors had been appointed by the corporations. This system had been found to work admirably. Prosecutions had been fairly and efficiently conducted; and what he wished to call the attention of the Government to was this—that the system had been found to be not only efficient but economical. This was the system which he wished to extend to the whole country, and he believed that if that were done we should not find in our criminal statistics such Returns as those which appeared for the year 1869, when, out of 29,278 persons charged with offences, 1,869 were discharged for want of prosecutors; and out of 19,318 who were committed for trial, no bills were found against 904, and 4,012 were acquitted. These results might well be contrasted with those of Scotland, where public prosecutors existed; as we found that while in England one-fifth of those tried were acquitted, in Scotland, the proportion of acquittals was only 1 in 11. He would only add that there was one class of offences for the prosecution of which a public officer was absolutely necessary if we wished to make laws for their repression really effectual. He referred to offences against the Election Law—such as bribery, intimidation, and personation. The prosecution of these offences ought not to be left to the zeal of political opponents, nor was it desirable that they should be conducted by the officers of the Government. The main provisions of the Bill, which he proposed should be now read a second time, were based on the recommendations of the Committee of last Session. It was proposed that the country should be divided into districts, to be mapped out by the Home Secretary; that to each district an attorney should be appointed as public prosecutor by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the local magistrates, and that after the committal of any person for trial the depositions should be sent to the public prosecutor, who was then to perform the ordinary duties of attorney for the prosecution. Offences of a private nature, such as assaults and defamation, did not come within the scope of the Bill; but it was provided in cases of assault, the magistrates might, if they deemed it necessary, direct the public prosecutor to interfere. The public prosecutor might also interfere in any case prior to the committal, if he were authorized to do so, either by the local magistrate or the Attorney General. One important provision was, that no public prosecutor should be allowed to drop any prosecution without the Attorney General's consent. The only other officers to be appointed under the Bill were three consulting counsel, to whom the Attorney General might refer all cases of difficulty. If private persons chose to prosecute they would still be at liberty to do so, although every Court would be empowered to instruct the public prosecutor to intervene. One of the great evils to be guarded against was an undue increase of the patronage of the Crown. Since he was called to the Bar that patronage had increased enormously, and was in the hands of the political party which happened for the time to be in power. Consequently, Parliamentary influence was brought to bear upon all appointments in a way that was unknown during the early part of his career at the Bar. To prevent, therefore, a further augmentation of Government patronage it was proposed by the Bill that public prosecutors should be appointed by the Secretary of State only on the recommendations of the magistrates of the several districts. The opponents of the measure might urge, as an objection against it, that at present prosecution afforded a very important school for the Bar. Admitting that, he asserted they would do so still, because the public prosecutors would distribute the briefs fairly, and if they neglected to do so they would be called to task by the Secretary of State. Some persons feared that this Bill would lead to largely increased expense. Now, he confessed the Bill would necessitate an increase of expense to a certain extent; but he did not believe that the House would shrink from any expenditure which was requisite for the due administration of justice. Moreover, the expense would not be greatly augmented by the Bill. The salaries of the public prosecutors would not exceed £50,000 a-year, and under the existing system between £30,000 and £40,000 was annually paid in fees to prosecuting attornies. He believed the Bill would affect a most important improvement in the administration of justice, as it would make the innocent more secure, and render the punishment of the guilty more certain. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Russell Gurney.*)

MR. WEST, in rising to move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, that as a Member of the Select Committee to which this Bill was referred last year, he begged leave to state the facts in connection with it, which came within his own personal knowledge. That Committee had never thought it necessary to discuss the question of the advantage or otherwise of a public prosecutor, and never examined a witness on the point. The evidence given in the previous Committee showed that the most practical men upon it were opposed to the appointment of public prosecutors, while it should not be forgotten that almost all the causes which made the other witnesses in favour of public prosecutors were now removed. The Committee of last year felt that the principle of the measure having been assented to by that House, it was their business only to embody that principle in a Bill in the best way they could. Now, he did not object in any way to the manner in which the Bill was framed. All he wished to say was, he did not think that the authorities referred to by his right hon. Friend opposite were in favour of the appointment of a public prosecutor. For example, Lord Stanley, now Earl Derby, stated his objections to the principle. His right hon. Friend opposite was, therefore, not accurate in claiming that noble Earl as an advocate for this measure. He thought that this Bill was an invasion of the principle recommended by a former Committee on the subject, and its details extremely objectionable. It would saddle the country with an enormous expense, place a vast amount of patronage in the hands of the Crown, and make our whole criminal system dependent on the Attorney General of the day. If an enormous amount of expense was to be incurred they ought, at any rate, to have efficient officers, which would not be the case under the provisions of the Bill before the House. If public prosecutors were needed at all they should be officers who would take charge of cases from the time at which the offences were discovered, instead of merely coming in after a person had been committed for trial, and having charge of the subsequent proceedings. If the assistance of public prosecutors was not afforded to injured persons at some stage earlier than the formal commitment of a prisoner for trial, the result would inevitably be that many guilty persons would escape punishment through the ignorance or helplessness of the persons aggrieved, and the real purpose for which public prosecutors existed in other countries would not be satisfied. It was argued that public prosecutors ought to be appointed because a Committee of Parliament made recommendations in favour of such appointments in 1856; but those who used this argument seemed to forget that the state of the law which caused the recommendation to be made had been remedied by subsequent legislation. Lord Campbell, though theoretically in favour of the principle involved in the appointment of public prosecutors—because the criminal law was, at the time he gave his evidence, often shamefully perverted by persons for corrupt purposes, more especially in indictments for perjury and conspiracy, and because the control over prosecutors was insufficient — seeing, when he came to deal practically with the question, how impossible, it was to deal with existing evils by the appointment of public prosecutors, had set himself to reform the criminal law, which he thought the preferable alternative; and, accordingly, had succeeded in removing many of those evils by practical legislation. The Committee of 1856, before whom many facts on that part of the question were stated in evidence, was strongly opposed to policemen assuming the functions of public prosecutors; but the effect of the present Bill would be that members of the police force would be the prosecutors not only theoretically, but practically, in the vast majority of the criminal cases tried in this country. He strongly deprecated the French system of espionage, and thought one of the worst courses to adopt would be to appoint as public prosecutors the heads of the police force, which was virtually the case in Manchester, Salford, Leeds, and many other large towns. In his opinion, the most suitable public prosecutor, if any were appointed at all, would be the Petty Sessions' clerks. Again, he thought that, regarded in a financial point of view, the proposal before the House was faulty. To carry out the scheme of the Bill, according to the recommendations of that Committee, it would be necessary, in order to have a public prosecutor for each Petty Sessional division, to appoint 765 public prosecutors, and the amount of salary to be given to each public prosecutor was recommended to be £700 per annum, and £300 for their respective clerks and offices, &c., amounting in the aggregate to £765,000 per annum, to supply, for a remarkably small and imaginary grievance, that which would prove to be no remedy at all. Another objection to the proposal was that it would prejudice the administration of the criminal law by placing an inordinate amount of patronage in the hands of the Attorney General of the day. The present appointment of public prosecutors in Mint cases was doubtless dictated by political or personal interest, and the result was that the prosecutions directed by the Treasury were the worst conducted. Yet the Bill sought to extend this system throughout the country. Moreover, the Bill would seriously affect the interests of members of the Bar, and he should like to know how the Attorney General would dispense his patronage to counsel in this matter? It was suggested that the briefs should be distributed generally; but they could not be spread as they were at Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds, where briefs were "souped" out. He sincerely hoped the Attorney General would take this part of the subject into serious consideration. He objected to an increase of Government patronage in the legal profession—it was too large already; it could not be denied that four out every of five of the County Court Judges of this country had been appointed by the present and the preceding Government for personal or political reasons. All this tended to corrupt the Bar. Speaking warmly in behalf of the members of that body, he expressed the hope that the day was far distant when they would be reduced to the position in which the French Bar was now, or that to which the Scotch Bar was reduced some 50 years ago. With regard to the general question of the necessity of public prosecutors, he would not discuss that question, because it was not raised by the Bill. For the reasons he had stated, he would urge the House to reject this extravagant and ill-conceived measure, for which there was no demand, and would conclude by moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. West.*)

Sir JOHN PAKINGTON said, that as his name had been directly alluded to in connection with a remarkable case that had occurred at Worcester, he decided to say a few words on the proposal now before the House. The person referred to was named Adcock, and was a railway clerk. He was a man of plausible manners, and had obtained so much influence that he was about to be promoted to a place of great trust under the Company, when one morning he absconded; and it was then discovered that he had been systematically committing great frauds—he had inflicted great injury upon persons in all classes of society, and had, in short, shown himself to be a wholesale rascal. Counsel had given their decided opinion that the man had committed legal fraud, yet he was still at liberty. And why? It was said that it was because sufficient legal evidence for a conviction could not be obtained; but the real reason was that for some reason or other it did not suit the persons who were the sufferers to carry out the prosecution. He (Sir John Pakington) knew of no case that so conclusively showed the real want of a public prosecutor; for it was a gross and shameful failure of justice, which would not have occurred had such an officer been in existence to take charge of the case. With regard to the steps which Mr. Hastings, an able member of the Bar, had taken in this matter, that gentleman moved at the late Worcestershire Epiphany Quarter Sessions, for the appointment of a Committee of Justices to consider the desirableness of petitioning the House in favour of the present Bill, and he believed notice of this motion was given by Mr. Hastings before the case of fraud at Worcester occurred, and therefore the question of appointing a public prosecutor was raised purely on its merits. Mr. Hastings' reference to the case in question, when bringing forward his Motion, was simply due to the fact that it was an opportune argument in favour of the course he recommended. With reference to the Bill, the House must feel indebted to his right hon. and learned Friend the Recorder for having brought this measure forward in the way he had done. It was a question of great importance, and no Member of the House was more competent to deal with it than his right hon. and learned Friend; but as it involved a very important change in our system of criminal law, he thought the House and the public would be better pleased if the question were left in the hands of the Government, than if a private Member dealt with it, however competent he might be. On his own behalf he might say, as an experienced chairman of Quarter Sessions, that his opinion was not founded solely upon the case to which he had referred, nor upon the statement, conclusive as it was, made by his right hon. and learned Friend. He had long felt that there ought to be some responsible officer appointed, as he had been very much impressed by the serious failure of justice occurring from the need of such an officer. He was not prepared to say that they ought to follow, in every instance, the example of Scotland, although Scotland had done much that was worthy of imitation. In the matter of education we had advantageously borrowed from our northern neighbours; and he would like to see an approach to the Scotch system with regard to the establishment of a public prosecutor. On the second reading of a measure, they were only to give their assent to the principle, leaving the details to the Committee, which would be the time for the hon. and learned Member (Mr. West) to go into the objections which he had urged against the Bill. The two main objections to which he adverted were connected with expense and patronage. The hon. and learned Member supposed the expense would be £750,000 a-year. But this statement required to be proved. The other objection was as to the patronage. He (Sir John Pakington) did not want to see the independence of the Bar assailed. No one would more regret to see this than he would—he could not imagine a greater misfortune to the country than anything that should lower the character of the English Bar; and it would be for the Government to take care that the details of the Bill should be so arranged as not unnecessarily or unavoidably to increase the patronage of the Crown. He thought the hon. and learned Gentleman had magnified the expenses of the Bill; but he did hope that neither the Government nor the House would be deterred from anything relating to the establishment of a system of justice by considerations of expense. He would vote for the second reading of the Bill, and he hoped that it would be taken up by Her Majesty's Government.

MR. RATHBONE hoped the House would not decide with regard to this Bill from the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Ipswich (Mr. West). The reason why the Committee appointed to consider this subject had not taken any evidence was because very exhaustive evidence had been taken by a Committee that sat as recently as 1855 or 1856. The hon. and learned Gentleman said the Bill proposed to leave the conduct of criminal prosecutions in the hands of the police; but his hon. and learned Friend either could not have read the Bill, or deeming its provisions too strong sought to secure its condemnation by arguing against provisions which it did not contain. So far from intending that the prosecutions should be under the control of the police, as was practically the case under the present system, one of its objects was to take them completely out of their hands. Then, again, his hon. and learned Friend drew a most alarming picture of the expenses incurred under its provisions; but as far as he (Mr. Rathbone) could make out, the expense of working the measure would amount to nothing like the imaginary sum contemplated by his hon. and learned Friend, but would, he believed on good authority, not exceed that of the existing system by more that £29,000; and in return for that increase they would obtain a decrease of crime by its better supervision, and greater certainty in the administration of justice. The patronage devolving upon the Attorney General would be very trifling, consisting only of his three assistant counsel, because the public prosecutors would be recommended by the magistrates. At the same time, there must necessarily, by the very nature of the thing, be some patronage in the hands of the Law Officers of the Crown; but it would be impossible to exercise it without its being open to the observation and criticism of the public. He trusted that the House would not accept the opinion of his hon. and learned Friend, but would read a second time a Bill which, he believed, would render it more difficult for rich men to commit offences with impunity.

Mr. STRAIGHT said, he was glad that the long-vexed question of the appointment of a public prosecutor had been brought before the House of Commons. He was free to confess that, although he could not claim a very lengthened experience in the Criminal Courts, still, to the extent of the knowledge he had acquired in the course of some eight years at the Central Criminal Court, he had come to the conclusion that the evil said to be caused by the large number of prisoners who escaped before, and on their trial under the existing system, had been very largely exaggerated. He looked in vain both to the public Press, and to those who supported the appointment of public prosecutors, for any definite statement of the names of persons who had escaped. He was not going to discuss the question of the patronage which was likely to be exercised by the Attorney General should the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman be accepted by the House. He dared to say that the Attorney General and other persons who would have the opportunity would not be less likely to appoint friends than other persons would be. He did not wish to discuss questions of so much delicacy, because he hoped that, at all events, proper persons would be appointed. Still, we did see extraordinary appointments made that somewhat startled us. We found a very round man placed in a very square hole. Although he went with the right hon. Gentleman who had introduced this Bill to this extent that the appointment of a public prosecutor was exceedingly desirable, he thought that our present system might be made use of to introduce one that should be satisfactory to all; and that by utilizing existing institutions, and enlarging the authority of magistrates' clerks, we should obtain an experienced and valuable institution for carrying on criminal prosecutions, without, at the same time, causing that disturbance which must inevitably result from the adoption of the Bill. An observation was made by the the right hon. Baronet the Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington), referring to a person who ought to have been charged at Worcester with the offence of forging railway bonds; and the right hon. Baronet said he considered that that was a strong instance of the necessity of appointing a public prosecutor, because if there had been a public prosecutor the man Adcock would have been punished. But was it at all likely that the two railways, if they were interested pecuniarily against the apprehension of this man, would have communicated any more with the public prosecutor of the district than it appeared they had not done with the magistrates? However, he did not think this instance told very much one way or the other. No one could deny that failures of justice did occasionally occur; but they were few and far between. Dealing with the question of expediency, let them see what was the machinery by which the right hon. Gentleman the Recorder of London proposed to carry on the administration of criminal justice. He said that in certain districts throughout the country, a public prosecutor should be appointed, who should be a solicitor, and should possess certain qualifications mentioned in the Act; who was to devote the whole of his energy and his time to the conduct of criminal prosecutions arising within his jurisdiction, and who was to be paid a salary according to a scale to be approved by the Treasury. In addition to that he was to be paid a further allowance for the cost of criminal prosecutions according to the allowances made to solicitors under existing circumstances. In ordinary cases, at Assizes and the Central Criminal Court, this allowance was—for the counsel, £2 4*s*. 6*d*.; to the solicitor for drawing the brief, £1 11*s*. 6*d*. But would these payments be sufficient to ensure a proper conduct of the prosecutions? It would often be that an inferior advocate would be appointed to conduct an important case, and the failure of justice that might perhaps ensue would ultimately prove very costly to the country; or else a much greater expense would be incurred in paying a sufficient fee to engage the services of an experienced counsel. It seemed somewhat doubtful from the Bill whether a private prosecutor was still to be permitted if he choose, through his attorney, to select his own counsel, and pay from his own pocket the heavier fee that would be required by an eminent counsel. He was not going to discuss the alleged expenditure of £750,000 a-year spoken of by the hon. and learned Member for Ipswich (Mr. West). He did not anticipate such an expenditure, for, speaking the opinions of men conversant with the subject, he thought the expense could be covered by £150,000. There was also a proposition to allow extra expenses. He would take the case of a professional man, a doctor, who might be passing through London down Cheapside, and had his pocket picked; he might have to remain in London all night, and to attend in London at the trial, and what would be the expenses that he would be allowed? Why, 3*s*. 6*d*. a-day and 2*s*. 6*d*. a-night—because he was not called to give evidence in a professional capacity. That was not a right thing. The hon. and learned Gentleman who introduced the measure thought the proposed system could be carried on for £40,000 a-year; but he believed that the actual expense would turn out, as he said before, to be £150,000 or £200,000. If they were willing to spend an additional £200,000 a-year, it would be better to revise the whole of our criminal law administration, and to appoint a Minister of Justice, instead of saddling the Attorney General with the increased responsibility contemplated by the Bill. The magistrates' clerks throughout the country were at present discharging the duties of public prosecutor. He had heard the observation made by persons discussing this matter—"It is a dangerous thing to place in the hands of the magistrates' clerks the power of conducting prosecutions, because it subjects them to the temptation of inducing these magistrates to commit cases for trial." But that was a stigma on a most respectable class of persons. If such observations were to be made with respect to magistrates' clerks it was most unfair; and the manner in which they conducted their business at Assizes, and the Sessions of the country, showed this. Whether this Bill was persevered in, or whether it was withdrawn with a view to some future action being taken by the Attorney General, this was quite certain—that it was high time the question was determined one way or another. He had heard it suggested that 70 public prosecutors would be all that would be needed. Was that possible? Why, with the number of Petty Sessions throughout the country, the public prosecutor would be called for at A at 12, at B at 1, at C at 2, and perhaps at all three places at once. The 6th clause of the Bill would put a perfect block on the administration of criminal justice in the police courts. He had attended the magistrates' courts. A case had to be remanded; communication would have to be made to the public prosecutor of the district, who might reside at Bristol, and he would have to come up to London to consult the counsel for public prosecutions, who really would have to do little more than exercise the discretion at present vested in clerks to magistrates. He hoped that the Bill of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Southampton would not become law; but that the question involved in it would receive adequate attention from the Law Officers of the Crown and from the country in general, with a view to some satisfactory solution and settlement.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said, the Government had been asked by the right hon. Member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington), whether they were in favour of the principle of the Bill? He answered that they were. He did not commit himself to the details of the measure; but he had always been in favour of it since he had had a seat in Parliament. At the same time, if he consulted his personal feelings he should oppose it, on the two grounds that it would impose on him additional public duties, which he was very loth to undertake, and the invidious nature of the duties of the office. England, so far as he knew, was the only civilized country in the world in which prosecutions were not considered to be the office of the

Executive Government—in other words, in which a public prosecutor was not appointed. In Europe, in America, in Scotland, in Ireland, there were public prosecutors; and he thought that the time had come when a public prosecutor was requisite in England. He would not, of course, suggest the adoption of the detailed system of any country; but of the evidence in favour of the subject, he had a weight of authorities almost overwhelming. He had the authorities of three successive Lord Chief Justices of the Court of Queen's Bench — Lord Denman, Lord Campbell, and Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, and to supplement them, the authority of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Recorder himself was of no small account. The present Lord Chief Justice said he thought it very often happened that cases were brought to trial which were only imperfectly got up, and that they failed for the want of some superintending authority to put the evidence together and see that it was complete; that some cases had come to the Court which ought not to have come there; and there were cases of collusion in which, by arrangement between the parties, the cases were not taken before the grand juries, or the witnesses absented themselves, or did not give the evidence which they ought to give, so that guilty parties got off. He (the Attorney General) thought this difficulty would be got rid of by the appointment of a public prosecutor. The Lord Chief Justice gave another reason for the appointment of a public prosecutor, in the improper interference of the police in public prosecutions. It was the intention of the Bill that the prosecutions should be taken out of the hands of the police. The principle of the Bill had been unanimously agreed to, and it had gone before a Committee. The hon. and learned Member for Ipswich (Mr. West) seemed singularly to misunderstand the object of the Bill and its provisions. He said it was a great deficiency in the Bill that it did not establish some better system for the prosecution of crime, and he objected to a public prosecutor being at the head of prosecutions which ought to be in the hands of the police. God forbid that the police should be at the head of prosecutions! The hon. and learned Member talked of there being 750 public prosecutors; but 60 or 70 would be more like the number, and he thought their appointment would not tend to lessen the independence of the Bar. The Bill would not give any additional power to the Attorney General, but, as a matter of fact, would rather take from than add to his patronage, which, he thought, was a very good thing. At present, he had the power of appointing counsel in Mint and Post Office prosecutions; but, on the passing of the Bill, those prosecutions would be placed under the general law, and the patronage would be taken away from the Attorney General. As to the expense which the measure would entail, the Treasury, which could not fairly be accused of prodigality, had examined the provisions of the Bill, and, subject to one or two alterations, they gave it a general approval. He himself believed that the Bill would introduce a great improvement into the administration of public justice, by the appointment of public prosecutors; and, therefore, without committing himself to all its details, he should support the second reading.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, that, as a Member of the Committee which sat upon the subject, he denied that the course taken by that Committee precluded him from objecting to the principle of that Bill. Having had long experience at one of the largest Sessions in this country, he did not remember a single case where justice had failed, except under circumstances in which it would have equally failed under that Bill. It had been stated that of 29,000 persons charged 2,000 were discharged for want of proof; but the greater proportion of the 2,000 would not have come within the provisions of that measure, being cases of drunkenness or the like, in which nobody would appear to establish the charge. He did not think the hon. and learned Member for Ipswich's estimate of the probable cost of that measure was much too high, for they could not well do with less than one public prosecutor for almost every Petty Sessional division; and they would thus require 500 or 600 prosecuting attorneys to carry out the Bill, at yearly salaries not much under £600 or £700 each. He agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Straight) that if they wished to alter the present system at all, it would be better to give more power to the existing justices' clerks than to create these new offices. The Bill provided that a public prosecutor should intervene after the person charged had been committed; but that would not be of any use, because the evil of any failure of justice would generally have occurred before committal. Again, the public prosecutor was, if he thought fit, to intervene after the laying of the information; but that would admit of a diversity of procedure before magistrates which would be extremely dangerous; and where the public prosecutor did not think fit to intervene, it would be argued before the magistrates that it might be taken for granted the case was not one that should be pressed. He concurred in what the hon. and learned Member for Ipswich had said as to the effect of the Bill upon the Bar, and he maintained that the measure would do nothing to prevent the failure of justice which might not be amply provided for under the existing system.

Mr. M'CARTHY DOWNING said, that he also was a Member of the Committee which sat upon the subject, and considering the unanimity which prevailed in that body, he was somewhat surprised to find that objections were now raised to the Bill by Gentlemen who had served on the Committee with him. He could testify, as he had had some experience of the system, to the good working of public prosecutors in Ireland, and he held that the Executive Government ought to be as responsible for the administration of justice with regard to preventing improper prosecutions, securing economy, and protecting the public from improper and corrupt transactions in England as they now were in that country and also in Scotland. All the evidence adduced before the Select Committee of 1856 was in favour of the proposed change. It had been spoken of in the highest terms by the Judges of the land, and by the late Lords Brougham and Campbell; and with regard to the expense, instead of being so costly as had been said by the hon. and learned Member for Ipswich, experience had proved in Ireland exactly the reverse, there being in that country 33 local public prosecutors, or almost exactly one for each county, their salaries being from £150 to £200, and the total expense not amounting to £7,000 per annum, and that of Crown solicitors to about £18,000. It was a mistake to suppose that a separate public prosecutor would be required in England for every Petty Sessional division, as he imagined that 70 for the whole of England and Wales would be found sufficient. All the objections to the Bill he considered were such as could be settled in Committee. In Ireland the local public prosecutors had not to attend once in 100 or even 500 cases at Petty Sessions, the Attorney General directing him to do so only in grave cases. In addition, that the system did not militate against the independence of the Bar was proved by the present position of the profession in Ireland, who, whatever they might be said to be in point of talent, were not in any way inferior in independence to the members of either the English or Scotch Bar.

Mr. BRISTOWE regretted that the House had not heard more of the opinions of the country magistrates and chairmen of Quarter Sessions on a subject so closely related to their functions and jurisdiction, and thought that, as a general rule, magistrates' clerks were well qualified to discharge, and could and did adequately discharge the duties required under the measure. He was astonished to learn from the right hon. and learned Recorder that there were such numerous failures of justice in London; and he believed that that state of things had no existence in the country generally. The system contemplated by that Bill was totally different from the one adopted in Ireland, and on that ground he must offer every opposition in his power to the measure. The duties of the public prosecutors of counties in Ireland were practically ministerial, the depositions in every case of committal being sent to the Attorney General, who determined whether the prosecution should go forward. That Bill, however, proposed to give to public prosecutors — attorneys nominated by the Home Secretary— powers that were not ministerial, but judicial. He protested against the notion that when a bench of magistrates had committed an accused person for trial, it should be within the competence of a country attorney to say that the case should not proceed further. That would practically take away from a private prosecutor the right which the Constitution now gave him. That was a blot in the measure which did not attach to the Irish system. Moreover, a private person going on with a case after the public prosecutor had declined, would do it in the full peril of paying the costs himself. He did not say he was altogether opposed to the principle of a public prosecutor, but he was decidedly opposed to the principle that a public prosecutor should have the powers, duties, and responsibilities cast upon him by that measure. This was a case in which the details of the Bill went to the root of the whole measure, and therefore he could not assent to its second reading.

Mr. HENLEY thought that was a question on which more depended on the machinery by which the thing intended was to be carried out than on an abstract principle, and it was on that view of the matter that he wished to make a few observations. There could be no doubt that many circumstances had arisen within the last few years which might seem to render it necessary that some assistance in some cases should be given in the way of public prosecution; but he questioned whether that Bill would do it. Some of the gigantic commercial frauds and other matters that had recently occurred were of such a nature as to make it almost beyond the power of a private person to undertake the responsibility and encounter the difficulty of prosecuting. But what did he find in that Bill? It professed in a sense to be permissive in any other part of the country except London; but, in fact, it left an arbitrary discretion to the Secretary of State for the time being to constitute districts as he thought fit. How the Secretary of State was to arrive at the will or wish of the districts passed his comprehension, because they were not to be conterminous with the counties. Again, if a borough or a district wished a public prosecutor to be appointed how was it to be done? It would be very difficult for a Secretary of State to come to a conclusion as to what was the wish of a particular district on the subject of the appointment of a public prosecutor, and, therefore, on this point the Bill appeared to him to be inconveniently framed. If the Bill as it stood were to become law, a very extensive and most unjust system of remands would grow up under it, which would involve great hardship upon unconvicted prisoners, who were treated more strictly in prison when under remand than those who were convicted, and thus often suffered much injustice. The Bill left them in perfect ignorance as to the class of persons who were to be appointed under it, and their remuneration, although it was most essential that the calibre of those who were to carry it into effect should be known, which could not possibly be, until they knew the terms of the appointment. This was the more important as, upon the nature of the appointments, would depend the successful working of the system. The Bill was also obscure on the point whether the public prosecutor was to conduct the prosecution personally, or was to be at liberty to employ counsel, and as to how he was to be paid, because he could not be a witness as the prosecutor generally was under the present mode. This was a most important matter, because it was well known that the expenses of prosecutors were frequently cut down to such an extent that there was a failure of justice in consequence, witnesses being paid on so low a scale that they refused to recollect on the trial facts that would tell against the prisoner. What the public required was that in great criminal cases the Attorney General should be authorized to give his assistance on behalf of the prosecution when necessary. On striking a balance, the inconveniences of the measure before the House would be found to outweigh its conveniences, and therefore he should vote against it.

Mr. LEEMAN believed hon. Members must have arrived at the conclusion, and it certainly was verified by his own personal experience of 30 years as a county clerk of the peace, that no evidence had been placed before the House to show the necessity for the appointment of public prosecutors out of the metropolis. With one exception, no case had been mentioned in which the prosecution of a great crime had been prevented in the provinces, and there was no evidence given before the Select Committee of compromises arising from the absence of a public prosecutor being made in the country. Under these circumstances he wanted to know why this measure should be imposed upon the country? If an experiment was necessary it might be made in connection with the Central Criminal Court; and should the Bill be read a second time, he would, on going into Committee, move that its application be limited to that Court. In the exceptional case of Adcock at Worcester, where it was alleged there had been a failure of justice through there being no public prosecutor, the alleged criminal absconded before he could be apprehended and brought to trial, and, therefore, justice could not have been vindicated even had a public prosecutor been appointed. In Manchester and Leeds public prosecutors had already been appointed by the local authorities, and if other populous places thought necessary they could follow the example set them by those two boroughs without any new legislation. He challenged the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary to point out any cases that had occurred in the agricultural districts which called for the appointment of a public prosecutor. The measure, if carried, would be more expensive than was anticipated, and would entail the appointment of a great number of persons to fill this office, because it would be impossible for one man to be present at the numerous Petty Sessions throughout the country, which might be sitting on the same day. The large number of cases now disposed of at Petty Sessions had rendered the appointment of public prosecutors still less necessary than in the days of Lord Campbell, who had declared that it would destroy the nursery of the English Bar if the patronage of Petty Sessions' prosecutions were put into the hands of one man, which would be the effect of the Bill, if passed; and the Attorney General, whatever other virtues he might possess, was not an angel. He suggested that power should be given to the justices at Petty Sessions to appoint their own clerks to conduct prosecutions, paying them by salary and not by fees, so that they should have no interest in prosecutions, and he still held by the evidence he had given in opposition to this proposal when before a Select Committee some years ago.

Mr. BRUCE remarked that the opinion of Lord Campbell, to which the hon. and learned Member who had just sat down had referred, had been laid before the Committee, who had, nevertheless, decided by a large majority in favour of the appointment of public prosecutors, while the present Lord Chief Justice strongly supported their decision. The hon. and learned Gentleman had asked him whether any cases had occurred in provincial towns which would render the passing of a measure like that now before the House necessary; but the best answer that could be given to that question was to be found in the fact that two large cities had appointed public prosecutors on their own responsibility. In his opinion, had the necessary facilities existed, the counties would have followed the example so set them. He had found, in his experience as a magistrate and as chairman of Quarter Sessions, that there was a most scandalous struggle for prosecutions. His own opinion was that the advantages flowing from the appointment of public prosecutors might be bought too dearly. He could undertake, however, to say that the expense of the proposed system would be but little more than that which was incurred at present, the subject having been carefully investigated by competent persons at the Treasury. At the same time, there were many portions of the measure which required careful consideration, and he felt strongly inclined to ask the right hon. Gentleman to withdraw his Bill, after he had tested the opinion of the House with reference to it, inasmuch as the subject was one which ought to be taken in hand by the Government when a fitting opportunity should arrive for them to deal with it. He should give his vote in favour of the second reading of the Bill.

Question put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 129; Noes 89: Majority 40.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*.

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND).

Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into the operation of the Poor Law in Scotland, and whether any and what amendments should be made therein:"—Committee to consist of Twenty-one Members:—Mr. Craufurd, The Lord Advocate, Sir Robert Anstruther, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Armitstead, Mr. Cameron, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Mr. Ellice, Mr. Crum-Ewing, Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. Fordyce, Mr. Gordon, Mr. John Hamilton, Mr. Loch, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Miller, Sir Graham Montgomery, Mr. Parker, Mr. Arthur Peel, and Sir David Wedderburn:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

LAW OF RATING (IRELAND).

Select Committee on the Law of Rating (Ireland) *nominated*:—Mr. VILLIERS, Sir MICHAEL HICKS BEACH, Mr. M'MAHON, Lord CLAUD HAMILTON, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. KAVANAGH, Mr. MAGUIRE, Colonel TAYLOR, Mr. WILLIAM GREGORY, Colonel VANDELEUR, Mr. DEASE, Mr. BRUEN, Mr. STACPOOLE, Mr. WILLIAM ORMSBY GORE, and The Marquess of HARTINGTON:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

And, on May 3, Sir FREDERICK HEYGATE, Mr. BAGWELL *added.*

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

* * *

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 27th April, 1871.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Second Report* —University Tests (No. 78).

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Protection of Life and Property in certain Parts of Ireland* (77).

Committee—Bankruptcy Disqualification* (65-79).

Committee—Report—Local Government Supplemental* (58); Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Supplemental* (62).

Third Reading—County Property* (35); Fairs* (44), and *passed.*

EPPING FOREST.—QUESTION.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON asked the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, Whether there was any objection to the issue of a writ for the election of a Verderer of Epping Forest, the legal number of four having been reduced by death to one? He understood that a large number of beautiful trees had been marked for destruction during the ensuing month, which there would be some chance of saving if proper officers were appointed. The remaining Verderer was unable by himself to constitute a court; but if another was elected this could be done, and he was informed that at least one gentleman of position in the county was prepared to serve the office. He understood also that several landed proprietors in the county were anxious for an election, in order that certain disputes as to forestal rights might be settled, and that the object which he himself had in view might be attained —namely, the preservation of a portion, at least, of this beautiful forest for the benefit of the densely populated districts in the East-end of London which bordered closely upon it.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR replied that it was for the freeholders of the county to petition him in the usual form, proving the death of the late Verderers. This had been done in the case of the New Forest, a writ being thereupon issued.

PROTECTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY IN CERTAIN PARTS OF IRELAND BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to empower the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland to apprehend and detain for a limited time persons suspected of being members of the Ribbon Society, or of being concerned in the commission of any crime or outrage under the direction or influence of the said Ribbon Society, in the county of Westmeath or in certain adjoining portions of the county of Meath and the King's county; and to continue "The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1870"—Was *presented* by The Earl of KIMBERLEY; read 1ª. (No. 77.)

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

* * *

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 27th April, 1871.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* —NAVY ESTIMATES.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Lunatics (Scotland)* [117]; Vaccination (Scotland)* [118]; Metropolitan Poor Act (1867) Amendment* [119].

Second Reading—Dogs* [114]; Local Government Supplemental (No. 2)* [115].

Committee—Report—Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes* [91]; Lunacy Regulation (Ireland)* [102].

Considered as amended—Ewelme Rectory* [96].

Third Reading—Bath City Prison* [100], and *passed.*

METROPOLIS—HYDE PARK—ALBERT MEMORIAL.—QUESTION.

MR. HARDCASTLE asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the unsightly iron tie bars lately fixed between the arches of the Albert Memorial are permanent or temporary; and, whether there is any truth in a report that the columns are bulging outwards so as to endanger the security of the building?

MR. AYRTON said, in reply, that these iron tie rods had been used during the construction of the Memorial; but after it was completed they were kept up for some time because the work was not quite finished. Attention having been called to them, the work was very carefully examined, and it was found there was not the least strain, and therefore they were removed. There was no cause to apprehend the least danger to the security of the building.

ARMY—MUSKETRY DRILL AT CHATHAM.—QUESTION.

Mr. MALCOLM asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the musketry drill of the troops stationed at Chatham has to be performed at Chatham instead of the Milton Barracks, owing to those barracks, which were specially built for the use of troops going through their course of musketry instruction at the Milton Ranges, being occupied by troops not so employed; and, whether he considers the Musketry Regulations, Part I. paragraph 4; Part II. paragraph 3; and Part III. paragraphs 5 and 6, with reference to the presence of the officer-instructors, can be properly carried out under these conditions?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, I am not sure how far the House will wish to go into the details of military discipline; but I have obtained from the Quartermaster General the following answer:—The preliminary drills only are performed at Chatham. There is ample accommodation at Milton Barracks both for musketry requirements and for the troops now stationed there; but, even were it not so, as a matter of discipline it has been found most inexpedient that the preliminary drills should be gone through at Milton, because a company was there often kept off duty a fortnight or more, after finishing the preliminary drill referred to in Part III., paragraphs 5 and 6 of the Musketry Regulations, when the company firing was not able to finish its practice on account of the state of the weather. This arrangement is carried on with the full concurrence of the Inspector General of Musketry, and, therefore, the paragraphs quoted in the Question are not in any way neglected. On the contrary, they are strictly complied with.

SMALL-POX AT HOUNSLOW.
QUESTION.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, considering that a death from confluent small-pox has occurred recently at Hounslow at the Barracks of the Fourth Middlesex Militia, and that the Militiamen themselves are drawn from parts of London where the disease is prevalent, he will consider the expediency of deferring the training of the Regiment until it can with safety be billeted upon the neighbouring villages?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, a death occurred in the case of one of the permanent Staff, who resided at Hounslow, about a month ago. The regiment assembles on Monday next, and careful precautions will be taken by the surgeon to prevent any risk of infection. The recruits, who have been there nearly a month, are very free from sickness, and it has not been thought necessary to postpone the training of the regiment.

MINES REGULATION BILL.—QUESTION.

Mr. WENTWORTH BEAUMONT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Her Majesty's Government will accept the Instruction of the honourable Member for West Cornwall to the Committee on the Mines Regulation Bill to divide the same into two, viz., Coal and Ironstone Mines and Metalliferous Mines; and, if so, whether he will go into Committee pro formâ on an early day, that the Bills as altered may be forthwith reprinted?

Mr. BRUCE, in reply, said, the Bill included not only coal and ironstone mines, but all mines whatever. The regulations for metalliferous mines were very different from those applicable to coal mines and ironstone mines worked in conjunction with coal. He had received representations from gentlemen connected with districts in which metalliferous mines were worked, to the effect that it would be much more convenient to them if the regulations applicable to these mines were included in one Bill, so that there would be one code. There was a great deal of force in that suggestion, and he was perfectly willing to accede to it, although he was not sure in what manner effect could be given to it. He was not satisfied that the most convenient way of proceeding with the measure would be to go into Committee upon it *pro formâ.*

METROPOLIS—KENSINGTON GARDENS.

QUESTIONS.

Lord ELCHO asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Kensington Gardens are under the management and control of Her Majesty's First Commissioner of Works, or of any other authority; whether the stopping-up and diverting, at an obtuse angle, towards the Albert Memorial and Albert Hall of a portion of the broad gravel walk that formerly bisected the Gardens in a straight line from the Colebrook Dale Gates at Rotten Row to the Bayswater Gate have been done by the sole advice and authority of the First Commissioner of Works; and, if not, by whose advice and authority; whether this diverting of a portion of the gravel walk and the accompanying alterations have necessitated or resulted in the cutting down of several of the old trees in the Gardens; and, if so, of how many; whether this divergence of the Broad Walk and the other alterations in the Gardens have been done in accordance with a definite plan that was prepared and laid down previously to the commencement of the alterations; if so, what is the date of this plan, who is responsible for it, and by whom was it prepared and drawn; whether, supposing such a plan to be in existence, he will cause it to be immediately laid before Parliament; and, whether he will also lay upon the Table of the House a Plan of the whole of Kensington Gardens and of the adjoining portion of Hyde Park, &c. on which the Albert Memorial and Albert Hall now stand, showing the exact state of the Gardens, Park, &c. before the recent alterations, and also the alterations that have been made, and any others that may be in contemplation?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Undoubtedly Kensington Gardens are under the management and control of Her Majesty's First Commissioner of Works, and not under any other control. I think, therefore, I had better leave my right hon. Friend to answer the noble Lord's Question, trusting he will be able to give a satisfactory answer.

Mr. AYRTON said, he was afraid the noble Lord had forgotten what had occurred on this subject during the last Session of Parliament. Last Session he made a proposal to throw part of Hyde Park into Kensington Gardens, and the House voted the money for carrying out that object; and a plan was laid on the Table to elucidate the proposal. In consequence of that the plan to carry out the design practically was considered in the Office of Works, and, of course, it was settled by his (Mr. Ayrton's) authority. Whatever had been done to carry out the vote of the House had been by his authority, and he was entirely responsible for it. The work presented only a choice of difficulties; and if the House thought it desirable to find time to discuss those difficulties, and the means of obviating them, he should be quite ready to take part in that discussion. The noble Lord did not seem to be aware that a plan was ordered to be laid on the Table, and it was now in preparation. A plan of the former state of Kensington Gardens might be seen in any good map of London, and he did not see the necessity of having one printed for the benefit of hon. Members. If the noble Lord would move for the plan there would not be the least objection to grant it.

Lord ELCHO said, he wished to repeat part of his Question. ["Oh, oh!"] He believed he was perfectly in Order in asking for an answer to this: whether it is true that the diversion of the Broad Walk and the cutting down of the trees to which he had referred was done according to any definite plan prepared previously to the commencement of the alteration; if so, what was the date of this plan, who was responsible for it, and by whom was it prepared and drawn?

Mr. AYRTON: The work was carried on according to a plan approved of by myself and by my authority.

Lord ELCHO: Did that plan embrace the diversion of the Broad Walk where it has been diverted from a straight line to an obtuse angle towards the Albert Memorial, and did it embrace the cutting down of the trees that have been cut down?

Mr. AYRTON: I have already stated that the plan was to carry out the works which have been carried out. The particular plan which was prepared contained only the commencement of the Broad Walk; but it indicated that which was perfectly settled—namely, that the walk was to be diverted towards the Albert Memorial.

Lord ELCHO: When was that done?

MR. AYRTON: The noble Lord may ask as many questions as he likes; but all was done by my authority, and was proceeded with upon instructions for which I am responsible. The plan was finally settled in the beginning of December.

METROPOLIS—CHELSEA EMBANKMENT.

QUESTION.

MR. HARVEY LEWIS asked the honourable Member for Bath, or, in his absence, the honourable Member for Colchester, Whether it is true that the Metropolitan Board of Works is about to use granite in the construction of the Chelsea Embankment, and whether the cost of such granite is not about double the price of the stone which had been selected for the construction of the Embankment; and, if he can state what is the reason that granite is now to be used instead of the stone formerly selected?

DR. BREWER replied, that it was correct that the Metropolitan Board of Works was about to use granite in the construction of the Chelsea Embankment. No other stone had been selected by the Metropolitan Board of Works for constructing the Embankment, and therefore no comparison of prices could be made. Granite was to be used because it was deemed the most suitable for the work, and, as before stated, it was the only stone that had ever met with the approbation of the Board for this purpose.

UNITED STATES—BRITISH CLAIMS.

QUESTION.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the claims of British subjects against the United States Government (as set forth in the Return presented to the House of Commons, paper North America, No. 11, 1864) are to be considered and adjudicated upon under the Convention lately signed at Washington, simultaneously with the Alabama claims; and as the Report referred to is now out of print, if Her Majesty's Government will cause it to be reprinted?

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, in reply, that no Convention had as yet been signed at Washington, and he trusted he should not be thought guilty of discourtesy if he said that it would be most injudicious prematurely to state what might or might not be contained in a Convention which was not yet signed. As to the re-printing of the Report, the hon. and gallant Member had better put himself in communication with the Committee on Printing; but meantime the Foreign Office would supply 50 copies of the document.

THE MATCHMAKERS' PROCESSION.

QUESTIONS.

MR. BAILLIE COCHRANE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What is the law respecting Public Processions; and, why a Procession of people thinking they have a grievance was stopped more than two miles from the House of Commons, while frequently mobs carrying Republican Flags are permitted to crowd the streets on Sunday afternoons?

MR. SAMUDA asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If it is true, as reported to him (the Member for the Tower Hamlets) by his constituents, that a quiet and orderly number of poor match-makers in the East of London, and at about four miles from the House of Commons, who were proceeding westward to show their protest against the Match Tax, which they conceived would completely ruin them, were cruelly beaten with staves by the police; and, whether he has had under his consideration that the object of preventing illegal processions of this sort from reaching the House of Commons might be more effectually obtained by widely circulated printed notices, explaining the unconstitutional nature of such processions, without having recourse to force upon persons who may naturally imagine that they are not offending against the Law, when they see so frequently large processions of Republican and other bodies proceeding unmolested by the Police through the streets on other occasions?

MR. EYKYN said, he also wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether he has made any inquiry with reference to the manner in which a member of the Press and a medical gentleman were treated on this occasion, whether they were "run in" by the police, and whether, to supplement the charge against them of being disorderly, Policeman B 62 stated that both were drunk?

MR. BRUCE: Sir, I shall be happy to state the law of public processions, so far at least as it refers to the subject of this inquiry. The law with regard to processions, political and otherwise, is this:—If they are peaceably conducted, if it is not their object to inspire the public with terror, and if they are so conducted as not to interfere with the traffic of the streets, they are not illegal. However objectionable and offensive to many these gatherings on Sunday afternoons may be, there is, as I believe and am informed, nothing illegal in them if they are so conducted as not materially to interfere with the use of the streets on Sunday; and whatever other sentiments those referred to may have inspired, I am not aware that they have ever inspired sentiments of terror. The case of the procession on Monday is entirely different. The first information of it reached me on the morning of that day. It appears that on Sunday afternoon a meeting was held in Victoria Park for the purpose of organizing what was called a monster procession, with a view of presenting a Petition to Parliament. The inspector of police who was present at the meeting was not aware that there was anything illegal in the proposed procession, or that it differed from an ordinary procession, and he did not conceive that it was his duty to call the special attention of the Chief Commissioner of Police to the fact that an illegal procession was contemplated. On the Monday morning placards were issued in the East of London, calling upon the people to assemble and form the procession. When I was informed of it, I immediately desired the Chief Commissioner to send information to these people, whose object I am well aware was quite peaceable, that their intention to come to the Houses of Parliament for the purpose of presenting a Petition was contrary to the law. The law is, that the number of persons proceeding together to either House of Parliament for the purpose of presenting a Petition shall not at any time exceed 10; and an Act of George III. declared meetings to be illegal which should be held for the purpose of considering or preparing a Petition to Parliament within a mile of Westminster on any day on which Parliament might meet or sit. This is not a question of a meeting for the purpose of considering a Petition to Parliament, otherwise the meeting of those persons would have been quite legal, for they met far more than a mile from Westminster; but they met with the object of coming to Parliament to present a Petition, and the moment they did so it was an illegal procession. In answer to the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Samuda), I have to say that the earliest possible means were taken of informing these poor people that the object of their meeting was illegal; but, unfortunately, it was impossible on Monday morning to make that information generally known. The first information was given by an inspector, who, with a body of police, met a portion of the procession at Bow Bridge, four miles from this place, headed by a gentleman who is a partner in one of the principal firms engaged in the making of lucifer matches. They were informed that a procession having this special object was an illegal procession, and that if they persisted in advancing they would be prevented approaching the precincts of the Houses of Parliament. There was some little scuffling, but no blows were struck on either side; and, when all was over, the gentleman who headed the procession—I believe it was Mr. May—used this expression to the inspector of police—"I have no fault to find with you, and I believe you have no fault to find with me," which was quite true. Another part of the procession was met at Mile End, and again information as to the illegality of their object was given, and no violence occurred. In each case these portions of the procession were apparently disbanded; but, many of those who formed them came on by the river steamers or by indirect routes, and at last collected in great numbers on the Thames Embankment, and formed in procession with waggons, bands of music, banners, and various other ensigns. About 100 yards from the termination of the Embankment they were met by a body of police and told they must proceed no further. Then an attack was made upon the police, not by the persons who formed the procession, but by a number of the violent class commonly called "roughs," who flung stones and other missiles against the police, and broke up the standards of the processionists and used them against the police. One policeman was injured severely, and several others were more or less hurt; but the police were under the command of the district superintendent, and I am positively assured by him that neither there nor anywhere else did the police strike a single blow; they received many, but they did not strike one. I believe they did their best to avoid the use of any more force than was absolutely necessary to prevent that which would have been illegal, and which I think it was my duty, under the law and in the interests of public order, to prevent. With respect to the subject of the Question asked me without Notice by the hon. Member for Windsor (Mr. Eykyn), I have not specially inquired into the matter, but I had asked Colonel Henderson what truth there was in the statement that these two gentlemen were illused. His reply was that, in spite of the efforts of the police, a great number of women and children got into the Hall, which was very inconveniently crowded, and that a large number of people also assembled outside the Houses of Parliament. He therefore cleared the Hall, and prevented the entrance within the gates of all persons except those who had a right to enter. These gentlemen were there, and endeavoured to force their way in, but were informed by the police that they could not be allowed to enter. I am informed that they used very irritating language to the police, and that the police did not use more violence than was necessary to prevent that which, had it been permitted, would have led others to attempt to get in.

MR. BAILLIE COCHRANE: After what the right hon. Gentleman has stated, I wish to ask him whether he will not bring in a Bill to prevent these processions, at all events on Sunday afternoons?

MR. BRUCE: What happened yesterday does not give me much encouragement as to the prospect of passing such a Bill.

ARMY—INSPECTORS OF THE RESERVE FORCES.—QUESTION.

MR. H. R. BRAND asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the intention of the Government, in making future appointments of Field Officers of Artillery as Inspectors of the Reserve Forces, to select these officers from the late Indian list (now Royal) as well as from the old Royal list; and, if not, why not?

MR. CARDWELL: Sir, selections for the Reserve Forces are made on the recommendation of the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief and the Inspector General of Reserve Forces jointly. The first list has been submitted to me, and I have approved it. It consists of British officers only; but there is no exclusion of officers of the old Indian Service if they shall be recommended for appointment.

LOCAL TAXATION BILL—SEWERS.

QUESTION.

MR. WINGFIELD BAKER asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether, in the Local Taxation Bill, it is intended that all moneys needed for works under jurisdiction of sewers are to be provided for out of the Consolidated Fund mentioned in the above-named Bill?

MR. GOSCHEN: Sir, there will be cases in which it will be impossible to include in the consolidated rate moneys levied under the jurisdiction of sewers, those rates in many cases not being fixed with reference to any parochial or local boundary, but according to the levels. There are cases in which there are 17 different levels and 17 different rates. In such cases special provisions will have to be made.

SCOTLAND—PEDLARS' CERTIFICATES

QUESTION.

MR. DYCE NICOL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it has been brought to his Notice that 12,500 Pedlars' Sixpenny Certificates have been issued in Scotland from 1st January to 15th March without reference to the description of goods hawked or the number of the family accompanying the Pedlar; and that applications for such Certificates are daily increasing; and, whether he will make an early inquiry into the operation of the Pedlars Act of 1870, with a view to its amendment?

MR. BRUCE replied that he had not received any Return of the precise number of pedlars to whom Pedlars' Sixpenny Certificates had been issued in Scotland, but he was aware they were very numerous; and he had received a Report from the inspectors of police in Scotland in reference to this subject. That Report, and other information he had received, showed the necessity of amending the Act of last Session.

CATTLE DISEASE (METROPOLIS)—WATERSIDE CATTLE MARKET.

QUESTION.

MR. W. M. TORRENS asked the Vice President of the Council, When it is intended to remove the cordon round London which prevents the free supply for sale, and free distribution when sold, of English cattle fit for the metropolitan market, having regard to the fact that a temporary market for foreign cattle has for some time been established on the river-side under the superintendence of the Government?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, in reply, that in the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act there was a provision that unless the City authorities made a water-side market at the end of this year they would lose their market monopoly. He was glad, however, to be able to state that they were taking measures for completing the market within the specified time. He hoped, when that market was finished, that the Government would be able to relax the cordon round London. The temporary river-side market was not sufficient to be relied upon for all cattle imported.

THE LECTURER MURPHY.—QUESTION.

MR. HOLT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has inquired into the circumstances connected with the recent outrage upon Mr. William Murphy at Whitehaven; whether he has any information to communicate to the House; and, whether any steps are being taken for the prosecution of the perpetrators of the above outrage?

MR. BRUCE: I have inquired, Sir, into the circumstances of the outrage, and I have specially asked to be informed what steps are being taken to discover and punish its authors; but I have not yet received a reply to my letter.

LICENSING BILL—POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS.—QUESTION.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I wish to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that this afternoon a number of gentlemen from Bath assembled in Palace Yard, singing patriotic songs and making a demonstration against the Licensing Bill of the right hon. Gentleman? I wish also to ask whether future demonstrations of such a nature will or will not be interfered with by the police?

MR. BRUCE: I hope, Sir, the police will always prevent any noisy or improper demonstrations in Palace Yard, whether against the Licensing Bill or with any other object.

WAYS AND MEANS.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. GLADSTONE: Mr. Speaker—I rise, Sir, for the purpose of moving that you leave the Chair, and I think it may be for the convenience of the House that I should accompany that Motion with a very short statement referring to the present position of the financial plans of the Government, and our intentions with regard to them. On Tuesday the Cabinet, considering the state of opinion which prevailed with respect to the financial proposals of the Government, and especially with reference to a tax upon matches, authorized my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to state that we did not intend to persevere with that proposal. At the same time, however, we were not aware that there was any intention to challenge, or, at least, further to challenge, after the debate of Monday night, the Budget as a whole, or the Government through the medium of the Budget. But on Tuesday evening the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Disraeli), in the exercise of a discretion which was perfectly legitimate on his part, as it would have been on the part of any other Member of this House, gave Notice of a Motion challenging the whole of the financial proposals of the Government. Her Majesty's Government was unaware of the fact that this Motion was about to be brought forward until the Notice was actually given; and when we had time to consider it, it appeared to us greatly to alter the situation of affairs. Before that Notice was given our intention was to deal with the Budget in detail, upon the principles we had explained—that is to say, that while we felt ourselves bound to adhere to what we considered to be the main bases and fundamental principles of the scheme, we were ready, so far as was in our power, to consider the opinion of the House and the state of public feeling with respect to any proposals not essential to the object we have in view at the present time. That was, I think, a course perfectly legitimate for us to take as long as the Budget was before the House for consideration in detail; but if the Budget was to be challenged as a whole we did not think that that course could be pursued. We were of opinion that, in such a case, it was our duty at once to make known to the House, who were to be invited to pronounce upon it as a whole, what precise course we intend to pursue in reference to the changes that have been or might be made in it. It has been made known to me quite recently that there is a doubt—though, probably, the right hon. Gentleman opposite is better informed on the subject than I am—as to the regularity of the Motion of which he has given Notice, considered as a Motion to be made in Committee of Ways and Means. That, however, I do not consider very material to my present purpose, as there are plenty of means afforded by the forms of the House which will give the right hon. Gentleman, if he is so disposed—and I must now assume absolutely that he is so disposed — an opportunity of challenging the financial plans of the Government. If we are to consider the Budget in the point of view to which I have alluded, I think it is fair that, without waiting for the incidents of the debate, I should state to the House distinctly what it is that we now deem it our duty to adhere to, how it is proposed to fill up the gap made by the withdrawal of the intended tax upon matches, and what modifications we propose to make in the plans which were announced by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We cannot depart from what we consider to be the basis of the whole proposal—namely, that we should look in the main, if not wholly, to the income tax for the purpose of providing what is required by the Estimates as they at present stand, and as we mean to adhere to them. With respect to the Estimate of Expenditure, it has already been stated, on the part of the Government, that we shall be too happy if, in the course of the year, we find that the state of circumstances does not compel us to lay out the whole of the money at the disposal of the Government; but we are not prepared to depart from the proposals as they now stand before the House. With reference to the expenditure of the nature contemplated by the present Estimates, and which has been described as belonging to a state of things which we regard as transitory, we do not and shall not think it right to provide for any portion of this expenditure by disturbing the duties that are now imposed upon articles of consumption, with the additional disturbance of all the relations and transactions of trade in connection with the distribution of those articles of consumption all over the country, which would inevitably follow. Lastly, Sir, we must adhere to our view, which is that the interest of the country and the soundness of our financial system require that this expenditure, which the Government has proposed, and a large portion of which the House has voted, should be met by means drawn from the taxation of the country, and not by means drawn from any other source. Having settled that, Sir, it will be asked what we intend to do with the particulars of the Budget. It was the intention of my right hon. Friend, had the matter been considered without prejudice in detail upon the merits of each proposition, to have stated the arguments which, as we think, may very properly be used in favour of our proposals with regard to the legacy, probate, and succession duties, where we framed proposals which we thought to be conducive to the public interest and founded on principles of justice. ["No, no!"] I am not asking for criticism, nor am I endeavouring to filch any sort of admission from hon. Members as to the proposals, and if hon. Members will be content to wait I shall resolve their doubts in a very few moments. We have thought it our duty to look at the state of opinion with regard to this proposal, and we have arrived at the conclusion that, in the state of opinion which prevails, it would be impossible for us to obtain a fair judgment upon the proposal on its merits. ["Oh, oh!" "Hear, hear!"] I am always glad when hon. Members opposite can find relief for the occasional tedium that attends debates in this House in the slightest ray of what may afford amusement; but it does not appear to me that what I have just said suggests any particular ground for amusement, or the reverse—at any rate, I will endeavour to make my meaning clear. In regard to all public topics, there are questions of abstract merits and questions based upon the particular period at which they are brought forward. At the present moment, as at all periods, there are many hon. Members in this House who are indisposed to any augmentation of the burdens upon property, and such Members we have always to reckon upon as the natural and permanent opponents of proposals such as these to which I am now referring. But besides these, we have another set of opinion prevailing more upon this side of the House than on the other, which has reference not so much to the general principle of imposing duties upon property as to the circumstances of the time. I quite admit that an illegitimate combination was contemplated and about to be carried out on last Monday night; but here, between the two classes of opinion I have described, we have what must be admitted on all hands to be a combination of a perfectly legitimate character. We have Gentlemen who are very jealous of the expenditure proposed, and who naturally cling to and interpret strictly any declarations we have made to the effect that the expenditure is of a transitory character, and we have also Gentlemen opposite who urge with no inconsiderable force that they are entitled to object, if they think fit, to proposals involving expenditure and an enlargement of the permanent sources of Revenue. In fact, the House appears to say, and I admit its perfect right so to speak—"We are ready to make provision for the wants you have submitted to us, but we require that the provision shall be made in such a way that we shall be able to keep the subject in our own hands, and shall not place at the disposal of the Government any such enlarged resources as may have a tendency to render permanent an expenditure which you have encouraged us to hope need not be invested with the character of permanency." Under these circumstances, we consider that between those opposed to the proposal on principle and those who are opposed to it on the ground that the time is inopportune, we should have to meet a combination the perfect Parliamentary legitimacy of which we cannot deny, but which would certainly render it quite impossible at the present moment to obtain an entirely unbiassed consideration of the proposal on its own merits. We therefore, Sir, do not intend to submit to the House at the present time the Resolutions relating to the probate, succession, and legacy duties. I hope nothing that I have said can be taken by anyone as indicating that there is any change of opinion on the part of the Government with reference to the justice of the principle upon which that proposition was founded. Well, Sir, we think that our course is a very plain one. It is to make provision for the present exigency from that source which is of all sources the most available for any purposes of a more or less temporary character, and which is likewise recommended by the circumstance that it is easily borne while it lasts, and easily removed when the time comes for the Government to make the surrender. We shall therefore propose that the income tax be increased by 2*d.* in the pound, and the plan of computing it by percentage will stand over for an impartial expression of public opinion. If, on consideration, we come to the conclusion that its trifling disadvantages are counterbalanced by the flexibility which it unquestionably possesses, Parliament will certainly hear of it again; if, on the contrary, it is found that it introduces labour and complication to an extent which would more than counterbalance the flexibility, I am able to say, on the part of the Government, that we have never considered it so vitally associated with our candour, consistency, or honour as to put us under the imperative obligation of pressing it upon the attention of Parliament. The Budget will therefore stand in such a form that it will be easily intelligible to those who may hear it, and I trust that a favourable hearing and consideration will be given to the alterations and modifications which I have sketched out, and which will be explained more in detail by my right hon. Friend. I have now, Sir, to move that you do leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. William Ewart Gladstone.*)

MR. DISRAELI: I gave Notice, Sir, on Tuesday last, as the House has been correctly reminded by the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, that it was my intention to ask the opinion of the House generally upon the Budget proposed by Her Majesty's Ministers.

I thought at the time that Budget was not satisfactory, and that the decision of the House might possibly induce Her Majesty's Ministers, on the whole, to re-consider their scheme. Shortly after giving that Notice the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and announced the relinquishment of an important portion of the Government proposals, and it was therefore quite clear that my previous Notice was, under those circumstances, *brutum fulmen.* And, although it might possibly still become my duty to ask the opinion of the House on the general scheme of the Government, inasmuch as it would be necessary for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make new propositions, to supply the place of those he had relinquished, it was quite clear that it would be impossible for me to proceed, if at all, until the new propositions were before us. The new propositions might be satisfactory; or they might, as a whole, partake of a very different character from the original propositions of the Government; and therefore I am surprised that the right hon. Gentleman the First Minister of the Crown should suppose I was bound immediately to proceed with a Resolution which was framed when all the circumstances of the case were so widely different. It had also transpired—and I believe with the knowledge of the right hon. Gentleman—that the highest authority had intimated that by the forms of the House, the Resolution I proposed to submit could not be put; and now the right hon. Gentleman, to-day, expecting I should proceed, or take some opportunity of virtually proceeding with the Motion, announces a number of changes which entirely alter the character of the Budget, in respect to which I intended originally to solicit the opinion of the House. The right hon. Gentleman has given up the succession duties, together with that original proposition of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the tax on matches. The right hon. Gentleman, in intimating the substitute that will be proposed—namely, an income tax at the rate of 2*d.* in the pound in addition to the present tax, has given up the proposed new mode of assessment, against which I myself, and I believe the majority of the House, had great objection. It will, therefore, be evident to any candid mind that I am not bound, even if I had the opportunity, which I have not, to bring forward my original Notice. But, Sir, it requires time for us to consider the propositions of the Government, and I should be glad to know what period of time the right hon. Gentleman proposes should be given the House for that purpose. [*Murmurs.*] If there is anybody in the House who can doubt the propriety of such a course, I must make one or two observations upon the position in which the House finds itself in regard to its finances generally, and in regard to the changes proposed by the right hon. Gentleman. Let me make one or two observations on the position of the House. In the first place, we have a Budget, which proposes to provide for the whole deficiency of the year, a deficiency amounting to £2,700,000, by direct taxation. It must be at once acknowledged that that is a plan differing very much in principle from the scheme which the right hon. Gentleman announced in the Budget last week. It was not only announced that a portion of the deficiency should be supplied by means of direct taxation, but a mode of raising that direct taxation was submitted to the House by the right hon. Gentleman. At this time last year the Chancellor of the Exchequer reduced the indirect taxation of the country to the amount of nearly £3,000,000, and this year he is proposing to increase the direct taxation according to this new suggestion by nearly the same amount. Such a proposition of extreme gravity demands some time for the House to consider whether they are prepared to sanction it, and I would not ask for an immediate judgment on the matter at issue. But, besides this, there are other circumstances connected with this question, which appear to me to make it most urgent that time should be allowed us to consider the new Budget—for this is a new Budget. The right hon. Gentleman cannot forget that the real deficiency which the Government ought to consider and contemplate is not measured by the precise sum of £2,700,000, as estimated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but that this year there have been declarations made by that right hon. Gentleman in his Financial Statement, and that there have been proposals by Bills now lying upon the Table, which will very much increase the liabilities of this country in future years, and which liabilities they would be shortly called on to meet. Now, Sir, I am not myself generally inclined to mix up the financial arrangements of one year with those of its successors; sufficient for the year are the burdens thereof; but there are cases, and such cases must be familiar to Gentlemen in this House, when it has been necessary to take that course, and the present Prime Minister, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, on more than one occasion produced financial schemes which connected the finances of one year with the finances of those that succeeded. In addition to this deficiency announced, which, in round numbers, amounts to £2,700,000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget Speech, calling attention to the enormous Estimate under the heading of "Miscellaneous," told us that that £900,000 will consist simply of return money expended on the Abyssinian Expedition, and will not occur in the years to follow. The right hon. Gentleman also very properly referred to the increased liability for which we must be prepared hereafter, if the abolition of purchase in the Army is decided upon by the House, and he very properly reminded the House that the £600,000 provided for that purpose in the Budget of this year must be at least doubled next year. Well, £900,000 and £600,000 make £1,500,000, and I think the House will remember that there is a Bill upon the Table of the House, to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer also very properly referred in his Budget—a Bill respecting local taxation, containing, as I think, a monstrous proposition for the transfer of a branch of Imperial taxation to satisfy the local cravings of obscure bodies, who, if they are known for anything, are known for the painful notoriety of their general administration of local funds. If the £1,200,000 which is thus to be transferred is added to the £1,500,000 I have already referred to, the House will see there is another sum of £2,700,000, which we must contemplate when we are considering the Ways and Means. My right hon. Friend near me reminds me that the cost of retirement must also be provided for, but I shrink at this moment from the contemplation of a subject so vast. Cursorily adverting to it, I will, on this occasion, confine myself to the figures with which we have been furnished by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself. Well, now, Sir, I take the Estimates of the right hon. Gentleman for what they declare themselves to be, and I do so sincerely, and with the hope that in any discussions we may have on these financial subjects, we shall not find, on either side of the House, that loose style of debate which does not accept the Estimates of the Minister of Finance. Taking, then, these Estimates as genuine, and therefore not having any right to trust to the increase of the Revenue, and not having, as I think, under the circumstances, any very strong reason to hope for the reduction of expenditure, we really have before us the prospect of a deficiency of between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000 to encounter the year after the current financial year. Now, some may say—"Let us shut our eyes to these contingencies." It would not be prudent, I doubt whether it would be just to do so, considering that they form part of the Financial Statement of the right hon. Gentleman. I doubt whether we should be justified in omitting them from our consideration; but there are two most weighty reasons which in my mind render it imperative that we should take them into consideration, and immediately, in consequence of the observations made this evening by the First Minister of the Crown. We must recollect that the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave us some intimation of resources which he contemplated and to which he gave his approval. And what were they? Of all the Ministers on that Bench the Chancellor of the Exchequer—I am not speaking of the right hon. Gentleman personally or individually, but of the office—is the one who should most weigh his words, for an incautious phrase from the Chancellor of the Exchequer may seriously affect the commerce of the country, the course of trade, the mode of investment, the legitimate speculation and enterprise of the country. I am quite sure that no Chancellor of the Exchequer is insensible to that responsibility, and I am certain that the distinguished Gentleman who at present occupies that office is too conscious of the weight attached to the words of a Chancellor of the Exchequer to have used any expression of that kind without having well weighed and matured it. Now, what were those intimations that he made to the House? The Chancellor of the Exchequer, of course contemplating this possible and probable deficiency of between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000, and assuming, as he had a right to assume, that he would retain his office, and have to face this deficiency, told us in his Budget Speech that there were means of taxation which had his entire approbation, though they might be regarded with some little prejudice in the country. In the first place, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said—"We have an excellent mode of supplying this deficiency, and that is to tax machinery employed in the cultivation of the soil." And that is what the Chancellor of the Exchequer calls putting an end to exemptions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer says the tax which he approves is a tax upon the horses and carts of the farmers, and, I believe, the carts of other traders, which would produce little less than £2,000,000; and he further said that it had the merit of fixity, and therefore that it could be depended on. I heard some one ask the other day—"What is the use of Chambers of Agriculture?" I have an opinion that Chambers of Agriculture are very useful, and if their proceedings are regulated with discretion may be of great benefit. But no doubt Chambers of Agriculture will now have something to occupy their time, when they find that by the plans of Her Majesty's Government our finances are brought into such a state that in the course of 12 months we shall probably have a deficit of between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is of opinion that a rational and politic mode of largely supplying that deficiency is to tax machinery required for the cultivation of the soil. In this case, I would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in laying down this principle, he would extend it to the horse-power of manufactures generally? If so, I can assure him he will find in me a determined opponent. This being the first intimation of the taxes of the future, I would ask, what is the other? It is a very serious one, and it refers particularly to the tax which the right hon. Gentleman has withdrawn from the Budget this evening, but with the significant communication that the principle of that tax will be brought before our notice at another time. Let us look at what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in his speech. The proposition, speaking generally, was to double the duties on succession. A great deal may be said against such a tax upon grounds of impolicy and injustice. I will, however, say nothing about it at present, as it is withdrawn; but must call attention to the extraordinary declaration made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget Speech, because it is one of the most remarkable announcements that ever was made by a Chancellor of the Exchequer in this country. He told us that he had deeply considered this question of succession, and the taxes upon it, and, in his opinion, the quality of consanguinity in the arrangement of such taxes ought not to be recognized by the State. It would appear that this is a course which the right hon. Gentleman, in furtherance of his financial views, is prepared to pursue at another time. Now, in this announcement, I believe the Chancellor of the Exchequer has put himself in entire opposition to the traditions, and even the passionate convictions, of the people of this country, and has identified himself with a principle of taxation which, as far as I know, has never been recognized by the laws of any State, ancient or modern, at least by none laying claim to civilization. Such is the position, then, in which we find ourselves. If the Estimates of the Chancellor of the Exchequer unhappily prove true—and so we must treat them, because they are founded on authentic information, and after consideration by eminent men—we must look forward to more than a possibility of a deficit of £5,000,000 or £6,000,000; and we have a Ministry which has already officially intimated to us that it is ready at any time to bring forward measures to supply such a deficiency which, as far as succession is concerned, will not recognize the principle of consanguinity, and, so far as the machinery for cultivating the soil is concerned, that it shall be subject to a tax from which every other trade in the country is free. These are grave considerations, and I cannot doubt but that they will fall deep into the minds of the people of this country. It is impossible to avoid the consideration of them, when evening after evening we have parts of the original Budget withdrawn from our attention in this perfunctory manner. What is our position? We have a new Budget. The indirect taxation which was proposed has been given up, and, as I think, most properly. The scheme for doubling the duties on succession has been relinquished somewhat hastily, but in a manner very satisfactory to the House and country at large. The mode, too, of assessing the income tax, novel and vexatious as it was, has already disappeared. I have read somewhere of the sweet simplicity of the Three per Cents. There is a sweet simplicity in the present Budget which, at any rate, will not allow any person to be mystified as to its character or contents. Then let us clearly understand our position, after all the schemes which we have for the last two years endured. We must remember it was only this time last year that in the most wanton and unnecessary manner, in a manner which very slightly benefited any class, and, so far as one branch of the Revenue was concerned, benefited none, we lost by the advice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer £3,000,000 of indirect taxation, and now this identical Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to inflict upon us £3,000,000 of direct taxation. This is the proposition which ought, in my opinion, to be gravely considered; and I cannot doubt but that the Government, under the altered circumstances of the case, will propose such a day for its consideration as will give us, and perhaps the country, full opportunity to consider the best course to be pursued. Before I sit down I wish to make a remark which when I entered Parliament would have been unnecessary, but which, to my surprise, has become necessary in in the Parliament of which I am now a Member. Sir, I protest against the doctrine which, if it has not been directly enunciated, has at least been inferentially impressed upon the House, and that constantly—I refer to the doctrine that because we have agreed to Votes in Committee of Supply we are bound to approve the Ways and Means proposed for those Votes. Nothing could be more unconstitutional and unreasonable. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman says, "Hear, hear!" I do not say that the right hon. Gentleman impressed that upon the House with as much decision as the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the right hon. Gentleman inferentially led the House to believe that it was our duty, unless we proposed preferable Ways and Means to his own, to accede to them. What is that but the doctrine I have described? So far as I am concerned, I have no wish to shrink from the responsibility of having agreed to the Votes in Supply, and I believe there is no Gentleman on this side of the House who at all shrinks from such responsibility; but we will vindicate our right to question and criticise the Ways and Means of the Ministry; to ask ourselves whether they are adequate, whether they are just, whether they are politic. We have questioned your Ways and Means; we did not think they were adequate; we did not think they were just; we did not think they were politic. It was politic, I suppose, in the estimation of the Government, to propose a tax upon matches? It was just, in their opinion, to put a tax upon the home and the orphan—the tax upon succession. The income tax comes next; and that, I suppose, is in their view, an adequate tax. We are prepared to consider the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman: his Ways and Means are now simple. What has occurred with respect to this Budget shows the wisdom of the course the House took in questioning the Ways and Means; for the proposals of the Government have been all withdrawn, to the satisfaction of the House, and I am sure to the unspeakable relief of the country. Let us now consider the new Ways and Means of the Government, and I will not doubt but that her Majesty's Ministers will give us time to accord to them that consideration they deserve.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Like the diminutive hero of whom we were told, to our great delight, in our nursery days, the right hon Gentleman has just been engaged in the cruel slaughter of a giant of his own creation. He has accused my right hon. Friend and myself of having laid down this doctrine—that the House, having passed certain Votes in Supply, is thereby precluded from objecting to the Ways and Means by which the services thus voted are to be met. The right hon. Gentleman has certainly had an easy victory over his own phantom. But supposing the proposition to have been differently stated, and supposing that the assertion had been that my right hon. Friend and myself had said—what we really did say—that the House having agreed, after consideration and after Divisions, to certain Votes in Supply, and other Votes which necessarily imply expenditure, is bound to make provision somehow or other for that outlay—would the right hon. Gentleman have found that so easy of refutation? And yet that was the champion he had to encounter, and not the giant of his own imagination. I have, however, to thank the right hon. Gentleman for doing what I am bound to say very few persons in the House except himself have done—namely, for making a most eloquent, and I think I may add, really successful defence of those parts of my Budget which have been abandoned. The right hon. Gentleman has pointed out what had not been very much thought of or dwelt on, and that was the great advantage that would have been derived from them for purposes of prospective finance. But I will not enter into this subject now: I am not going to offer any defence of what is gone. I can only say that my firm belief is, the time will come when, the heat and passions of the present moment having passed away, these matters may perhaps be considered in a different light to what they are at present. But the right hon. Gentleman has brought against me two distinct accusations which I am bound to meet. He has credited me with saying that it is my intention to, as I think he said, put taxes on all the machinery employed in husbandry. He did not understate his case; in fact, he very seldom does. Spades, harrows, flails, thrashing machines, all are involved in one common description. What was really the case? Before I proceeded to the imposition of new taxes, I thought it my duty to point out to the House that there was a large class of articles known under the name of "exemptions," a tax on which would, if the House were pleased to tax them, raise a very considerable part of the deficit. I did not make to the House any proposition of the kind stated by the right hon. Gentleman; I did not hold out to the House that the Government had the least idea of taxing those articles; but I only pointed out the facts of the case, just as I pointed out many other things which did not make very much for me, such as the item for £874,000, which will not occur next year, and the increased Vote for Army purchase, but which I thought it my duty candidly and fairly to notice, and which might have escaped observation if they had not been placed before hon. Members. These were matters which it was not necessary for me to state, yet, in calling attention to them, I never pledged either myself or the Government to any proceeding of the kind mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman. His second point was with regard to the succession duties, and on that I expressed my own individual opinion, which I am bound to say I retain—that the scale of consanguinity which is peculiar to this country is not in itself founded on any very sound principle of taxation. ["Oh, oh!"] I may be quite wrong, but I am only stating what was the opinion I expressed. For that opinion I gave my reason, which was that I believe the essence of taxation to be equality, and a scale by which two persons who are bequeathed equal sums are taxed, the one to the extent of 1 per cent and the other by 10 per cent, certainly sins against that canon of taxation. But, in doing so, I accompanied my opinion with the declaration that the feeling in favour of this scale was very firmly rooted in the country, and stated that the Government had no intention whatever of disturbing it, but that they thought they might be right in trying to make some little further approach to equality by raising that scale in two of its five degrees. ["Oh, oh!"] I may have been totally wrong in that opinion. ["Hear, hear!"] Opinions, however, are not decided by cheers or counter cheers, but by reasoning. I may have been totally wrong, but I never committed either myself or the Government to any intention of adopting the policy to which the right hon. Gentleman objects. I am not aware that it is necessary for me to say anything more, except that the right hon. Gentleman, having complimented us on the "sweet simplicity" of our Budget, might have drawn the inference that so simple a matter could have been discussed at once. That inference, however, does not appear to have occurred to the mind of the right hon. Gentleman. I should have thought there was another reason why he would have been willing to go on; and that is, that this fearful proposal of placing 2*d.* on the income tax, in order to meet a transitional expenditure, is like his own act in 1867, when he had to meet the expenses of the Abyssinian War. I think, however, he has a perfect right to claim the delay he asks for, and that it will be employed to advantage, and I hope it will be satisfactory if I propose to go into Committee on this subject on Monday next.

Lord GEORGE CAVENDISH said, he had no doubt he was expressing the opinions of those around him when he said that he greatly rejoiced that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government and his Colleagues had not allowed any false pride to stand in the way of the withdrawal of their proposition as regarded the succession duties, and the other items of the Budget. Looking to what had occurred, he could only account for the production of such a Budget on the theory of the first Lord Shaftesbury, who used to say that everyone had within him a wise man and a foolish one; that each must have his turn, and that if the wise man were always allowed to prevail the individual would become disordered and fit for nothing; so that it was necessary at times to allow the foolish man to run his course and play his frolic. That seemed to be the case with regard to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who for two successive Sessions had brought in, as they, the Liberal party thought, very wise measures; but now something within him, either the foolish man telling him not to be satisfied, or the idea of the wise man—"Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," urged him not to be satisfied with having acquired a great character for wisdom, but to bring forward this time a foolish Budget. In this instance, the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that he would not only be foolish, but frolicsome also, for 18 jokes had been counted in his speech. Moreover, he not only proposed to inflict heavy burdens, but he went out of his way to exasperate the landed interest by pointing to the farmers' horses, and saying that although he did not desire to tax them this year, yet on another occasion the subject might be well worthy of consideration. Those who on the Government side of the House belonged to the landed interest, had supported many measures that had led almost to the annihilation of representatives of their class. Feeling the smallness of their present number to be a misfortune, he desired that some remedy might be found, so that more of the representatives of the landed interest would be found on that side of the House, which was now so largely occupied by hon. Members for boroughs. The existing evil was greatly to be deplored; but if the House passed such measures as those which had been hinted at, the evil would be increased by many who now represented land on the Ministerial side of the House being excluded from the House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to him to be like the Nottingham man who was recently mentioned in the newspapers as having acquired a reputation for great wealth, which enabled him to live on his relatives, who thought they were to receive large bequests. The right hon. Gentleman had this year been reputed to be possessed of great wealth, and by even the best-informed it was believed that he would have a surplus of £2,000,000; but during the last week of the financial year there was an "ugly rush" for the money. Although knowing this, either from some infatuation, or in his rollicking reckless manner, the right hon. Gentleman had this year encouraged applications for money to be made to him which led to the deficit. First came the Secretary for War, who asked—"Can you spare me £600,000 this year?" The right hon. Gentleman replied—"Oh, yes; and what shall you want next?" "£1,200,000," was the reply. Next came the First Lord of the Admiralty, who, while at the Poor Law Board, was asked by the landed interest to consider the subject of rating personal property. He thought—"Before I leave this office I should like to do something to snub these country gentlemen." Therefore he resolved not to give them anything, but he went to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and said—"If you can spare me £1,200,000 next year, I will then relieve house property to that amount," though nobody had asked for it. If business was to be conducted on these principles; if the landed interest was to be treated in this manner; it was time for some of the few remaining representatives of that interest on the Government side of the House to enter their protest against such measures. He was very glad that, as in the case of the man at Nottingham, the Friends of the right hon.

Gentleman had given him, or rather his Budget, a decent burial, instead of calling on the rest of the House to attend his obsequies; and he trusted that, if the observation of Lord Shaftesbury were true, the right hon. Gentleman, in the character of the foolish man, having played his pranks and run his rigs, would return, as the wise man, to the wisdom and gravity of a former period.

Mr. FAWCETT said, as it might be supposed that the new Budget just introduced would be popular among persons of advanced Liberal opinions, he was bound, considering his views on taxation, to enter his earnest and decided protest against the principle contained in it. He had never concealed from the House that he held extreme democratic opinions; nevertheless, he had not lost sight of the dangers of democracy, and no one who had considered the subject could doubt that, among the many advantages enjoyed by democratic institutions, there was this disadvantage—that, if not properly checked, they sometimes tended to make government expensive. Now, the House would remember the debates two or three years ago. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Prime Minister fought nightly over that historic animal, the Trojan horse; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer warned the House that inside it there was a great democracy, which, if once let loose, would issue forth and sway the Government, regardless of the true principles of finance, and involve the country in unwonted extravagance. Well, three years had passed; but it was the extravagance of the Government, not the extravagance of the democracy, that the country had to fear. There was a large exceptional expenditure of £3,000,000 this year, and the House was asked to provide the whole of it out of direct taxation. Now, who paid direct taxation? A small minority in each constituency. If, therefore, the new Budget were sanctioned, we said, in effect, to the democracy—"Be as extravagant as you like, sanction any expenditure you choose, there will be a Government who will tell you the expenditure is transitional, and you, the majority, will not pay the bill, but every farthing of additional taxation will be thrown upon the minority." The authority of Ricardo, Mill, and other writers on political economy might be quoted against him to show that taxation, whether direct or indirect, in the end fell, to a great extent, upon the working classes; but the great fact you wanted to bring home to the people was, that if they desired extravagant armaments the money must not come first out of other people's pockets, but must come directly out of their own. Although this might not be a popular doctrine, yet he believed it was the true one. He, therefore, protested earnestly and solemnly against the plan for throwing the additional expenditure entirely on the income tax. In this country, no doubt, the working man was heavily taxed; but still more heavily taxed than the skilled artizan with £2 or £3 a-week were the clerk and the poor widow, struggling to bring up a family and maintain a certain appearance on £100 or £150 a-year. Upon these persons the pressure of local taxation was constantly increasing, and now that the working classes had a majority in almost every constituency, were they to lay down the doctrine that additional expenditure should be paid by the minority out of direct taxation? He might, perhaps, be in a minority in expressing these opinions, but considering the state of Europe, and that owing to the encouragement given to a wicked rivalry in armaments, country after country was running with inevitable certainty into financial embarrassment, he thought it was the duty of that House, now that they had a democratic suffrage, to relax not a single check which might tend to prevent extravagance. He ventured the other night to make a suggestion to the Government, and he would venture to make another. On that occasion he asked them to withdraw their Budget, and he now asked them to revise it. The country did not accept the doctrine that because some sums had been voted in Supply, that the House was pledged to the expenditure; and he ventured to predict that if the Government attempted to carry out any financial proposals which involved the expenditure of £72,500,000, they would find they were not carrying out the wishes of the country. He should be false to the principles he held, and unworthy of a seat in that House, if he did not do everything in his power to protest against what he regarded as a fatal doctrine, which would lead the country to disastrous ruin — the fatal doctrine, that additional expenditure was to be borne entirely by direct taxation.

Mr. LIDDELL tendered his thanks to the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett) for the principles which he had just enunciated, and at the same time he wished the House to consider what was the pretext of the Government for meeting the deficit of the year wholly out of direct taxation. The Government said it was transitional expenditure, but what security was there for it; because experience taught them that expense incurred for defensive purposes was a lasting expenditure. To say that was but throwing dust in the eyes of the House, of which the erection of fortifications was an instance in proof, and therefore it was that he asked what security was there that this increased expenditure would not become permanent. He was glad they were to have two or three days in which to consider the new proposal of the Government, and he hoped that in the meantime what had been said by the hon. Member for Brighton would go to the hearts and homes of the vast majority of the people. It was but just that some part of the expenditure of the year should be met by indirect taxation.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH protested most strongly against the doctrine which the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett) had attempted to lay down; because, so long as over £40,000,000 were raised by indirect taxation, it could not be said that the largest portion of the expenditure of the country was met by direct taxation. So long as the majority of the House was elected by classes altogether above the working classes, there would be no fear of the democratic power becoming omnipotent here, and therefore it appeared to him premature to meet such a danger as the hon. Gentleman had pointed out. It would have been more to the point, however, if the hon. Member had been able to produce an instance where the democratic form of government had proved to be the more expensive form of government.

Mr. OSBORNE: As, Sir, "my poverty, and not my will, consents" to sit on these benches of advanced Liberals and retrogade Democrats, I rise to say, or rather to make my protest—not being that anomalous thing an advanced Liberal, or that almost extinct animal a Tory Member—that I can agree neither with my hon. Friend opposite the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Liddell), nor with the hon. Professor, who, I believe, is the only man among us who would adopt the Phrygian cap. I must add that I very much condole with my right hon. Friends on the Treasury Bench. I know it has been said by a French cynic that there is something in the misfortunes of our best friends which is agreeable to us. I do not experience that feeling myself; but I do condole with them in the incident of the noble Lord the Member for North Derbyshire (Lord George Cavendish), who, I thought, was a Ministerialist beyond Ministers, helping a lame dog over the stile as he has done to-night. I was, indeed, somewhat surprised to hear the sentiments enunciated by the noble Lord; but I confess I was not able to follow him through the whole of the likeness which he drew, when he compared my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to a gentleman at Nottingham. To whom he referred I cannot say; but it seems to me that the resemblance was not so true as he might have made it if he had likened him to a gentleman whose name we meet with in the Old Testament—I mean Jonah. Of the other side of the House my right hon. Friend has assuredly no cause to complain, and if he has been thrown overboard with all his sins upon his head—he tells us he has not repented—if he has been thrown overboard to the fishes—and I must say I do not envy the fish that got him—if he has been thrown overboard by the captain of the vessel, it has been the work of his Colleagues—I was going to call them his confederates. It is worthy of notice that the new Budget which has been proposed to us, assumes, we are told, the appearance of a simple Budget. If I am glad it assumes that simplicity, I must not be supposed to agree with the extreme doctrine which has been laid down by the Tory-Democratic Member for Brighton. I am of opinion that, if the upper classes of this country are to enjoy the luxury of periodical panics, they should be prepared to pay for them. I think that the only way to bring about a reduction of expenditure is to make them pay for it; for until they feel the screw pressing on them depend upon it we shall never see that reduction of expenditure of which the hon. Member for Brighton is so great an advocate. Feeling this very strongly, and that it is a thing above all others that we must ultimately effect, I should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman would candidly tell the House that there would not be another alteration in his scheme before Monday—yet, if it comes before us, as at present framed, on that day I hope we shall have a proper discussion of the incidence of taxation, and that when we are called upon to vote the Ways and Means for the year, the House will not be actuated by a false shame, as the Ministers have not been actuated by any false shame in assenting to withdraw their Budget, and will press for the withdrawal of their Estimates also. They are about to plunge the country into an expenditure for what they call their Army Regulation scheme, of which none of us knows the fullest extent. The House of Commons has in consequence been placed in a most unprecedented situation. You have been called upon to give your assent to a Bill without any definite statement of the cost which it would involve having been laid on the Table. I trust, therefore, that when you re-consider the Budget you will be prepared to go further, and to re-consider your vote on the Army Regulation Bill. However, whether you do so or not, of this I am sure, that the money which you will be called on to pay, in order that the Minister of War and his subordinates may ride their military hobby-horse, will be found to have been laid out on a project which is not worth the cost. I am delighted to be told the Chancellor of the Exchequer has had to yield to the pressure which was put on him by his Colleagues on the Treasury Bench. I am sure he means well, and I would throw out to him a suggestion which he might consider before Monday. He has gone to considerable expense—I do not mean that he himself has, because we shall have to pay for it—in preparing a new stamp with the motto, "*Ex luce lucellum,*" which, for the benefit of the successful capitalists whom I see around me, means, I may observe in passing, "From light a little gain." Well, that stamp is ready, and why should he not attach it to a tax which was recommended the other night by an hon. Gentleman who sits behind him, and who, although he attacked his Budget, walked into the same Lobby with him—I allude to the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Crawford)? Why should he not, I say, attach this *Ex luce lucellum* to a tax on photographs, which is a most objectionable impost, being a tax on the vanity of men and women, and not on the necessities of life? For that reason, *Ex luce lucellum* being ready, let him place it on photographs, and take something off the income tax.

Mr. NEVILLE-GRENVILLE expressed his apprehension that, although the succession duty was for the present withdrawn, yet that it would not only be reproduced on some future occasion, but that they would also seek to place a duty on the motive power of manufacture in agriculture. Should such a contingency occur, they might depend upon it that the motive power in manufactures would not long escape.

Lord GARLIES thought the time was come when the House should be informed what the meaning was of the phrase "transition Estimates," for, as far as he could perceive, the only Estimate answering to the description was that the country was to be called upon to pay only £600,000 this year for the abolition of purchase, and which would change to £1,200,000 next year.

Mr. GILPIN said, that while he had felt it to be his duty on a previous occasion to make some strong observations against the original Budget, he had done so with regret. He had now a more pleasant duty to discharge, to congratulate the Government on having taken the course which as wise and honest men it became them to take—that when they found they had committed an error, to retrace their steps at the earliest possible moment. The wisest men might make mistakes, and it was only fools who persevered in them when discovered. The present action of the Government would, he believed, strengthen their position in the estimation of the country.

Mr. SCOURFIELD said, he must take the earliest opportunity of protesting against the idea of transferring the house tax from Imperial to local taxation. They all knew perfectly well that London was the place which would be most benefited. He happened to have a freehold property of three or four houses in a town in Wales, and also of a house in the City of London. Not one of the houses in the town in Wales to which he referred paid the house tax. He was sorry for it, because if they did he would have an increased rent. In the City of London, for a house of a similar size, he received a rent between nine and ten times greater. Every man who had to pay 9*d*. house duty was well recouped by getting £1 additional rent. He protested against transferring such a tax from Imperial to local purposes.

Mr. MAGNIAC expressed a hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would deal firmly with the exemption of corporations from legacy duty, if not this Session, at all events in some future one.

Mr. SINCLAIR AYTOUN said, that while expressing dissatisfaction at the new scheme propounded by the Government, he entirely approved the course taken by the Government in throwing over the eccentric taxation proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He hoped this would be the last Budget of that character which the people of this country would see, and that, at any rate, it would afford a lesson to the Government not to permit one of their Members to indulge his desire of producing something of an unusual and startling nature, but rather to adhere to those old-fashioned and more simple principles of finance which had hitherto maintained their ground. He was especially pleased that the match tax had been thrown over, and the succession duties also, with the proposal to substitute percentage for poundage in levying the income tax; but he was not at all satisfied with the imposition of an increase in the direction of that tax. There was no necessity for resorting in so large a degree to an increased income tax for an expenditure which was said to be transitional and temporary. If it was, why not meet it as other transitional and temporary expenses were met not by a loan, but by the simple plan of suspending the reduction of the National Debt? He hoped, however, the Government would not be prevailed upon to abandon their scheme for the abolition of purchase. Within the last few years several Acts had been passed for converting sums of money in the Post Office Savings Banks into Terminable Annuities. The Trustees for the Reduction of the National Debt were empowered to devote the surplus funds, which were not required for meeting the demands of the depositors, to the purchase and cancelling of stock. He believed we were at the present moment applying more than £2,000,000 per annum to the reduction of the Debt. Well, if the expenditure of this year were really exceptional, let it be met by the simple means of suspending the reduction of the Debt, instead of putting additional burdens on the people.

Viscount BURY shared the general feeling of satisfaction that many of the items of the Budget proposed the other day had been modified. Her Majesty's Government had shown a very wise discretion in yielding to the expression of opinion which had made itself heard throughout the country, and the course which they had now chosen would be generally approved; but he could not, however, agree as to the propriety of an additional 2*d*. in the income tax by way of substitute for the proposals they had abandoned. That tax might have all the simplicity attributed to it; but he concurred in a great measure with what had fallen from the hon. Member for Brighton, that the tax, however simple, fell with an undue weight and pressure upon a class already sufficiently burdened. He was one of those who from the first had felt it his duty to oppose one part of the expenditure which had been proposed by the Government, and he could not but think if that expenditure were now abandoned all the difficulties in which we were involved, and in which the Government were evidently involved, would disappear. If the Bill for the Regulation of the Army were either withdrawn or considerably modified as regarded the abolition of purchase, the whole question would be simplified, the present difficulties of the Government would, in some degree, disappear; and we should not be reduced to the expedient brought forward by the Government to-night. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had intimated that he would not have ventured on the imposition of an additional 2*d*. of income tax were it not that the expenditure which it was to meet was of an exceptional and temporary nature. He disputed the statement that this expenditure could be transitory or exceptional. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire, it was true, set aside a suggestion made to him while speaking, that we should in future years have to provide for a scheme of retirement in the Army; but the House could not shut its eyes to the fact that money would have to be procured year after year to carry out a retirement scheme, and they had not had even a hint from the Government of the amount which would be required for that purpose. If the abolition of purchase were for the present relinquished we should have a respite; we should not only not have to provide £600,000 in this year's Estimates, but should be relieved for a time at least from the contemplation of the large sums which the retirement scheme would cost. He therefore agreed with those who had suggested that the Government should re-consider the Estimates which they had submitted to the House in this particular; in doing so it could not be supposed that they would suffer in the opinion of the country if they adopted this course, which would be a manly, straightforward, and proper one. The Estimates were framed at a time when the Government had, no doubt, turned over their Ways and Means in their mind, and had arrived at certain conclusions. Now, Government acknowledged that their Ways and Means, which they had thought were acceptable to the House and the country, were not so, and with perfect straightforwardness and with perfect honour they re-modelled their scheme. Why should not they with equal straightforwardness and equal honour re-consider the Estimates which rendered those Ways and Means necessary? If the Army Organization Bill were withdrawn, we should be relieved from all the embarrassment which it had caused in our finance.

MR. PEASE tendered his most hearty thanks to the Government for the manner in which they had re-modelled their financial scheme. With reference to the suggestion of the noble Lord who had just sat down, as to the Army Organization Bill, it seemed to him to be too late, after the House had actually voted money for carrying out the abolition of the purchase system, to ask the Government again to revise their Estimates; and if there was one thing more than another he trusted the Government would not do, it was to follow the advice of that noble Lord with regard to the question of Army purchase. He thanked the Prime Minister for the pledge he had given, to take the advice of the hon. Member for Sheffield and those who voted with him, to reduce the expenditure when the state of Europe warranted that course; and he much hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would leave the question of agricultural horses alone on all future occasions.

MR. COLLINS said, he would remind the House that when the Budget was introduced, he suggested that the deficit should be obtained in the mode now adopted by the Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to hold to his sliding scale of the succession duties; but he (Mr. Collins) was of opinion that the taxing of successions on personal property, ranging from 1 to 10 per cent, would never have been achieved but by a Parliament of landlords. This was an anomaly that ought to be got rid of. In an equalization of the succession duties, it should begin from the top, and 5 per cent should be the maximum in any case of succession; while, with regard to personalty, 2 per cent should be the maximum with reference to nearest relations, and 5 per cent in the case of strangers, and this should include the tax on successions which is now levied in the shape of Probate Duty. He held that if the people of this country were determined to add materially to the defences of the country they should know that they would have to pay the bill. The pressure of the income tax on incomes below £200 had been much lessened by the reduction of £60 from the assessed amount. The House ought steadily to keep in view the reduction of the National Debt, and, except in times of war or great peril, they ought not to suspend the action which was now going on for decreasing that Debt by means of Terminable Annuities. Though, in principle, he thought it was objectionable to obtain an increase of Revenue by increasing one tax only, yet this was only a transitional period so far as concerned increased expenditure, and it would not be sound policy to obtain an increase of Revenue by increasing the duties on tea and sugar, which were comforts, he might almost say necessaries, of the poor. Under all the circumstances of the case, he thought that the Government had adopted a wise plan.

MR. BROOKS said, he had been an Income Tax Commissioner, and was of opinion that that tax inflicted great injustice on the poor. He admitted that considerable improvements had been made in the income tax by which the injustice was not felt so much by the very poor; but, still, there were a great number of professional men and people who derived their income from limited sources, who felt the injustice of the tax most keenly, while by more wealthy people the injustice was hardly felt. It seemed to him that we were in danger of falling on the income tax because the wisdom of the Legislature could think of nothing else. When the income tax was first proposed by the late Sir Robert Peel, it was intended as a merely temporary measure to raise the country from the condition into which it had fallen; and he (Mr. Brooks) thought it would be impolitic in the highest degree to allow Her Majesty's Government to impose an additional income tax for the purpose of accomplishing measures which many on the Opposition Benches disapproved.

MR. AUBERON HERBERT said, he did not suppose that the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett) cared much when the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Osborne), in commenting upon his (Mr. Fawcett's) honest, frank, and courageous speech, spoke about Democrats. The remarks of the hon. Member for Waterford upon the hon. Member for Brighton would not lessen the confidence which a very large part of our working people had in him. The hon. Member for Waterford, no doubt, was a frequent source of amusement to the House, and if he (Mr. A. Herbert) were a giver of dinners, he would feel so much indebted to him for the favour of his company to dinner, that he would always keep an empty chair for him. [Mr. OSBORNE: It does not follow that I should come.] Then, in that case, the loss would be his own. While perfectly ready to acknowledge this debt which they all owed to the hon. Gentleman, he could not help observing that if the hon. Member wished to forward any political object, or if he saw in politics any meaning whatever, beyond their affording a fighting arena in which every man was to stand on his own hand, and joke on every subject, he would become more useful to the country and to his own constituency if he would imitate the hon. Member for Brighton. [Mr. OSBORNE: Hear, hear!] He was delighted to hear that the hon. Gentleman had a talent for music, in addition to his other accomplishments; but, notwithstanding the interruption, the hon. Gentleman should hear the end of his sentence, and receive the advice he was about to offer him, which was that he should become a retrograde Democrat as soon as possible. The only difficulty that lay in the way of his (Mr. Osborne's) adopting that advice, was the impossibility of his retrograding from a position he had never attained, because the speeches of the hon. Gentleman never contained a single Democratic or Liberal sentiment, and might just as well have been delivered from the opposite as from the Liberal Benches. The hon. Member had instanced the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr Fawcett) as being the only man in the House ready to adopt the Phrygian cap. Caps were dangerous subjects for the hon. Gentleman to refer to; because there were different kinds of caps; there was one which "makes music as it goes," and which had a highly professional character; and if ever there was a subscription raised in the House to present any hon. Member with a cap of that kind, he should be glad to add his name to the list of subscribers. ["Oh!"] He did not agree with what had fallen from the hon. Member for Brighton, for this reason, because he did not think that the money levied in the form of taxes throughout was expended in the interests of the working population. At the present time, pounds were expended upon the Army and the Navy; while only pence were devoted to educational purposes, and the endowments throughout the country, great as they were, were not applied in such a way as to meet the real wants of the population. As soon as the money raised by taxation was expended in forwarding the real interests of the working population the suggestion of the hon. Member for Brighton could not be too closely or too faithfully followed.

MR. BUXTON said, he must congratulate Her Majesty's Government on having retired with so much grace and frankness from a false position, in acknowledgment of which, no doubt, the country would award them all the more honour. Hon. Members near him shared his regret—a regret increased by the fact that he had found himself compelled to vote against the Government—that the Prime Minister had felt it to be necessary to spend £26,000,000 this year upon the national armaments. The right hon. Gentleman would, doubtless, have preferred that the cost of those armaments should have been reduced rather than increased; but he had been compelled to yield to the pressure that had been put upon him by the country. The political horizon being at present without a cloud, he could not see the necessity of adverting to the heavy expenditure of years gone by, and he hoped and trusted that the Government would soon be able to alter their policy on that head of expenditure.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON congratulated the House and the country upon the course that Her Majesty's Government had thought fit to adopt in withdrawing the most objectionable features of the Budget. He wished to second the suggestion of the hon. Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs (Mr. Sinclair Aytoun) that this was a fitting opportunity for the suspension of the action of the machinery for the reduction of the National Debt, in place of throwing the whole expenditure upon the direct taxation of the country. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in introducing, in 1866, the measure under which that reduction of the Debt was effected, had recommended it on the ground that its operation might be suspended whenever the requirements of the country should demand it.

Mr. GLADSTONE: As this subject has been referred to in several quarters, I may, perhaps, be permitted to state that in bringing forward the measure to which the hon. Baronet alludes, I did not use the expression that its operation could be suspended in the event of certain contingencies happening. I have not the words before me that I actually used, when laying the principles of the measure before the House; but, speaking entirely from memory, what I believe I said was this—that the system proposed to be established by the measure would provide us with a most ready and convenient means of borrowing without our going into the money market. By resorting to this fund, therefore, we should be borrowing in the strictest sense of the word, and not merely suspending the operation of the system.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON would urge that the present, at all events, was an occasion when we should be justified in availing ourselves of the resources that the system offered us. He approved the suggestion for the taxation of photographs, by which a large sum might be raised without putting pressure upon anybody.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Committee *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

CONTROLLERSHIP OF THE NAVY.

RESOLUTION.

Mr. T. BRASSEY, in rising to call attention to the multifarious duties of the Controller of the Navy, and to move a Resolution on the subject, said, the attention of the public had been drawn to this office of late, in consequence of the melancholy loss of the *Captain*, of the recent changes in the Admiralty, and of the retirement of two public officers connected with the shipbuilding department of the Navy. It would be generally acknowledged that for a long time past an impression had prevailed that dockyard work was unnecessarily costly. Although he did not share the views of those who thought that the cost of dockyard work was inordinately extravagant, still he thought that such work was more costly by 10 per cent than similar work executed in private yards; and this in spite of the fact that the cost of labour in the public dockyards was cheaper than in private establishments, and of the great advantage which the former had over the latter in having continual employment for the machinery which they possessed. When it was recollected that the Vote for Stores and Wages in the Home Dockyards during the year amounted to upwards of a million and a-half, it would be seen that a saving of only 5 per cent upon that sum would amount to £75,000. They would all admit that to effect this saving to the taxpayers by reducing the cost of dockyard work was an object worthy of considerable effort. It was patent to all who had in any way investigated the subject, that in the administration of those large dockyard establishments there was too much concentration of detail and management at Whitehall; and the fact that the Controller, who was responsible for the management of those establishments, was an over-worked officer, arose to a great extent from that excessive concentration of responsibility in London. At the last inquiry into the management of the dockyards, the Duke of Somerset stated that it was impossible for any person, however able, adequately and efficiently to discharge all the duties at that time imposed on the Controller. Recent changes had, however, materially increased the duties of that officer, the departments of gunnery and stores having been added to the former scope of his functions, already more than sufficiently onerous; and, to add to it, he had been also made a member of the Board of Admiralty. While the Controller himself could not possibly discharge all those duties, the fact that he was nominally held responsible absolved those officers who really had the conduct of the details of dockyard business from the wholesome responsibility which ought properly to rest upon them, and which gave the greatest possible stimulus to individual effort. He would suggest, therefore, that the Controller should be relieved of a portion of his duties by giving a more independent authority to the local officers of the dockyards. He might attach undue importance to that suggestion; but if he represented anything in that House at all, it was the successful application of the principle of decentralization to the largest industrial affairs. He would retain the office of Admiral Superintendent, because it was necessary to have in those establishments a naval officer of high rank to represent the Admiralty, to impose a check on the requisitions sent to the dockyards by the captains of ships, to superintend the steam reserve, and to see that every vessel fitted in those yards was duly equipped for naval service. But his proposition was that the shipbuilding work of the dockyards should be placed in the hands of a professional officer, on whom there should rest an undivided responsibility in respect of those duties; and in order to secure the services of men fully competent to undertake that great responsibility, it would be necessary to improve the social status and increase the salaries of the professional officers of the dockyards. It was the opinion of the most competent judges that a promoted workman was not the fittest person for high administrative functions, involving more or less general knowledge, of a vast variety of trades, and that, in order to have the highest professional office of each dockyard well filled, they required the services of a gentleman who possessed not only a knowledge of workmanship but also an appreciation of finance. The title of master shipwright was not much coveted by the persons employed in that capacity, nor was it quite suitable to the principal officer appointed to undertake the work of shipbuilding in one of Her Majesty's Yards. The title of Deputy Naval Constructor would be more appropriate; and the relative rank of those officers should also be improved, as in France, where the officer at the head of the shipbuilding work in a dockyard held relative naval rank with a captain; and where the highest officer connected with shipbuilding held the rank of a rear admiral. The Companionship of the Bath might likewise, he suggested, be given from time to time, with advantage, for long and meritorious service on the part of those officers. While thinking that their pay was discreditably inadequate—the highest salary given to a master shipwright at the head of one of Her Majesty's Dockyards being only £600 or £650 a-year—he advocated no hasty or ill-considered change; but if the salary were raised to something like £2,000, he felt confident the money would be well spent for the public interest. He had himself been connected with a private shipbuilding establishment, and also with one of our largest railways; and in each of those establishments a salary was given of not less than £5,000 for the discharge of duties in no respect exceeding in importance those devolving on the principal responsible officers in Her Majesty's naval Yards. It would be better to employ a few administrative officers possessing the highest skill in those departments, at large salaries, and to introduce further economy—care being taken not to injure the efficiency — from time to time in the clerical staff. Again, a valuable and effective economical reform would be effected if the principal shipwright in each of the naval Yards were, before being allowed to commence building a ship or undertaking any important repairs, to be called upon to furnish an estimate of his own of the probable cost. Independent estimates from subordinate agents had been found of the greatest advantage in the execution of railway works. He would further suggest that the names of the officers by whom the several estimates were made should be mentioned in the tabulated Statement given to the House, so that in the event of any great discrepancy between the cost and the estimate the public would know who was responsible for any such administrative failure. Again, if the dockyards were treated more completely than at present as separate establishments, a most valuable incentive to efficiency and economy would be applied to those charged with their management. Then, the present system of promotion in the dockyards was very unsatisfactory. Even among some of the humblest grades of the artizan class promotions, he believed, were made, not directly by the local officer, but by reference to the central authority in London. That was altogether wrong; because, while the central authority must depend, in such cases, upon the report of the local officer, the local officer, on the other hand, was deprived—which he should not be—of due control over the workmen under him. If that system were more fully adhered to, changes of the Government would be less prejudicial to the efficiency of the dockyards. Sir Baldwin Walker stated in evidence that, during the 13 years he held office, there had been no less than seven changes of Administration. Then the question arose, where were they to look for persons competent to fill the offices he proposed to create, and—in endeavouring to show them in what direction they should look to supply their wants—he had no hesitation in saying that the best school of training for the public service was the public service itself. It had produced such shipwrights as Mr. Lang, Mr. Watts, and, he believed, Mr. Reed. He also ventured to say that if the system of decentralization were fully applied to the Royal Dockyards, and if each dockyard was separated from the others, there would no longer be the great delay which existed at present in presenting to Parliament the audited accounts for shipbuilding. The last accounts for 1867-8 were only submitted to the Accountant General for his approval in November, 1870—two and a-half years after the expenditure had taken place—and, for the purpose of criticism, they were useless; but the accounts might be produced more speedily if they were audited locally. As regarded his late father's great works, the whole of the audits were done in their respective localities on the spot; but if they had been done in London, all the houses in Great George Street would not have furnished room enough for the Staff required to be employed. Passing from this topic, he would make one or two observations with respect to the office of Controller of the Navy; and, in reference to that subject, he must say that a considerable reform seemed to be required at Whitehall. After full consideration, he concurred in the opinion expressed by Sir Frederick Grey, before the Duke of Somerset's Committee, that the office of Controller should be abolished, and that the Second Sea Lord should be put at the head of the dockyards and constructive department. In order to carry that out, it would be advantageous that a professional officer having a knowledge of shipbuilding, rather than a naval man, should be made responsible to the Admiralty for a matter requiring such technical knowledge as shipbuilding. As an instance, proving the value of this suggestion, he would give the name of Sir William Seppings. With regard to the Staff of the Constructor, he would suggest that it must be in all respects efficient and sufficiently numerous to enable the Constructor to make more frequent visits than hitherto to the Royal Dockyards; for no supervision at Whitehall could be so effective as personal inspection; and the master's eye did more, in accelerating the dispatch and improving the quality of the work, than the most voluminous correspondence and the most intricate Returns. His attention had been called to this subject in consequence of the sympathy he felt for the British Navy; and in speaking on these matters, and in suggesting the principle of decentralization, he was doing the best he could to communicate to the House whatever he might have inherited from a very distinguished leader in industrial enterprize. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

MR. M. CHAMBERS, in seconding the Motion, said, he considered the speech just delivered to be both instructive and practical, founded upon full reflection, as well as actual knowledge.

His political experience in association with the dockyards for many years convinced him that there were numerous defects in their management. One of these had partially, if not altogether, passed away—namely, the injury produced by appointments of officers and artizans through political influence. The main object was to obtain capable and industrious workmen, and to effect that it was desirable to learn whether, when men were wanted at the dockyards, they were selected by any officer who knew their capacity, and whether they were chosen simply for their merits. He did not say they should bribe talent, but they must adequately pay talent; for it had happened more than once that men who had advanced in the Royal Dockyards to considerable eminence had been lured away by private shipbuilders offering them a larger salary, continuous employment, or an improved position. Remarkable instances of this evil had occurred during the Crimean War, when skilled labour of this description was in great demand. Such men should have increased wages, and more extended power, and certain prospects to induce them to remain in the service of the country, and unless we raised the maximum salary in these cases, and were more cautious in suddenly, and even capriciously, discharging large numbers, we might lose some of our ablest men educated in the Royal Dockyards, and deter others from accepting employment, and the public service would suffer. The object should be to make and retain men valuable to us in the conduct of our dockyard business. He therefore pressed on the attention of the Admiralty the necessity of affording due encouragement to the best workmen to raise themselves by talent, industry, honesty, and good conduct to the position of heads of the different departments, for by so doing we should be able to command the services of good men, who had, or had not, been brought up in the Royal Dockyards, by ensuring them remuneration and rewards equal, or nearly equal, to those they could obtain in private establishments. In these scientific days talent, industry, and integrity were highly prized, and if first-rate talent were not highly paid we could not command it, because of the great competition existing for the services of men possessing these qualifications between the Admiralty and private firms. He would give to certain officers in the Royal Dockyards some degree of authority with reference to those employed under them. Superintendents might have the power to hire and promote the men, but over these officers there should be very careful and close observation. If, also, they could establish some system like this—giving the ganger, or leading man of shipwrights for instance, the power of hiring those who assist him, and making him answerable for the excellence and rapidity of the work done, they would insure not only efficiency but economy. He thought the suggestions of his hon. Friend the Member for Hastings well worthy of consideration by the authorities at the Admiralty with respect to the internal management of dockyards. Economical considerations, however, rendered it difficult to acquiesce in the suggestion to appoint in each dockyard two or three superior officers in addition to the Admiral Superintendent; we should rather see whether good workmen could not advance to such a position as would enable them to discharge the duties which the hon. Member contemplated. It could not be denied that, notwithstanding all efforts for reform, this part of our National expenditure was comparatively too high and it was probable that one explanation of the undue cost of the dockyards was the unnecessarily complicated mode of keeping the accounts, which rendered it difficult to audit them at short periods in the same manner as the accounts of private establishments were audited.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is expedient that the Controller of the Navy should be relieved of a portion of his responsibilities by giving more independent authority to the local officers of the Dockyards," — (*Mr. Brassey,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. GOSCHEN observed, that the matter under debate had been brought forward in an able speech, and with that practical knowledge of detail which was always displayed by the hon. Member who proposed it (Mr. T. Brassey.)

He wished, however, that the House should look closely to the terms of the Motion. The hon. Member thought that considerable advantage would be derived from decentralizing the management of our dockyards, and by giving greater responsibility and power of individual action to those who were at the head of the respective dockyards, and relieving the Controller of the Navy of part of his responsibility; but one great difficulty in the way of such a plan—a difficulty to which a Government Department must always be exposed when placed in competition with private enterprize—was the necessity of having a minute control over the expenditure. The desirability of maintaining responsibility in a central department, and thereby procuring that rigid supervision over expenditure which that House in all cases demanded, rendered it necessary that the Control Department should be responsible to the public for every shilling spent, and, therefore, they could not allow the same latitude to subordinates which might be allowed in private yards. This was illustrated by the question of promotion. The hon. Member suggested that local officers should have the power to promote men who had distinguished themselves in their respective dockyards. But promotion to workmen meant increase of pay; and if they gave this latitude to local officers, they would part with their control over the increase of expenditure. The same principle, moreover, would apply to many other Departments. There was, no doubt, considerable force in the argument that they should give as much latitude as possible to local officers; and his predecessor in office, the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), had taken several steps in this direction. For instance, formerly the local authorities were not allowed to spend more than £5 without reference to Whitehall, whilst now the limit was £50. This step showed that the views of the hon. Member for Hastings had been partially shared in and acted on by the Admiralty. It was a question however how far they should go in their desire to relieve the Controller of the Navy of his responsibility, for clearly there must be some one person who must be responsible for carrying out a general policy as endorsed by the Board of Admiralty, and individual officers at dockyards, even if they comprised such distinguished men as the hon. Member had suggested, could never be allowed to carry out each their own designs. Two questions had been raised by the hon. Member, which were perfectly distinct—the question of the civil or professional as against the naval management; and that of the subordination of the dockyards to a central authority. If such a professional man as had been proposed were to be appointed the question would arise, what would be his relation to the Admiral Superintendent and Commander-in-Chief? It appeared to him that there was a slight confusion in the mind of his hon. Friend, because the duties which he assigned to the Admiral Superintendent could easily be performed by the Commander-in-Chief, and under his plan there would be two admirals and one professional person besides, who would receive a salary equal to the salaries of the two admirals together. There would be thus three officers in every dockyard, with the professional man almost quite independent of the Admiral Superintendent; and a division of responsibility which would not be for the advantage of the public service. For instance, he could see there would be no duties left for the Admiral Superintendent at all, and it would be necessary to abolish this office—which, he thought, was contrary to his hon. Friend's intention, as he (Mr. Goschen) concluded his hon. Friend wished both officers to be continued—leaving the Commander-in-Chief, who would be responsible for the whole of the discipline, and the professional man responsible for the whole of the shipping. One question had suggested itself to his mind while his hon. Friend was speaking with regard to the dockyards and with regard to Whitehall. The question was—would it be wise or possible at present to confine shipbuilding entirely to professional persons, without giving the naval element any voice in the construction of the ships? The hon. Gentleman spoke of the re-organization of the Department at Whitehall, and suggested that the whole of the shipbuilding should be taken out of the hands of the Naval Lord and placed in the hands of a professional person. His (Mr. Goschen's) experience on that point was of the most recent date; but from what he had read, he should judge that nothing would be more certain to lead to endless conflicts than fixing the rule that naval men should have no voice in determining the ships to be built, which they would have afterwards to navigate, and for which they would be afterwards responsible. It was true that professional persons might be better employed in shipbuilding than naval men, though everyone was aware that there had been naval men of very great experience in shipbuilding, who could distinguish themselves almost as professional shipbuilders; but both in the dockyards and Whitehall his hon. Friend had rather overlooked the difficulty of working the system. No doubt the Controller of the Navy's duties were multifarious. Not that his duties had been increased, as his hon. Friend had erroneously supposed; but the actual labour he had to perform had decreased by the changes made in the Department, which had relieved him of a vast amount of actual writing, though not lessening his responsibility. The evidence of Sir Spencer Robinson before the Committee showed that when he was a member of the Board he was obliged to spend a great deal of his time in drawing up reports and writing minutes. Latterly, the Controller of the Navy had certainly been made responsible for the whole *matériel* of the fleet—stores, guns, and ships; and it had been said by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers)—and he thought his right hon. Friend was right — that the concentration of this responsibility in the hands of one man made it easier to work the system, and to get that unity of action, which was most important and so much more efficient than a division of duties. The difficulty of the case, arising from the vastness of the operations placed under his control, was serious; but the mode of dealing with that would depend on the subsequent organization of the Department. With all respect for the views of his hon. Friend the Member for Hastings, it would not be advisable to relieve those who were already responsible to Parliament, from responsibility for the ships which were being built, and for their cost, and it would be impossible, unless the Admiralty system was changed, to give the dockyards power to increase expenditure, without leave from the central Board. It was impossible to give latitude to any subordinate officers, if, at the same time, it was wished to keep a control over the expenditure; and though they might be economical, the right could not be given them to make contracts, to raise prices of labour, or take any steps by which the liabilities of the public would be increased. For this reason, it appeared to him to be necessary to keep the principle well in mind that, while endeavouring to localize, so far as they could localize, they should keep the purse strings tightly in hand. The hon. Member for Hastings had alluded to the advantages of a local audit. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman that the more an audit was made on the spot the more efficient it would be, and he assured his hon. Friend that his efforts should not be wanting to clear up the question of audit, and to see if any improvements could be made. The hon. Member had likewise referred to the dockyard accounts being some years in arrears. That was being reviewed. This was partly due to the fact that the system of keeping the accounts of the different dockyards separately had only been lately introduced. By the month of June, however, the accounts for another year would be placed on the Table, and he trusted that by the end of this year the accounts for a third year would be presented; so that, by that time, the accounts would be brought closely up to the present time. He deprecated any measure being taken by the House which would relieve those from the responsibility to whom really the House and the country must look for successfully carrying on the business of the dockyards. The more correspondence could be avoided, and the more encouragement could be given to the authorities in each dockyard to make reductions, and to be as efficient and economical as possible, the better, and such inducements and such latitude would be given. In conclusion, he hoped the hon. Member would not press his Motion to a Division; and he would assure him that everything that could be done would be done by the Admiralty to attain the end desired.

Mr. CORRY said, he was very ill-qualified to make even a single remark on this occasion, as he was unfortunately absent from his place during what he had been told was the very able speech of the hon. Member for Hastings, and he had heard only the concluding remarks of the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. M. Chambers.) He understood him to have proposed that persons who, by dint of ability and perseverance, had risen to the rank of master shipwright might be ultimately appointed Superintendent of the Dockyard. The proposal had often been brought forward in this House; but he had always entertained the greatest possible objection to it, and he was certain it would be a great mistake to abolish the naval Superintendents. It should be remembered that in dockyards, vessels were not only built, but also masted, armed, and fitted out as fighting ships of war, and on all these matters the most valuable suggestions were constantly made by the naval Superintendents, on points of which a civil Superintendent would be entirely ignorant. It would prove fatal to the best interests of the service to appoint anyone except a naval man to the office of Superintendent.

MR. WHALLEY said, he could not listen to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty without feeling a desire to appeal to him on a subject to which he had often previously drawn the attention of the House. He thought the authorities might avail themselves of the English tendency to yachting enterprize in order to extend the system of a naval Reserve. Persons who contrived vessels for purposes of sport and enjoyment, might be offered such admission within the pale of the service as would be an encouragement to them; and a plan might also be devised for registering those yachts which might be suitable, as part of the Navy. It was said that the naval strength of this country mainly depended upon the construction of gunboats and other small vessels, and that being the case he thought it would be greatly to the advantage of the service, if the Admiralty would recognize and encourage the spirit which induced English gentlemen to expend money and time and talent upon the building and management of yachts, for they would thus lay the foundation of a most efficient naval Reserve. Gunboats were exactly the kind of vessel which many gentlemen affected, and in which they would embark their money if such an inducement were held out to them. With regard to the safety at sea of large, and particularly of iron-clad ships, as compared with smaller vessels, he would simply mention that it was only owing to his own conviction of her unseaworthiness that his son was prevented from going to sea in the unfortunate *Captain* by having his appointment cancelled. Before she went on her fatal voyage, he had given Notice of his intention to call the attention of the House to what he considered her faulty construction, but was induced to forego his intention by the late First Lord of the Admiralty.

MR. T. BRASSEY said, that after the assurance he had received from the First Lord of the Admiralty, he should not press his Motion to a Division.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

NAVAL SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE.

RESOLUTION.

SIR JAMES ELPHINSTONE, in moving the appointment of a Scientific Committee on Naval Design, said, that the Navy Estimates having come on unexpectedly, it would be undesirable for the First Lord now to press the third Vote. The Report of the Duke of Somerset's Committee was not yet before the House; and it was therefore impossible to deal with a branch of the subject to which a recent melancholy occurrence had imparted so momentous an interest. In April, 1863, he moved an Address to the House for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the best mode of constructing iron-clad ships. The proposition led to considerable discussion, it being opposed by Lord Clarence Paget, then Secretary to the Admiralty, who said that it would be very unadvisable to refer such a matter to a Commission, and that it would create an *imperium in imperio.* He added that the Government had the best means of information on the subject, and as they were responsible to the House and the country for the construction of Her Majesty's ships, it would be better that this responsibility should rest in their hands. Considering, however, that iron as a material for shipbuilding had only then been newly introduced, and that the first attempts in vessels such as the *Research* had been unsatisfactory, he still believed that a small Committee of scientific naval men would have been useful. He did not wish them to dictate to the Admiralty as to the description of ships to be built; but when everything had been clearly laid down, it would be the duty of the Committee to take the drawings into consideration, and pronounce whether, in regard to safety, stability, &c., they would accomplish the objects the Admiralty had in view. His Motion was rejected; but the War Office were more wise. They appointed an "Iron Committee," whose labours were attended with great advantage to the service. He believed that if such a Committee as he proposed in 1863 had been appointed the *Captain* would never have gone to sea, for she would never have been laid down. There had been the most reckless innovations at the Admiralty of late years; its constitution had been destroyed; its naval element had been depressed; and the whole machinery of the Department had been brought into such a state of confusion, that the most fearful results had followed. As regarded the *Captain*, which vessel it was impossible to exclude from a discussion of this nature, he held that she was laid down under a dereliction of public duty, and that authority was given to private parties who were not responsible for the result. When, again, it was found that she was drawing too much water, she ought to have been returned to the shipbuilders in order to be brought back to her proper draught. He must again say, he believed that if such a council as he had advocated in 1863, and oftentimes since, had been in existence, we should not have witnessed the catastrophe which had only a few months since caused such general grief, nor should we have had to deplore so many and such expensive mistakes as those which had been of late years committed. Economy in this country appeared to be a fitful disease; but it should be remembered that it was far easier to pull down and destroy than to build up. He would give as an instance of what he had advanced, Sir James Graham, who, when he was at the Admiralty, resorted to economy, the result of which was, that the country had to pay £2 for every one thus imaginarily dispensed with. It would, however, be only right to say, that, after the hot fit was over, that right hon. Baronet seemed to become conscious of his error. The millions of money which had been squandered in the education of the constructive department of the Navy would of themselves alone have sufficed to build us a Navy. But what had we now? Some most remarkable specimens of naval architecture, it was true; and if they were multiplied we should have the greatest Navy the world ever possessed. We were told that we had a Navy stronger than that of any other country. It was not surprising that first-class European Powers should have first-class fleets; but the smaller Powers were collecting formidable iron-clads, and might, by a combination of which we had some instances lately, direct an attack against this country. Our policy now, however, was to hold our hands in building large ships for some time to come, and whatever we could afford to spend should be spent to complete our inner line of defence, and arm our commercial ports with a force of gunboats sufficient to protect them from invasion. In this way we should avoid those periodical panics which were so expensive, and which caused so much suffering to the working classes. He agreed with the hon. Member for Hastings (Mr. Brassey) on many points; but he did not approve of his suggestions with regard to alterations in the dockyards. It would be found that very considerable additions were required in the dockyards. At Portsmouth, for instance, the master shipwright had to do duty as storekeeper and engineer; and it was absurd that one man could perform the work of those three offices. The hon. Member recommended that when a ship came into harbour the master shipwright should estimate its defects. Under the present system, when a ship arrived from foreign service, the officer sent in a sheet of defects, which was forwarded to London, and after elaborate calculations an order was sent down for repairs. But, perhaps, in the meantime, when the ship had been docked, more serious defects were discovered, and these were entered in a supplementary sheet, which was sent to the Admiral Superintendent. However, as economy had to be observed, the unfortunate officer had probably to be content with having only half the defects of his ship made good. No one could understand the mass of accounts which had been accumulated; and many accounts for work done under one Admiralty did not make their appearance until the whole of the Admiralty had evaporated. Not a single member of the recent Admiralty remained; for the First

Lord had gone abroad, the Secretary to the Admiralty had been transferred to another and a better place, and the Controller had been superseded. When the accounts were made known next year, no doubt many hon. Gentlemen would come down to the House overflowing with wrath; but they would find no one to blame, because the Admiralty, under whose direction those expenses had been incurred, was gone. He admired the good sense of the present First Lord, and hoped he would improve this state of affairs. In order to do so, he would have to recur to the old arrangement, and have a Board largely composed of naval elements, and he must call in to his counsels scientific men, able to decide neglected questions. He would find wreck and ruin in every part of the naval service; and he could not do better than follow the example of another right hon. Gentleman, and make a clean breast of it and recant the whole thing. The wisdom of 300 years, which he would advise the right hon. Gentleman, if he might, to return to, could not be upset with impunity by any incompetent civilian. He desired especially to call the attention of the House to the scientific branch of the Navy. The shortcomings of the Admiralty had been most painfully brought under his notice in connection with his suggestion to the India Office for the opening of a canal between Ceylon and the mainland of India for the purpose of shortening the passage to Calcutta. The answer made to him was, that the localities had not been properly surveyed. He had, however, some reason to believe that those seas had been minutely surveyed, and after careful investigation, he found that in 1861 the Government of India, in a fit of economy, had given up surveys, and handed over to the Admiralty the responsibility of surveying the Indian Seas. The Admiralty accepted the responsibility, and forthwith paid off the officers and extinguished the service. And so great was the fever for economy at that time that they actually reduced to pulp 30 or 40 tons of records, bearing upon some of the most interesting operations which led to the acquirement of our Indian Possessions, and the material was sold for 12*s.* per cwt; £100 being carried to Her Majesty's Exchequer as the result. Amongst the documents destroyed was a whole set of charts of the Red Sea, so that it would be necessary for that sea to be re-surveyed, at considerable expense. He found some of the charts, with which he was more particularly concerned, stowed away at the Admiralty. No blame attached to the officers at the Admiralty in this matter, for the Surveying Department was confined in the most wretched dog-holes of rooms, and certainly required a little of the right hon. Gentleman's time and attention. There was no civil engineer in the City of London who would not be ashamed of carrying on the surveys necessary for his business in such rooms as they had at the Admiralty, for the accommodation of a Department which had the surveying of the world under its charge, and which had to execute works of the greatest importance. If the First Lord, when at the Admiralty, went upstairs to Admiral Richards's room, and those above it, he would find something which would astonish him, and he (Sir James Elphinstone) should be deceived in the right hon. Gentleman if he did not soon make some most necessary and favourable changes. The hon. Baronet concluded by moving his Resolution.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, a small Committee, composed of scientific and naval men, be appointed permanently, to investigate the designs of all iron-clad and other vessels proposed to be built for the service of the Royal Navy, and to report to the Board of Admiralty as to their stability, and fitness in other respects, to fulfil the purposes for which they are intended,"—(*Sir James Elphinstone,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. SAMUDA said, the effect of the Motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Portsmouth (Sir James Elphinstone) would be to appoint a permanent Committee which would direct the Admiralty in all its proceedings, and he could scarcely imagine a more unfortunate arrangement. He could understand the hon. Member's dissatisfaction with the vessels produced by successive Admiralties; but his proposal would not remedy the evil of which he complained. The Motion of the hon. Baronet would erect into permanence a Court that would have control over the Admiralty, and take on itself the responsibility of the stability of vessels and their fitness in other respects. The object of the Motion of the hon. Member for Lincoln (Mr. Seeley) in 1868, which he supported, was to obtain a scientific inquiry, to take into consideration the leading characteristics that should be adopted in the future construction of vessels for the Navy. Now, the general characteristics were those which were the groundwork for the policy of shipbuilding throughout the country—and a large deliberative assembly of scientific men might prove useful in laying the groundwork of a sound policy of shipbuilding; and these were matters which might fairly come under the consideration of the House. But any interference with minute details would take from the Admiralty that responsibility which ought to rest upon them. He thought a more disastrous course could not be adopted, and therefore felt it his duty to oppose the Motion.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he would ask the hon. Baronet not to press his Motion in its present form, especially as he believed a Committee already existed whose business it was to advise the Admiralty upon the subject of designs, as well as another Committee to investigate the nature of the designs of certain ships which were referred to them, and respecting which they had already afforded some information to the House. To those Committees it seemed superfluous to add a third, which could only perform the same functions. If, however, the office of Constructor of the Navy were re-constituted at a time when neither of those Committees was sitting, there would be some reason for the proposal to refer designs to some scientific persons, besides which the plans should be submitted to some naval gentlemen. As some re-construction of the Board of Admiralty must be made, some body like the old Navy Board might be appointed, by which means much work would be distributed to those who would have time to attend to it, and would be removed from one overworked man, who could not now be held responsible on account of the amount of work he had to do.

Mr. GOSCHEN objected to the proposal of the hon. Baronet, because the appointment of a permanent Committee would relieve the Admiralty of express responsibility, and trusted he would not insist upon a Division. The precedents on which the hon. Baronet relied did not relate to a permanent Committee, but rather referred to such a Committee as had recently been appointed to consider certain specific questions. It had frequently been said that the naval element at the Board of Admiralty had been suppressed; but the hon. Baronet, in repeating the statement, had forgotten to mention that besides the First Sea Lord and the Junior Lord, the Board had the assistance of Captain Hall, the Third Lord, who had succeeded to Admiral Robinson, Admiral Richards, the hydrographer, of Admiral Mends, Captain Hood, Captain Willes, and he was not sure that there were not other naval men connected with the Admiralty. The statement that the Navy had no opportunity of making its voice heard at the Admiralty ought not to remain uncontradicted, because the First Lord had every means of deriving great assistance from the naval profession. With regard to the Motion of the hon. Baronet, the House would recognize the inconvenience of having a separate Committee of naval and scientific men sitting permanently. As long as he held the position of First Lord it would be his desire to avail himself, to the greatest possible extent, of the aid of such scientific and naval men as were willing to afford assistance, and his predecessor had done so before the appointment of the existing Committee. That Committee had rendered eminent service in clearing up the questions which were referred to it; but, from an administrative point of view, considerable difficulty was likely to arise from the appointment of such Committees, owing to their interference with the current business of the office. The country would derive much advantage from the investigation as to the stability of ships and other controverted questions, but the responsibility of the Admiralty ought not to be diminished. The object of the Admiralty in appointing the present Committee was that the country might be assured as to a matter of great interest, on account of which it was worth while to incur some inconvenience; but if an irresponsible Committee were co-existent with the Admiralty for any lengthened period, in what position would the latter be placed? If the Admiralty overruled the decision of the Committee as to the design of a ship, a controversy would immediately arise in this House, while if the Admiralty followed the decision there would simply be a transfer of responsibility. He felt sure the House would not sanction the appointment of such a Committee, however great might be the services it would render at particular periods.

MR. CORRY said, he had had the good fortune to serve at the Admiralty with three Controllers of the Navy, or Surveyors, as they were formerly called, of very great ability, for whom he had the highest respect, yet he never felt quite satisfied on the subject of designs, nor quite sure that the ship ordered would be the *ne plus ultrâ* of perfection in shipbuilding. Every vessel was the result of a series of compromises, and what produced a good effect in one direction often tended to an evil effect in another; and the difficulty was how to combine the various objects aimed at with the best general results. The department of the Controller of the Navy was divided into two distinct branches—one the shipbuilding, and the other the engineering branch, and in each of these a totally different principle prevailed. As a rule, all designs for ships were prepared in the Controller's Department; but although the Engineer-in-Chief had been as competent in his branch as the Chief Constructor, the designs for engines were never prepared at the Admiralty, but invariably obtained from the first engineering firms in the country. He had a strong opinion as to the advisability of obtaining advice from private shipbuilders also, as he had shown by calling for competitive designs when he held the office of First Lord; but the experiment which he made did not have a satisfactory result, for although he obtained an excellent design for a turret-ship from Mr. Laird, yet that was mainly a copy of the *Captain*, and he was not disposed to build a second ship on that plan until the first had been tried, and he thought he had reason to congratulate himself and the country for having resolved on that policy. A permanent Committee would, he thought, be apt to get into a groove, like the permanent officers at the Admiralty; and he was therefore inclined to think that a permanent Committee would be a mistake. At the same time, considering the enormous cost of our ships at the present day, more money being frequently spent on a great ship than was spent on a palace, he suggested that before a design, especially for a new armour-clad ship, was approved, it should be referred to some of the ablest scientific men whose advice could be obtained, including the naval officers best acquainted with the subject of naval armaments. He had hardly ever talked over a new armour-clad ship with naval officers without receiving suggestions of great value, though unfortunately these could not be adopted without incurring great expense, the vessel being already built. In his opinion, the armament of our ships was not in a satisfactory state. There was no reason why vessels of the *Minotaur* class should not be armed with 25-ton guns, for bow and stern chase, and he knew it to be the opinion of a distinguished gunnery officer that even 35-ton guns could be worked on board them. In the event of a war the armament of our ships would be of the greatest possible importance, for on the weight and power of the guns the issue of a naval engagement might depend. He hoped, therefore, that the First Lord would see that every design was thoroughly considered and discussed, and would get the best advice to be obtained from outside, so that in respect of construction, rigging, and armament these costly ships might be turned out in the best possible way.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

NAVY—CASE OF COMMANDER CHEYNE.

OBSERVATIONS.

SIR JOHN HAY rose to call attention to the case of J. Powles Cheyne, a retired Commander in Her Majesty's Navy—a case, in his opinion, of considerable hardship, and one which he had undertaken to bring before the House on its own merits. He (Sir John Hay) had the honour of submitting the case to the House last Session—[See 3 *Hansard*, cxcix. 1248]—but owing, as he was afraid, to his imperfect advocacy, he was unable to induce the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) to do that justice in the matter to which he thought that Commander Cheyne was justly entitled. That distinguished officer had since petitioned the House to take his case into consideration. In that Petition he stated that he entered the Royal Navy in 1844, and had accompanied three expeditions to the Arctic Seas; his services on each of those occasions being fully recognized by Sir James Ross, Captain Austin, and Sir Edward Belcher. He was afterwards appointed to the *Simoom,* a vessel employed in the time of the Mutiny in carrying troops to India. Whilst serving in this ship off the Cape of Good Hope, he saved a man from drowning, but had his own skull fractured in the effort. The accident, however, did not impair his reason, but prevented him from serving in hot climates. On his return home, he applied for his promotion to the Duke of Somerset, one of the fairest and best First Lords who had ever served at the Admiralty, who thought it better to provide for him in another way. There existed at that time at the Naval Hospitals, appointments filled by naval lieutenants, whose duty it was to superintend the wards, assist the medical officers, and see that discipline was maintained. The result of his application was, that the noble Duke appointed him lieutenant of the Royal Naval Hospital at Plymouth, as he believed for life, or at any rate so long as he could discharge the duties. The advantages of his appointment were that his half-pay of £150 was increased by £200, with a house partially furnished, and certain other emoluments worth about £80 a-year; making an income of £430 a-year—as he thought for life. The appointment, moreover, was given as a reward for meritorious services. In 1869, however, he was dismissed by the then First Lord of the Admiralty, in consequence of the reductions made in that Department, and so lost not only his salary, but also being obliged to spend £60 for the removal of his furniture. He had since applied in vain for compensation; but his salary was to be continued until he should be 55 years of age. Upon the retirement scheme, he retired upon the new retired pay of his rank according to length of service, and the additional rank of Commander was also granted. About a month or so afterwards the Admiralty informed the Commander "that they were in communication with the Treasury as to how his position would be affected by the new retired scheme." After a considerable correspondence, Commander Cheyne was unable from the 1st April, 1870, to draw a single penny of his retired pay. He then enclosed Her Majesty's Order in Council to the Queen, humbly imploring that Her Majesty might graciously cause her Order in Council to be carried into effect. This step at length obtained an order from the Admiralty that he was to receive his retired pay of £275 per annum; but the same letter informed him that his pension was to be reduced from £200 to £80 2*s.* 6*d.* per annum, the deduction exactly counterbalancing the increase of the retirement, leaving him in receipt of £355 2*s.* 6*d.* per annum until he was 55 years of age, after which time his pension was to be withdrawn, leaving him with only £275 per annum. Commander Cheyne was subsequently reduced to narrow circumstances. He applied to the Duke of Somerset for his Grace's intervention. The noble Duke replied by expressing his regret at the view taken by the Board of Admiralty—that when he appointed him to the Hospital he did not foresee the abolition of the office—but that not being then in office he could not interfere in the matter. He (Sir John Hay) thought that, considering the many hardships this gallant officer had endured in the public service, the risks he had run, and the misfortunes which had befallen him, the House would be prepared to take his case into consideration, and afford him such redress as his grievance merited. It was true he got the rank of Commander; but that would not help him to educate or maintain his children, while it should not be forgotten that he had been reduced from a position in which he had been supporting himself in comfort and respectability to one of comparative poverty and distress. He hoped, therefore, the case of Commander Cheyne would be considered favourably by the Admiralty, and that they would deem it right to give him some equivalent for the salary of which he had been deprived.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he hoped he should be able to satisfy the House that the gallant officer in question had been treated with liberality, instead of his case being one of hardship. He had no wish to dispute the statement of his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay) who had just spoken, with respect to the services of Commander Cheyne, who had, he believed, done good service to his country, but who, unfortunately, had lost his health in 1863, so that it was impossible he could be promoted to active service. The Duke of Somerset eventually gave him an appointment in the Naval Hospital at Plymouth, and according to his hon. and gallant Friend he was given to understand that the appointment was for life. That, however, was not the case, and Commander Cheyne was only entitled to hold that appointment until he was 55 years of age, when, according to the rules of the service, he would have to retire. On the abolition of the appointment in 1868, his right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) was most anxious to do what was right by the gallant gentleman, and intended to procure him an appointment in the Coastguard; but, pending that, he was given an allowance of £200 a-year, so as to bring up the allowances and half-pay to the salary which he received when at Plymouth Hospital, and he was to receive this till retirement. Of course when he retired on half-pay under the retirement scheme, the question arose whether he should receive the allowance of £200 a-year, and it was considered that he was not entitled to the whole of it; but only to the difference between his half-pay at the time and the amount of the allowance which he got under the old system. The allowance was accordingly reduced to £80 2*s.* 6*d.*; but the two payments made to him amounted together to the sum which he previously received. When in the Hospital, Commander Cheyne got a salary of £200 a-year, his half-pay being £127, while there was £50 the value of a house, making a total of £377 a-year. That amount he was to receive until the age of 55, when he was to be retired with half-pay amounting to £182 a-year. Now, at the present moment Commander Cheyne was in receipt of £275 retired pay, besides compensation amounting to £80 a-year, making together £355; while at the age of 55 he would have a pension of £275 a-year, instead of £182. Now, considering that he had no duties whatever to perform, and that he received almost identically the same amount as when he held the appointment at Plymouth Hospital, he was sure the House would be of opinion that he had been treated with that liberality which hon. Members no doubt desired to see extended to every officer in the service. There were, he might add, three or four other cases of precisely the same kind, in which no complaint whatever had been made, Commander Cheyne being, as far as he knew, the only one who had said he had a grievance.

MR. F. STANLEY said, that where officers were engaged in arduous duties, they had a right to look for some consideration at the hands of the Government. If they were dealt with on the strictest principles of what they were entitled to receive, the country was likely to fall into the danger of meeting with that service only which they were obliged to give, and not with that cheerful fulfilment of duty which it had been the pride of the Navy to render. It appeared that Commander Cheyne had met with a serious accident which damaged his prospects materially and permanently injured his health, this accident had occurred while Commander Cheyne was in the service, and, as he was informed, while saving the life of one of the men of the fleet. If ever there was a case in which the Admiralty would have been justified in applying their rules with leniency, it would be in a case of this kind. Commander Cheyne was appointed by a former First Lord to a place which was then understood to be permanent, though he was not inclined to dispute that it was subject to further revision by the Board of Admiralty. He understood that the appointment was one to be held during good behaviour, and that it was also one of those often given to officers who had deserved well of their country, the duties of which they were able to perform, though they might not be equal to the active service of the fleet. He would not go over all the facts; but would merely say that the fact of the summary supersession of Commander Cheyne was to that officer a grievous and unjust injury, and it further proved that a case of considerable hardship had been brought to the notice of the House by his hon. and gallant Friend, and he trusted the right hon. Gentleman opposite would give it a favourable consideration.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £1,038,202, Victuals and Clothing (Seamen and Marines).

MR. CORRY said, that, as he was unavoidably absent when the First Lord of the Admiralty made his very clear Statement on the first night of the Naval Estimates, he was anxious to avail himself of the present opportunity to make a few remarks on the subject of the number of seamen at present borne on the books of the Navy. The right hon. Gentleman had admitted the deficiency in the number of our seamen, and had spoken of it as "deplorable." In that the right hon. Gentleman was quite right, for our seamen were the backbone of our Navy. It was the command of seamen which determined the position which any country could hold as a naval Power. Money might build ships, and purchase steam-engines and stores, but it could not make seamen, and as the mercantile marine no longer furnished any considerable supply to the Royal Navy, it was of the greatest importance that an adequate number of pure seamen should be maintained in the service. But the First Lord of the Admiralty appeared to be unaware that the present Government had been burning the candle at both ends, and it was not surprising it should be wasting away. There had been a large reduction both of men and of boys since 1868, as, during the last two years, the Vote for men, exclusive of marines, had been reduced by upwards of 5,000, but he was himself responsible for nearly 1,000 of that number. In 1868, just before he left office, he had re-organized the reserve of ships in the ports, whereby he had reduced about 1,000 men, but these men had not in the least contributed to the power of the Navy, because they were old pensioned men, shipkeepers, and others unfit to go to sea. By that reform a considerable economy had been effected, as it had reduced the cost of the annual maintenance of each of the larger ships in the Reserve from £1,000 to £200. The late First Lord had also reduced a considerable number of unserviceable men. The actual number reduced by him by the Estimates for 1869-70, and 1870-1, was 4,070, but of these, according to his own Statement, 685 were bluejackets, in the former year, and, in the latter, 500—showing a total reduction of 1,185 pure seamen in the two years, which was a very serious diminution. It might be interesting to the Committee to know how materially the number of pure seamen had been diminished of late years. In 1858 the number of pure seamen borne on the books of the Fleet was 23,161; in 1860, in consequence of the Italian War, they were increased to 32,700. In 1861, when the Civil War was raging in America, the number was 31,138, and there was then a gradual reduction to a normal state until 1864, when the number was again 23,039. In 1866 they were reduced to 20,805; in 1868, as stated by the late First Lord, to 20,085; and now, in 1871, they were about 18,000. The axiom amongst naval men was, that it was not safe to reduce the number of seamen below 20,000 men; and if it was important in former times that that number should be maintained, it was much more so at the present time, when the supply of men from the merchant navy might be said to have almost ceased. The cessation of the supply of seamen from the merchant navy was the necessary consequence of the establishment of the naval Reserve, since which the supply had been going down till it had almost reached zero. In the year 1860-1, when the Royal Naval Reserve was established, 2,788 men from the merchant service entered the Royal Navy, nearly making up for the waste of the year; in 1864-5 the number fell to 795; in 1866-7 it was 409; and the First Lord of the Admiralty said that in 1870-1 only 50 men entered the Royal Navy from the merchant service. As the Government could get no men from the merchant service it followed, of course, that the Royal Navy must be made self-supporting—that was to say, they must train up boys in sufficient numbers to maintain the required number of seamen. But the present Government had reduced the number of boys as well as of seamen. In the year 1868, the number of boys in the Navy was 7,765; in 1870-1, the number was 7,005 only. He had strongly objected to that reduction in the discussions on the Navy Estimates in 1869 and 1870, when he had stated that he had ascertained from a Return he had called for in 1868 that the number then borne was no more than adequate to supply the waste of men. Assuming that the proper number of seamen to be kept up was 20,000—below which he hoped the number would not be allowed permanently to fall—the number of boys in training required to supply the waste of men was 3,500. The waste of boys in 2½ years was 18 per cent; and in round numbers 3,500 boys in training provided 3,000 to reach the rating of ordinary seamen, which was just equal to the waste on 20,000 men. He had heard a rumour that the First Lord of the Admiralty intended to increase the number of boys by 500, and he should be glad to be assured that the rumour was true. If it was, he hailed it as an auspicious commencement of the naval administration of the First Lord, in which he wished him every success.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he mentioned, in introducing the Estimates, that there was considerable difficulty in filling up the gap that had occurred by the unfortunate loss of the *Captain* and another ship, which was the main cause why the number of blue-jackets had fallen below the number on the Estimates. The problem of the Navy was not that more men were wanted beyond the number in the Estimates, but in keeping up that number. If the right hon. Gentleman simply wished that the blue-jackets in the Fleet should be increased by 1,000, that was a proposition to which Her Majesty's Government could not accede. It was true that he had ordered 500 extra boys to be entered; but they were included in the Estimates of this year, in place of the blue-jackets who at present were not entering from the merchant service. There would be so many more boys; but so many fewer blue-jackets, because at present blue-jackets could not be got. Why could not they be got? He could not assent entirely to the views of the right hon. Gentleman in that respect. The fact was, the whole system of recruiting for the Navy had been changed, and instead of going into the market for recruits, the Admiralty recruited the Navy by entering boys, and there had been no difficulty in procuring as many boys as the Admiralty thought necessary. If you did not go permanently into the market for seamen, it was difficult to secure seamen at any moment when you wanted them. There was great unanimity of opinion upon this point—that the material which the Admiralty got from entering boys was infinitely superior to that which could be got from entering men from on shore. The right hon. Gentleman contrasted the number of seamen in 1858—namely, 23,000—with the present number, which was over 18,000. Well, he (Mr. Goschen) maintained that 18,000 with the present class of ships, was a force far superior to that of 23,000 with the ships of the year 1858. Two or three of the ships that were now being built would be equal to a whole squadron of former times. Surely, then, it could not be contended that we were bound to have as many seamen now as we had in former times. There was another and a very serious point which would be appreciated by the right hon. Gentleman, and that was that when the Admiralty had got a large number of men it was exceedingly difficult to employ them with the present ships. An iron-clad fleet was not like a squadron of the old style of ships, which could cruise under sail for long periods. Iron-clads constantly required to be coaled, if they were to be kept at sea; and that difficulty increased in proportion to the substitution of iron-clads for other ships. The best course that could be adopted was to have a large Reserve Force, the men in which were engaged in seafaring pursuits during the greater part of the year, who were trained to work guns, and whose services could be had at any moment on an emergency. If a regular force of 30,000 men was kept up under the present system of armour-clad vessels, the men would be in harbour more than half the year, to the great detriment not only of the service, but of themselves. He was quite alive to the necessity of keeping up the number of boys in the service, as urged by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Corry), and he had already shown it by his proposal to increase their number. He believed that the number of men in the service at the present moment was 18,000; but, as the right hon. Gentleman opposite disputed that fact, he supposed that he had been in communication with one of the clerks of the office, who had given him information on the subject. [Mr. Corry: I never go near the Admiralty.] The right hon. Gentleman had made that statement upon what he termed good authority; but it was evident that there could be no good authority upon the exact figures, except those who were in the Admiralty.

Mr. CORRY remarked that it was only due to the clerks in the Admiralty Office that he should state that he had not obtained his information from any of them upon this subject. He protested against the right hon. Gentleman assuming that nobody out of the Admiralty Office could have any knowledge as to the number of men in the Navy. Did the right hon. Gentleman suppose that officers in the Navy, who paid attention to to such subjects, could not form an estimate, or that he (Mr. Corry) himself could not do so? He had not asked the First Lord of the Admiralty to increase the number of blue-jackets, for the best of reasons; because that would have been a request to perform an impossibility. The blue-jackets could not be got. The Admiralty seemed to him to content themselves in this, and every other branch of the service, with making humdrum provision for a peace establishment, without ever providing for the possibility of a war; but, in the opinion of the highest authorities, the number of seamen should never be reduced below 20,000, and that number could easily be gained by entering a sufficient number of boys. This might be effected in two and a-half or three years, when boys now entered would obtain ratings as ordinary seamen.

Sir JAMES ELPHINSTONE said, he had had the honour of serving upon the Naval Commission, which recommended that the Reserve Force in the ports should never be reduced below 5,000 men. In not carrying out that recommendation, he considered that the Admiralty were not fulfilling their duty to the country. It was impossible rapidly to increase the naval force from the mercantile service; and even when the men were obtained they were generally not worth having. That circumstance, combined with the present small number of blue-jackets in the service, would have rendered it impossible to commission 12 sail of the line, had circumstances made such a course necessary during the past 12 months. He must say, that having been for 50 years in the service, he was just as capable of judging of what was going on in the Navy as the right hon. Gentleman himself, or any of the Admiralty clerks. He had been to look at the ships for himself, and he could tell the right hon. Gentleman that there was not a well-manned ship in the Navy; and he would mention, as a fact, that he had seen a sloop of 600 tons go to sea with only 20 able-seamen on board — a number utterly inadequate to manage her. It was well known that Her Majesty's ships could not go to windward, and therefore the masts and yards of the ships ought to be reduced to a manageable size. During the last 12 months 1,000 men had been lost to the service, including the 500 lost in the unfortunate affair of the *Captain*, and he considered that, if this country were dragged into war, we should not have an able-seaman to fall back upon, which was a disgraceful position for us to occupy. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman, who was not answerable for existing shortcomings in the Admiralty, would look into the matter for himself, and would refrain from coming down to that House to defend a system which every man with the slightest acquaintance with naval affairs knew was utterly indefensible. He should move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir James Elphinstone.*)

Mr. BOWRING, observing that the discussion had mainly reference to a Vote which had already passed the Committee, asked for an explanation of the large increase in the Vote for Seamen's Clothing in the class now under consideration.

Sir JOHN HAY said, the hon. Member was mistaken, and that it was always competent to discuss the numbers of men on Vote 2, which provided the victuals to feed the men. Before making a few observations on the subject of the entry of boys for the Navy, he wished to express his deep regret at the loss of Mr. Reddie, a distinguished public servant, to whom the country was much indebted for many years of useful service. His calculations respecting the supply of boys assisted the late Board in deciding the numbers of boys to be entered annually for training, and the result of which had been to fix the number at 7,400 as required to compensate the waste of 18,000 men. The First Lord of the Admiralty proposed that there should be 7,500 boys for the Navy; but that would be only 100 over the number required to supply the ordinary waste of 18,000 men, and would hardly replace the 500 men lost by the extraordinary calamity to the *Captain*, or the 300 who deserted from the Flying Squadron. It would be advantageous to increase the number of boys under training, while shortening the time of service for the men; making it eight years instead of ten, and then discharging them into the Royal Naval Reserve. It seemed to him that by some such process as that the Naval Reserve would be receiving well-trained men, who would be available for service in the event of an emergency. The expenditure for training a larger number of boys as seamen at all the various ports, with advantage to themselves and also to the country, should be borne not only by the naval Votes, but to some extent also by the Board of Trade, and even by the Educational Department.

Mr. Alderman LUSK animadverted on the increase of nearly £70,000 on the Victualling and Clothing Vote this year, and asked for an explanation regarding it? The Government often did very silly things, and one of them was continuing to go into the metropolitan market, the dearest in the world, to buy fresh meat for the purpose of salting it at Deptford for the use of their ships, instead of buying it ready cured in Ireland, on the Continent, or in America, where it could be had as good and much cheaper.

Mr. GOSCHEN, in reply to the hon. Baronet the Member for Portsmouth, said they had an excellent Reserve of 4,300 Coastguardsmen; a most valuable force, itself only 700 men short of the 5,000 which the hon. Baronet was anxious to get; in addition to which there was never a time when we had more seamen in our ports ready for immediate service than at present. As he had explained in introducing his Estimates, the present system of having fewer squadrons abroad, and concentrating our force at home, had materially strengthened our position, and the diminution of our seamen had occurred in our fleets abroad, not in those available for home defence. The hon. Baronet had spoken of the First Lord of the Amiralty and his clerks as being unequal to deal with those naval matters on which his own naval experience entitled him speak with authority. As far as he was personally concerned that might be true; but he demurred to the tone of the hon. Baronet's remarks in reference to the many gallant admirals and captains of great experience, great acquirements, and high position in the service who were engaged at the Admiralty, and who were quite as competent as the hon. Baronet to judge whether our fleets were well-manned or not; and, in connection with that subject, he admitted the whole question of the supply of boys to be one of the most important connected with Naval administration. With regard to the increase of the sum required for stores, the explanation was that last year there were large stocks on hand, and therefore it was necessary to spend less money than in the present year. He entirely agreed with the hon. Alderman (Mr. Alderman Lusk) with respect to the supply of preserved meat; but there was an old contract for 11 years in existence which somewhat tied the hands of the Admiralty.

Mr. CORRY observed that the Coastguard was in existence when the Royal Commission sat; and that Commission recommended that the Reserve should be greatly increased. With regard to the oil supplied to the Navy, he understood that it was of a very bad description.

Mr. CANDLISH complained that no reference had been made to the fact that we were paying more and receiving less this year than last, and no explanation had been given of the fact.

Sir JAMES ELPHINSTONE said, that in his observations he had not alluded to the gallant officers at the Admiralty, but to others, who in giving advice to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord had no responsibility whatever. He altogether repudiated the notion that he and his friends who ventured to criticize the Estimates, derived their information in a stealthy manner from the subordinate officers employed there.

Lord HENRY LENNOX said, that when he was at the Admiralty a large contract for the supply of preserved meat from Australia was entered into, and the late First Lord declared that that proceeding was successful. He wished to know whether the accounts received from the ships and depôts were confirmatory of the good quality of the meat?

Mr. SHAW-LEFEVRE said, the reports on the Australian meats had been very satisfactory. There was danger in obtaining preserved meats without taking precautions as to quality; but he was bound to say that the meat of this kind supplied to the Flying Squadron was very good.

Sir JOHN HAY confirmed the statement that the arrangement for Australian preserved meats had given great satisfaction, and he was glad to hear that it was to be continued. It was due to the Admiralty to state that the provisions supplied to the Flying Squadron were of very good quality.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £67,103, Scientific Departments.

Sir JOHN HAY inquired, Why there had been a reduction in the amount of rewards under this Vote; also, why there had been a reduction in the surveys; and, whether the interesting deep-sea dredging experiments undertaken by Dr. Carpenter were to be continued this year?

Mr. GOSCHEN said, the amount taken for rewards was reduced in consequence of the experience of past years, and in doing so there was no change of policy. No more than £500 had been expended in previous years, and therefore only that amount was now asked for. As to the surveys, the reduction was made in consequence of part of the survey having closed. He must ask the forbearance of the hon. Baronet in reference to his third question, not being able at present to answer it.

Sir JAMES ELPHINSTONE said, that in 1861 the Government undertook the whole of the Indian Surveys, and yet since then nothing had been done. The survey papers, as to the Red Sea, he understood had been lost at the Admiralty; and it was very desirable, with the increasing commerce, that there should be a fresh survey there. The mouths of several Indian rivers also required fresh surveys, because there were constant changes going on there. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give them the assurance that this matter would not linger any longer.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, that the Indian Surveys were under consideration by the Indian Department.

Mr. RYLANDS said, there was always an increase going on in the salaries of the officials of the different Departments, and he would be glad to hear that the First Lord's attention was directed to this.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, it required a continual check to keep salaries down; but he could assure the Committee that a careful check was to be found in the Treasury. There was scarcely one of these salaries which had been increased, which had not been fought very hard in the Treasury; and it was only when a very strong case was made out that an advance of salary was made. As to the case of the Royal Observatory, considering the arduous nature of the duties, the officers there were not at all highly paid.

Mr. MUNTZ said, he had noticed not only this year, but every year, that there had been a small increase on almost every salary. Two years ago, he had examined the accounts from 1835 downwards, to ascertain why the Estimates were doubled; and he had found £20 in one place, £30 in another place, and £50 in a third: the result of the combined increases being that the Votes presented an increase of between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000 to what they were a few years ago. He was very glad to hear that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Admiralty would keep his eye upon this.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he believed a similar state of things would be found to have occurred in every house of business in the country.

Vote *agreed to.*

On Motion to report Progress,

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

BILLS OF EXCHANGE AND PROMISSORY NOTES BILL—[Bill 91.]

(*Mr. Baxter, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS moved—

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have the power to introduce provisions into the Bill making the Law uniform as to the days upon which bills falling due upon holidays shall be payable."

In an article in *The Times* on the 24th of this month, it was pointed out that a great discrepancy would be caused by the Bank Holidays Bill, as the effect of it would be that in some cases bills falling due on a public holiday would become payable on the previous day, and in other cases on the day following. He had conferred with many bankers, merchants, and lawyers upon the subject, and the only objection urged against his proposals proceeded from some of the latter, who said it would nip in the bud a fine crop of litigation.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have the power to introduce provisions into the Bill making the Law uniform as to the days upon which bills falling due upon Holidays shall be payable."—(*Mr. Watkin Williams.*)

Mr. BAXTER hoped the House would not consent to the Instruction; because it had nothing whatever to do with the Bill before the House, which was a simple Stamp Bill, introduced in accordance with a promise made by the Prime Minister, when a previous measure was under consideration. He had received several representations from Chambers of Commerce, expressing hopes that the Government would resist the hon. Gentleman's Motion, as the matter was one which ought not to be dealt with in a Stamp Bill.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS said, that some time ago he urged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring forward this Bill in precisely its present form; and he thought it was the general opinion of the House that it should be allowed to pass *sub silentio*, without any alterations being introduced into it. He should, therefore, strongly support the Government in this matter.

Mr. MORLEY said, his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Watkin Williams) would prejudice the question by forcing his Motion to a Division. It ought to be taken up on independent grounds, rather than in connection with the present Bill.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he would also appeal to his hon. and learned Friend to withdraw the Motion. In order to effect the great object of giving holidays to bankers' and merchants' clerks, it was worth while to run the risk of the very slight inconvenience which, in some cases, might possibly arise from bills being payable in some cases a day before, and in others a day after a holiday.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Bill *reported,* with an amended Title; as amended, to be *considered* upon *Monday* next.

DOGS BILL—[Bill 114.]

(*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, explained that the 1st section extended to the country the provisions of an Act now in operation in the metropolis, in reference to stray dogs, authorizing the police to take possession of any dog found straying on the highway, not being under the control of any person, and to detain it until claimed by its owner. Should such dog wear a collar bearing an address, notice to be sent by post to such address of the fact of detention. When three clear days have elapsed, without the owner claiming the same and paying all expenses, such dog may be sold or destroyed. The 2nd section authorized the justices to order dangerous dogs to be destroyed. The 3rd section empowered the local authority, meaning in a borough the council, elsewhere, the justices assembled in Petty Sessions, on apprehending danger from mad dogs within their district, to publish an order placing such restrictions as they may think expedient on dogs being at large for such a period as they may prescribe, and for such parts of the district as may be thought proper. The hon. and learned Gentleman concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. DILLWYN thought the Bill gave powers of too arbitrary a character, which would require modification in Committee.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was glad this Bill had been introduced, as there was much doubt about the law on the subject; and suggested that power of appeal should be given, not so much against the order, as the conviction by the local authority.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

LUNATICS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of The Lord Advocate, Bill to amend the Law relating to Criminal and Dangerous Lunatics in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Bruce, and Mr. Adam.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. Bill[117.]

VACCINATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of The Lord Advocate, Bill to alter and amend the Law relating to Vaccination in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Bruce, and Mr. Adam.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 118.]

METROPOLITAN POOR ACT (1867) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Stansfeld, Bill to amend the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Hibbert.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 119.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 28*th April,* 1871.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Bath City Prison * (80).

Committee—Ecclesiastical Dilapidations * (2-81).

Third Reading — Local Government Supplemental * (58); Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Supplemental * (62), and *passed.*

PRIVATE BILLS.

Their Lordships met;—and it was—

Ordered, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after *Thursday* the 15*th day of June* next:

That no Bill authorizing any inclosure of lands under special report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a second time after *Tuesday* the 20*th day of June* next:

That no Bill confirming any provisional order shall be read a second time after *Tuesday* the 20*th day of June* next:

That when a Bill shall have passed this House with amendments these orders shall not apply to any new Bill sent up from the House of Commons which the Chairman of Committees shall report to the House is substantially the same as the Bill so amended.

and their Lordships having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate—

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, to Monday next, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 28*th April,* 1871.

MINUTES.] — Select Committee — East India Finance, Mr. Haviland-Burke and Mr. Charles Dalrymple *added.*

Supply — *considered in Committee* — *Resolutions* [April 27] *reported.*

Public Bills—*Select Committee*—Ecclesiastical Titles Act Repeal * [27], *nominated.*

Third Reading — Ewelme Rectory * [96], and *passed.*

ARMY—EXAMINATIONS AT WOOLWICH.

QUESTION.

Mr. NEVILLE-GRENVILLE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the forthcoming examination for Woolwich can be so arranged as to allow the candidates to leave their respective abodes the morning on which the examination begins, instead of, as in December last, their being compelled to come to London two days before they were wanted, in consequence of the early hour on the Monday morning on which their attendance was required, particularly as the lads who do not take up all the subjects must remain in the metropolis the intervening days upon which no work is done?

Mr. CARDWELL said, in reply, that to postpone the day for beginning the examination would throw the end of it into the following week, which would probably cause an inconvenience to the candidates at least equal to that alluded to in the Question of the hon. Member. To obviate the latter, arrangements will be made that the medical examination at Woolwich shall be held late on Monday, the 3rd of July, in the case of candidates coming from a distance.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE INCOME TAX—DEDUCTIONS FROM DIVIDENDS.

QUESTION.

Mr. W. ORMSBY GORE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is true that, notwithstanding the proposal of the Government to increase the present rate of the Income Tax has not become Law, the Bank of England has deducted Income Tax at the rate of £2 4*s.* per cent on dividends that became due after the 5th of April; and, if so, by what legitimate authority it has done so?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Sir, I have not had time to get any very accurate information; but I believe the Bank of England has deducted some sums in this way to a small extent. What I am informed by the Inland Revenue Office is this. The Bank made application to know what rate of interest was to be deducted, as is usual when an alteration of the income tax is contemplated. The Inland Revenue Office informed the Bank of England that the proposal of the Government was £2 4*s.* per cent, and I believe that has been acted upon in some cases; but the Inland Revenue had no power at all to legitimate such a transaction as this, nor can it have any legal validity. That is, supposing such a sum to have been deducted by the Bank or any other body in a similar situation, it would be no defence to an action brought for the sum after the income tax law of one year had expired, and before the income tax of another year commenced. That is an inconvenience which follows from making the annual Income Tax Act terminate with the financial year; but, as I have said, the deduction made by the Bank has no legal validity, and if there is any error more or less in the amount kept back it will be rectified.

Mr. CRAWFORD: Allow me, Sir, to supplement the Answer given by the right hon. Gentleman. The Bank of England has acted in this case under written instructions from the Board of Inland Revenue. Those instructions were that the deduction of £2 4*s.* should be made.

ARMY—EQUIPMENTS FOR VOLUNTEERS.—QUESTION.

Colonel C. LINDSAY asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, Whether it is in the contemplation of the Government to temporarily issue, on requisition, such equipment as may be considered necessary to those Volunteer Corps which have received, or will receive, permission to take part in the movements and encampment of the Regular Forces during the autumn?

Sir HENRY STORKS said, the Volunteers would receive the same camp equipment as the Regular Forces.

ARMY—VOLUNTEERS—MUTINY ACT. QUESTION.

Colonel C. LINDSAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the event of the Mutiny Act being applied to the Volunteer Force, as announced in the 15th Clause of the Army Regulation Bill, it is the intention of the Government to issue pay and allowances to such portion of the Force as may for the time being be placed under the Act, according to the provisions contained in the second section of that Act?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, I have already said that an allowance will be made to Volunteers going into camp, as has been the case heretofore with the Artillery Volunteers going into camp at Shoeburyness. It is not proposed that they shall receive pay as soldiers.

CASE OF MR. MURPHY.—QUESTION.

Mr. WHALLEY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the outrage on Mr. William Murphy at Whitehaven, Whether he is prepared on the part of the Government to agree to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the circumstances of the case, and especially as to whether the said William Murphy, on this or any other occasion, in the exercise of his profession of a public lecturer, has said or done anything to disentitle him to the recognition and protection of local authorities?

Mr. BRUCE: Sir, I may as well take this opportunity of informing the hon. Member for North East Lancashire (Mr. Holt) that I have received the information he desired with reference to the outrage on Mr. Murphy. It appears that Mr. Murphy was announced to lecture at Whitehaven on the 19th of this month, that he appeared there, but was prevented from lecturing that evening. Whitehaven has no police force of its own; the county police act for the town. A considerable force of county police, about 30, were brought in to prevent a breach of the peace. They were kept at the station, out of the way, and a few men only were sent out to see that no danger menaced the public peace. It appears that a body of 200 or 300 Irishmen, miners from the neighbourhood, came into the town and went at once to the hall an hour before the lecture was announced to be delivered. Mr. Murphy was unfortunately there. They entered the room, dragged him violently down, kicked him in the most brutal manner, and inflicted on him serious injuries. Four or five policemen rushed in, extricated him from the hands of the mob, and in all probability were the means of saving his life. The number of rioters was so great that the police did not think it prudent to attempt to seize them. Some, however, were taken into custody, and it is expected that more will be apprehended and put on their trial. That is the state of the case with regard to this outrage. I am asked by the hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. Whalley) to agree to a Select Committee to inquire into the circumstances of the case. The case is no doubt a very bad one in many respects; but there is nothing in the circumstances to warrant the unusual course of appointing a Committee of Inquiry. Mr. Murphy was grossly ill-treated, and no doubt proper justice will be done in the case. But when I am asked whether Mr. Murphy on this or any other occasion had done or said anything to disentitle him to the recognition and protection of local authorities, I can only say I should be afraid to trust my memory to state how often I have been applied to by the local authorities to protect them from the presence of Mr. Murphy, and by Mr. Murphy himself to protect him from his enemies. It is no small misfortune that a person like Mr. Murphy should go about the country irritating and insulting the feelings of large portions of the inhabitants. At this moment I have received an application from the town of Whitehaven to authorize the despatch of troops to preserve order when the men who committed the outrage on Mr. Murphy are brought up for trial, and the hon. Member for Peterborough will be glad to learn that Mr. Murphy has so far recovered that he has announced his intention of delivering another lecture at Whitehaven, while the authorities there have applied to know what means can be taken to prevent a breach of the peace.

SOUTH YORKSHIRE COAL OWNERS' RAILWAY.—QUESTION.

Mr. BUCKLEY asked the President of the Board of Trade, At whose instance, and under what circumstances, Colonel Yolland, Inspecting Officer of the Board of Trade, has been ordered to make a Report on the South Yorkshire Coal Owners' Railway, pending inquiry into the merits of the undertaking by a Committee of this House?

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE said, in reply, that the Report referred to by the hon. Gentleman had been made under his (Mr. Chichester Fortescue's) authority, in consequence of information he received from Colonel Yolland, and he was not aware that, in directing it to be made, he had exceeded either his powers or his duties. It was usual to supply the House and its Committees with Reports upon any question of public interest arising out of a proposed Railway Bill, and it was in accordance with that custom that this Report was made; but the greater part of the Report, and very nearly the whole, was also made in obedience to the positive Standing Orders of the House. Reports must be made in all cases in which a proposed railway crosses a road on the level; and this particular case was special and peculiar, because it was proposed not only that the proposed railway should cross a number of roads on the level, but also that it should cross other railways on the level; and though this particular kind of level crossing is not literally included within the Standing Orders, it is obviously within their spirit, because it is much more dangerous. He thought it was his duty to inform the Committee of the existence of these proposals in the Railway Bill in question, although the case did not come literally within the terms of the Standing Orders; and he had been in communication with the Chairman of the Committee, who entirely concurred with him as to the propriety of the opinion on which he acted.

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

EPPING FOREST.—RESOLUTION.

Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE, in rising to move a Resolution in relation to Epping Forest, said, that although everyone had heard of it, the distance of Epping Forest from that part of London might have prevented many hon. Members of that House from becoming acquainted with the beauties of the district. There were about 7,000 acres of primeval forest land, clothed, in some parts, with fine forest trees and a very rich underwood, graced with a picturesque beauty which art could not imitate; and that district was the resort of vast numbers of people from the East of London. 50,000 might be counted during the summer on Sundays and Mondays when the weather was fine, and much larger numbers on special holidays, such as Easter Monday, when hundreds of thousands roamed in freedom and gladness, enjoying themselves in its pleasant glades. It was most gratifying to witness multitudes of the working classes, who had escaped for a day from the smoky atmosphere and the dreary expanse of bricks and dust and dirt called the East-end of London with parties of children, imbibing health and enjoying themselves intensely in innocent and health-giving pastimes. It was impossible to doubt that a large number of Londoners were benefited in respect of morality, health, and education by their enjoyment of Epping Forest; for health was promoted by pure air and by exercise, morality by innocent recreation taken by the whole family together, and by amusement free from pernicious excitement and degrading associations; while the educational value of the Forest might be illustrated by the increased interest it gave to the weavers of Spitalfields in the cultivation of flowers; and in Bethnal Green alone there were no fewer than eight entomological societies, consisting of working men, who found in the Forest opportunities of pursuing the study that was agreeable to them, and who had there discovered new and beautiful species of butterflies. There was risk in delay. A part of this national playground of considerable beauty, called High Beech Wood, was now threatened with danger, for the trees had received, by order of the lord of the manor, a mark which intimated to the public that he was about to exercise the right which he claimed of cutting down those trees, and that he intended to destroy the beauty of the district, and to prevent the public from deriving enjoyment from it. The encroachments which had already been made showed the danger that arose from leaving the question of right to the area of the Forest undecided. It appeared by the Report of the Land Revenue Commissioners, made in 1793, that the Forest then consisted of 9,000 acres of land: a later examination showed that the area had been reduced in 1850 to 7,000 acres, and he did not think that the open area could be estimated now at more than 5,000 acres; and of that, the portion over which the Crown retained its rights did not exceed 3,000 acres. The question might be considered one of public policy, as affecting the health and happiness of the inhabitants of the metropolis. Last year, on the Motion of the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett), the House unanimously adopted an Address to Her Majesty—

> "Praying that She will take such measures as in Her judgment she may deem most expedient in order that Epping Forest may be preserved as an open space for the enjoyment and recreation of the public."

The Prime Minister, on that occasion, entered into the views of those who impressed upon him the importance of endeavouring to secure the Forest, and a Bill was introduced in July of last year; but it was faulty both in principle and detail, for it was a Bill for inclosing the Forest, giving 2,400 acres up to be sold, or to be appropriated by the lords of the manors and others—thus permanently depriving the public of their use and advantages, and leaving only 600 acres for the permanent enjoyment of the public; whereas what was required was a Bill for preserving the Forest. That Bill might have been acceptable to the resident gentry, and more particularly to those who had already made inclosures without the assent of the Crown; but it was not acceptable to those who desired that this large open space should be secured for evermore for the benefit of the public. He admitted that contributions could not have been obtained from metropolitan funds to carry out the objects of such a Bill; but if the Bill had been one for the preservation of the Forest, it would have been proper that compensation for the surrender of rights should be made out of metropolitan funds, and he believed there would be no difficulty on the part of the metropolitan authorities in providing the funds that would be necessary. The City of London had been in the habit of contributing liberally to objects which had in view the benefit of the population of the metropolis, and the Corporation of the City possessed a charter entitling the citizens of London to hunt in the Forest. But if the City would not take up this question, he thought it might very fairly be dealt with by the Metropolitan Board of Works. The Metropolitan Board of Works had recently given great satisfaction throughout London by undertaking to buy up for £45,000—a sum the payment of which was to be spread over 20 years, and which would thus be almost imperceptible to the ratepayers — the rights of the lord of the manor of Hampstead Heath. The pecuniary rights of the lord of the manor of Wimbledon and Wandsworth Commons were to be bought by two contiguous parishes, in order to maintain an open space in perpetuity. The only objection which could be raised to his proposal was, that Epping Forest was beyond the jurisdiction of the Board of Works; but this circumstance need not be a serious obstacle, because if the people residing within the metropolitan area went beyond it for their recreation, it would be quite legitimate to expend funds derived from them in order to secure to them the benefits of the Forest, even although it might not be within the taxable area. He believed that the parishes contiguous to the Forest might also contribute towards defraying the expense. But though the Government would obtain the co-operation of the metropolis in any measures tending to the desired result, yet on account of the rights of the Crown in the Forest the initiative must rest with the Government. It was one of the blessings derived from the powers and privileges of Monarchy that London had been made more habitable, more healthy, and more enjoyable than it would have otherwise been; and when he walked through Hyde Park, he lifted up his heart and blessed King Henry VIII.; the sagacious acquisition of the Park by that Monarch had saved it from being converted into streets and squares. To the operations of the rights and property of the Crown we also owed the preservation of St. James's Park, the Green Park, the Regent's Park, Battersea Park, and Victoria Park. The rights of the Sovereign as lord of Epping Forest did not extend to felling timber, but was mainly the right of taking recreation over the lands granted to the lords of the manor. It was a right antecedent to, and paramount over, all others. Even in Saxon and Norman times the use of a forest in promoting the health and good temper of the Sovereign and his companions was recognized. This right of the Sovereign could not, in the nature of things, be exercised by him alone, but must have been shared by some of his subjects. Hunting could not be a solitary amusement, and this paramount right of taking recreation at Epping, which had been transferred to the nation with other hereditary rights, ought to be adapted to altered circumstances. This right of recreation might be used in more rational and harmless ways than hunting deer. These rights had never produced revenue; but in 1854 the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, finding it very troublesome to prevent attempts at encroachment in defiances of the rights of the Crown, abandoned the exercise of those rights, and converted them into cash. It was doubtful whether selling these rights was a proper use of them. They were established for other purposes than revenue; they were fully designed to be used in the liberal and generous spirit which was to be expected from the head of the nation. This plan was not originated, however, by the present Commissioners, but by Mr. Kennedy, one of their predecessors. The House of Commons, on consideration, determined that this was an improper use of the forestal rights, and passed a Resolution that the Crown rights ought not to be sold. Two Select Committees, which sat in 1863 and in 1865, confirmed that view. A Bill was afterwards passed transferring the management of Epping Forest from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to the Commissioners of Works, and he regretted that the New Forest was not also removed from the management of the Office of Woods. Thus the mode adopted by the Commissioners of selling the forestal rights for £5 an acre had been condemned by the House of Commons, by two Select Committees, and by the statute which deprived them of the power of doing it again. That measure was a very good one so far as it went; but it did nothing to remedy the bad policy which led to the sale of the forestal rights. He would suggest four sources of income, which might be obtained to meet the sum of money necessary to buy out the rights that must be extinguished. There were the existing forestal rights, estimated in the Bill of last year at 600 acres; there was the sum of £15,795, obtained by the sale of the Crown's forestal rights, which had been condemned by Parliament. This money should be restored by Parliament to the forestal purposes. There was the contribution that might be obtained from the City of London and the Metropolitan Board of Works; and there were rates from the parishes in which this Forest was situated. These suggestions, as to the means by which the necessary funds might be obtained, formed a Budget which he would take the liberty of presenting to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The fertility of invention and the powers of finance of his right hon. Friend might enable him to frame a better Budget; and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would allow himself to indulge feelings of sympathy and commiseration, he would be able to find means by which a Bill might be introduced in the next Session of Parliament to confer a boon upon multitudes of the working poor in the East of London, similar to that which had been secured in regard to Hampstead Heath, and Wandsworth and Wimbledon Commons. He proposed, therefore, that the House should re-affirm the substance of the Address they presented to Her Majesty last year, because he wished it to be seen that neither the House nor the Government had lost any of their earnestness, and that the absence of any Bill on the subject this year must not be taken as evidence of change of purpose on the part of the House, or the Executive. The marking of certain trees at High Beech was no doubt intended as a test of what the House intended to do in regard to the question. He hoped it would be so regarded by those who had authority on the question, and that a friendly arrangement might be come to whereby the Forest should be secured for the advantage of the people without the interests of any person being prejudicially interfered with. He wished to be clearly understood that he had no desire to fetter the discretion of the Government in regard to the details of their Bill; and that he had moved in the matter simply to obtain from the House an affirmation of the principle that the whole Forest, and not a number of small patches here and there, ought to be preserved for the recreation of the people. As it was of importance that they should preserve to the public a considerable portion of the wild open scenery which constituted the special charm of Epping Forest, and was more attractive than any artificial park or garden, he trusted that the Government would feel no difficulty in acceding to his proposition. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

Mr. HOLMS, in seconding the Motion, remarked that if the Government accepted it, they would win the gratitude of the vast working population at the East-end of London, to whom Epping Forest was what the sea-side was to their wealthier neighbours. These people had a feeling, which was not without foundation, that the Crown had not protected their rights in the past as they ought to have done. Now that the metropolis was extending so rapidly, it was of great importance that they should have secured to them in perpetuity the advantages that such a fine open space as the Forest afforded. It was a spot much frequented, and especially by Sunday School children, when they were taken out for their annual excursion or holiday. He must say the Commissioners of Woods and Forests had looked upon the question in a cold unsympathizing manner, as a means, in fact, of obtaining revenue, and not in the interest of the people in the locality in which the Forest was situated. If the population of the metropolis went on increasing in the ratio that had marked the present century up to the present, these open spaces would grow increasingly important, and, therefore, he trusted the Government would concur in the object aimed at by the Resolution.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is expedient that measures be adopted, in accordance with the humble Address presented to Her Majesty in February 1870, for preserving as an open space accessible to Her Majesty's subjects for purposes of health and recreation, those parts of Epping Forest which have not been enclosed with the assent of the Crown or by legal authority,"—(*Mr. Cowper Temple,*)

—instead thereof.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that the right hon. Member for South Hampshire (Mr. Cowper-Temple) in speaking of the great advantages to the inhabitants of the metropolis to be derived from open spaces, and thus eliciting the sympathies of all who heard him, had forgotten there were other points which should not be lost sight of, in connection with this subject, in addition to those brought forward in the preceding speeches. He agreed with all the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Cowper-Temple) had said of the beauties of the space referred to, and thought that every lover of the beautiful or picturesque must desire to keep it open. It was true that large numbers of persons from the metropolis occasionally repaired to Epping Forest; but the area of their visits was, he was grieved to say, limited to the neighbourhood of the different places of entertainment to be found in and near to the Forest, and evidence given before a Committee on which he had had the honour to serve, while eliciting that fact, had also furnished undubitable evidence that, for that reason, the main portion of the Forest was not so generally resorted to as was supposed. Further, the rights of property in the Forest ought not to be lost sight of. Then, as to the question of compensation — a very grave matter, for the lords of the manors of Epping Forest possessed manorial rights exactly similar to those exercised in other parts of the country, and it would be unjust to deprive them of those rights, simply because Epping was within a dozen miles of the metropolis. If that idea should be entertained, the compensation which would be required would amount to a very large sum—a sum which on good authority might be stated as something like £200,000. The parishes most affected would certainly oppose the imposition of any rate for the purpose of levying this money, for they were against the policy of preserving the Forest as an open space. Indeed, the inhabitants of those parishes would, he believed, infinitely prefer to see a large portion of the Forest brought under agriculture, for the result would be to increase their employment and their wages. In that case they would have to look for assistance from the Government, or to a rate raised by the Metropolitan Board of Works. To such a rate there would, he thought, fairly be a claim, because Epping Forest was essentially a recreation ground for the metropolis, and it did seem fair that London should be called upon to provide a portion of the funds required. It was probably true that the lords of the manors had intended to cut down some of the timber for the purpose of asserting their manorial rights, for from what had occurred last year they had foreseen that their manorial rights might in future legislation, to a certain extent, be ignored. What had been done, however, had been done only with the object of testing their right, and not with any hostile feeling. He should be glad to have some assurance from the Government that they would be prepared to introduce a measure which, founded upon mutual concession, would be satisfactory to all parties. He thought that, while the lords of the manors should be required to give up some of their rights, the Government should, on their part, surrender their forestal privileges, and that some means should be devised for levying a rate for the satisfaction of the claims of the commoners. He believed that if such an arrangement were made, the people living in the neighbourhood would be benefited by a portion of the land being thrown into cultivation, while the public would derive as much advantage as they could avail themselves of by the preservation of the remainder for their benefit.

Mr. A. JOHNSTON said, he did not see any reason why the commons rights should be extinguished or compensated at all. On the contrary, if it were kept open for the public and drained, the herbage of the remainder would be much improved to the benefit of the commoners, whose rights would remain precisely as they now are. His hon. Friend (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had, he feared, put forward an estimate of the price of purchasing the rights of the lords of the manors, which was rather calculated to frighten the House. To pay £200,000 for those rights would be to estimate their value at the rate of £66 an acre, when the sale of the rights of Chingford Manor — the only one which had taken place — reached only £4 15*s*. an acre. While giving that as an instance, he was far from saying that the manorial rights could be purchased over the whole Forest at the same rate; but between £4 15*s*. and £66 an acre there was a considerable margin. The Government had always told them that they administered the Crown lands, solely with the view of obtaining from them, for the benefit of the State, the largest amount of Revenue possible, without considering one iota the convenience of the people residing in their neighbourhood. But he thought that there should be some proportion between the price to be paid, the benefit to be gained, and the number of people who would enjoy it, and that when they could benefit one-tenth of the whole population of the country for an infinitesimal outlay, it should not be grudged. When they had formerly asked Government to forego its rights, the reply was, that their doing so would be equivalent to making the East-end of London a large grant of the public money, to which the whole North of England would object. He did not believe that such would be the case, or that a single hon. Member of any of the large boroughs in the North of England would get up in his place and oppose it. Some time ago, when he was concerned in the presentation of a memorial to Mr. Layard on this subject, he asked for the signatures of as many northern Members as he was acquainted with, and in no single instance was refused. It was objected by lawyers that the public had no right over these open spaces, whatever the rights of the people in the neighbourhood might be, and that might be true strictly and legally; but they had, nevertheless, he maintained, the prescription of immemorial usage in their favour, of which they ought not to be deprived. Two Bills introduced this Session proposed to deal with interests that no one, not even those most concerned, dared to assert were legal, and yet any proposal to deal with them, without compensation, was denounced as confiscation, and undoubtedly compensation would be given. In this case, the right of the public was still stronger; but as the public in questions of this sort had no organization and no paid secretaries, they must submit to be shorn unless the House interfered for their protection, and defended their right in this matter, for it was a right, whatever lawyers might choose to say. He had much pleasure in supporting the Motion of his right hon. Friend the Member for South Hampshire.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE said, that as a Londoner, and in default of local knowledge, he could consider the matter only as a question of public policy and as a ratepayers' question; and, considering the matter in this way, he had come to the conclusion that it was the duty of the Government, and all concerned, to deal with it in a thoroughly liberal and far-sighted manner, carrying out the old policy which had secured to the people of the metropolis the public parks. The question touched the health of London, and it was satisfactory to know that so many of the representatives of large towns, who, some assumed, although the hon. Member for South Essex (Mr. Johnston) had proved the contrary, would be against Imperial action in the matter, had signed a Memorial in its favour. He congratulated the hon. Member on having got rid of the provincial spectre which used invariably to be brought in to frighten them, whenever they commenced a movement on subjects kindred to the one under discussion. It was reasonable that Parliament should not grudge some proportion of the cost of retaining the open spaces of the metropolis for the people, since London was to the whole country as the heart or brain to the man. Regarding the question as a Londoner, he saw the West and South-west characterized by broad streets, squares, and gardens, while the East and North-east were characterized by narrow thoroughfares and houses closely packed, with scanty yards and unsavoury factories adjoining them. The great Parks of the West-end had long been consecrated to the public; Richmond Park was a noble breathing ground; Kew had not very long ago been virtually thrown open as a public park; and Wandsworth, Wimbledon, and Hampstead, Commons secured for the public by the action of the Metropolitan Board of Works, with the Parliamentary Park of Battersea, all contributed, almost exclusively, to the enjoyment of the western portion of the town, which even in the absence of recreation grounds would be better able to help itself than the poorer districts of the East, which had nothing but Victoria Park and the threatened Epping Forest. Besides that, there was the great fact that during this century the population of London had increased from 1,000,000, to 3,000,000, while the Census just taken would, perhaps, show that the population approached to 4,000,000. These considerations proved that on grounds of public necessity, and even of public morality, Epping should be saved for the people. He did not wish to lay the burden on any particular party. No doubt the Metropolitan Board of Works and the adjoining parishes would contribute each their fair share towards that object; but he would urge upon the Government not to pursue the narrow-minded policy which had gone far to ruin the New Forest; that miserable policy against which all men of taste and generosity were crying "Shame!" Let Epping Forest be saved, if it were only to compensate the matchmakers for the fright the Government had given them. Let them be told that *ex luce* they should have this *lucellum* of Epping Forest. Such a message would conciliate them far more completely than the most astute lecture upon abstract political economy. Let the Government give the matchmakers the *lucus*, in return for the *lux;* and the House the assurance that the promises of last year would be liberally fulfilled, and that the question would not longer be allowed to rest in abeyance.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE said, the difficulty had arisen through the Government having allowed the Crown Commissioners to exceed their duty by selling the forestal rights of the Crown. If the Government asserted that the Commissioners had that right, then the Government was equally to blame in allowing that alleged right to be exercised without consulting that House upon the subject, or affording any opportunity for an expression of opinion upon the question. He condemned that policy of the Government which put the acquisition of a few shillings before all other considerations, and he reminded Her Majesty's Ministers that they were not only the representatives of the Crown, but the representatives of the life interest of the public. The Crown Lands Commissioners had always attempted to deprive the public of their rights of recreation, and they had pursued the same course with respect to Epping Forest; he hoped that, since what had already been taken away from the Forest could not be restored, the Government would take care that the inhabitants of the East-end of London should continue to have those means of enjoyment which they now possessed, and which their forefathers had enjoyed for centuries.

Mr. SAMUDA said, that fortunately, while the interest taken in this question could not be overrated, the difficulties were not so great as they appeared to be, for the inhabitants of the East-end would be perfectly contented to have reserved to them those acres that had not been inclosed. During the last 15 or 16 years, every green field in the eastern parts of the metropolis had been imperceptibly absorbed by building operations. The deputation that waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer about 18 months ago, explained to the right hon. Gentleman that Epping Forest had been materially reduced, in a manner quite inconsistent with the wants of the neighbourhood, and they would have been contented if they could have obtained from the right hon. Gentleman a promise that the practice of inclosing should be discontinued. It was then also pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman that 4,000 out of 7,000 of the remaining acres had been disposed of for £18,000, and all the Committees that had inquired into the matter were thoroughly satisfied that the existing encroachment was not justified, and that further ones ought not to be permitted. The deputation referred at the same time to the promise made by the Prime Minister in that House, which led them to imagine they might thoroughly depend upon the Forest being in future retained for their use; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer attached very little weight to it, and he was understood to say that the promise so given was only intended to gratify and satisfy the public. This Forest was the only open space now remaining in that part of London, and he hoped the Government would not look with disfavour on a proposal which would cost them nothing, while it would be a great boon to a large number of poor people.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER thought it would conduce to hon. Members coming to a conclusion on the subject, if they emancipated themselves from the ancient history of the question, because for five years the care of this Forest and the rights of the Crown had been transferred from the Woods and Forests Department to the Board of Works. He understood the right hon. Member for South Hampshire (Mr. Cowper-Temple) to suggest that a certain sum of £15,000 which had been received for forestal rights should be expended in making a pleasure ground for the people of the East-end. In doing that, he did not understand the right hon. Member for South Hampshire to make any further demand on the Crown, but that the City of London, the Board of Works, and the adjacent parishes might with that sum raise sufficient to buy up the rights of the lords of the manors.

Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE said, he contended that the Vote of Parliament, carrying money that had been derived from the Forest, should be applied thereto.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Yes; that the money obtained 12 years ago and the compound interest ought to be so applied. That position was not tenable, because the property sold was part of the domains of the Crown, and as such the property of the people at large, and was not confined to the locality, who had no claim on the amount. The object was, no doubt, a very good one, and the Crown ought to do everything in its power to assist in giving effect to the project, with this reservation—that it did not violate any duty it owed to the remainder of Her Majesty's subjects. What was the present position of the question? In February, 1870, the House passed a Resolution, requesting the Government to do all they could to save Epping Forest for the use of the people. The Government took the matter into their most serious consideration, and towards the end of the Session they produced a Bill which would have done much more than was asked by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Hampshire. They entered into negotiations with the lords of the manors, who consented to freely surrender their rights over 1,000 acres for the use of the people of the East-end, who had no legal rights in the matter. That land was worth £100 per acre; but, taking it at £60 per acre, the Government had obtained land worth £60,000, instead of expending the £15,000 which his right hon. Friend had in view; unfortunately, the Bill was stopped in its progress in consequence of its clashing with the Standing Orders. The plan of the Bill was to sell 400 acres of that land, in order to extinguish the rights of the commoners who could not be deprived of those rights without compensation, thus leaving 600 acres for the use of the public in perpetuity. It would doubtless have been better if the City of London or the Metropolitan Board of Works, or the parishes adjacent to the Forest, or all those bodies together, had found the money required for that purpose, or if they could have obtained the sum from those excellent people who spent 20 times that amount of money in pauperizing and degrading the people by giving foolish and reckless charity. In that way, the 1,000 acres might have been secured, not all in one place, but in those spots which were most agreeable; but, as it was, 600 acres had been secured, and that result he contended was much more than his right hon. Friend asked for, because the Government had defrayed the cost of the Commissions which had to be appointed to determine the rights of the lords and commoners. They had also surrendered the remaining forestal rights of the Crown without compensation, in addition to which they were willing to pay the cost of the Bill passing through this House, and the expenses of the Commissioners who would set out the allotments. To raise the sum of money which was required would be a much better beginning than to ask the Government for £15,000, to which, he contended, there was no claim whatever. The Government, he thought, had fairly redeemed the pledge they gave to the House to do what they could, by bringing forward a Bill which was a measure of conciliation; and, if the House desired it, the Government were quite willing to regard that Bill as a basis for future proceedings. It might be better that 1,000 acres should be made over to the public, and that could be done if the funds were raised to compensate the commoners. It was said that the Government had not done what they ought to do in the matter; but they had to consider the interests of the great mass of the people of this country, who might not unnaturally entertain the opinion that a large and rich metropolis like London was able to pay for any ground which it might require for the recreation of its inhabitants, and ought not to take the money out of the pockets of the nation generally to any considerable extent for that purpose. That being the view taken by the Government, he was afraid he could not agree to the Motion of his right hon. Friend the Member for South Hampshire. He was informed that those parts of Epping Forest to which it related amounted to 3,500 acres, and it would not, he thought, be right in the interests of the public to pledge the House to such a large outlay as £350,000, which would be the sum required for their purchase. The Government, however, were at the same time willing to do everything in their power to bring about a satisfactory solution of the question.

Mr. GLADSTONE expressed a hope that his right hon. Friend the Member for South Hampshire (Mr. Cowper-Temple) would not think it necessary to press his Motion to a Division. While noticing that the House itself was evidently desirous of that course being adopted, if it were agreed to, he could only say that he would still be left in a state of doubt as to what were the views of Parliament on the subject. Parliament had advisedly passed an Act making over to the Metropolitan Board of Works the duty of providing pleasure grounds, parks, and open spaces for the recreation of the inhabitants of the metropolis; but Epping Forest became to some extent an exception to that Act, because the Crown happened to possess certain rights in it, which it was fairly asked that it should use in the best and most convenient manner for the benefit of the public. That his right hon. Friend near him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had endeavoured to do by means of the Bill which he (Mr. Gladstone) had introduced, and he might state on his part and on the part of the Government that if the Metropolitan Board of Works, who had charge of those great matters—for they were great matters—could use the rights of the Crown more economically and more beneficially in the interests of the inhabitants of London, the Government would be perfectly willing to place themselves in communication with the Board, with the view to care being taken that the rights of the Crown should be made subservient in every way which was consistent with justice to the country at large, and to those interests. It was impossible, in his opinion, to adopt a fairer course, and under the circumstances his right hon. Friend would, he hoped, not press his Resolution.

Mr. VERNON HARCOURT said, that as it not unfrequently happened, the Chancellor of the Exchequer when they asked him for bread gave them a stone. It was very often maintained from the Treasury Bench that the Crown was entitled to deal with Crown lands on the principle on which a private landlord might act with respect to his property. [Mr. Gladstone: I said the very reverse.] The Minister, representing the Crown, must not, however, forget that they acted on behalf of the public in these matters; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer must bear in mind, when he told the House that he was not going to give the money which the Crown got for forestal rights, which belonged to the public at large, to a particular locality, that the money was obtained by the sale of the interest of that very locality. He would venture to add that Epping Forest being a Royal Forest, none of the encroachments complained of would have been made if the Crown had chosen to exercise its rights; and, if the lords of manors had great interests there, it was only because those who had charge of the interests of the Crown had never taken care of the interests of the public as they ought to have done. It was very difficult to understand really what the Government offered as a settlement of the question; but what the House wanted was, that the Ministers of the Crown, instead of endeavouring to foist upon them another Bill of the same character as that of last year, which was so unsatisfactory that it would be useless to re-introduce it, should perform that duty which they had culpably neglected in the past, and that they should take the matter into their own hands instead of handing it over, as they proposed to do, to the Metropolitan Board of Works. There were large spaces still uninclosed over which the Crown had rights, which if they choose to assert them, would keep them open for the public benefit. That was what, as he understood, they were asked to do by his right hon. Friend the Member for South Hampshire. He recollected, he might add, having heard the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, whose absence from the House they had daily reason to regret, once say that the time was coming when the people of this country would have no place to walk except the dusty high roads, and he wished the spirit of that remark influenced a little more the manner in which questions of the kind were dealt with. Those who represented the Crown in asserting the rights of the Crown in Crown lands against the people, he was sorry to say, were deterred by no considerations; but he wished they would only be as equally astute in observing and enforcing them in favour of the people. In conclusion, he hoped the Resolution would be pressed to a Division.

Mr. KINNAIRD said, he should like to suggest one alternative, which, in his opinion, the Government might advantageously adopt. He had the honour of sitting on a Committee two years ago with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ayrton), who, at that time, was most sound on such questions as that before the House. There was, indeed, no man who then complained more loudly of the conduct of those by whom the Crown lands were administered. Now, if the matter were committed entirely to his right hon. Friend's hands, he had no doubt the old spirit would reanimate him, and that he would deal with it in a manner which would be conducive to the public advantage.

Mr. ANDERSON said, that if the Resolution before the House meant that these 3,000 acres of uninclosed land were to be preserved for the benefit of the East-end of London without any outlay of national money, he would willingly support it; but if it meant, as he rather feared it did mean, that it involved the expenditure of a very large sum—["No, no!"]—he would not support it. Hon. Gentlemen might cry "No, no!" but he understood the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to mean that the country would have to pay a large sum for this ground, and he, as a provincial Member, would therefore strongly oppose the proposal. Ever since he had had the honour of a seat in the House he had observed that when the metropolitan Members were seen to rise one after the other in support of any given Resolution, there was sure to be something under it that needed watching. It was sure to be for a free pontage over Chelsea Bridge, or some similar benefit, at the national expense. He begged to thank the Government for the jealous and watchful care with which they guarded the Exchequer against the grasping claims of the metropolitan Members and other merely local claims, and he hoped all provincial Members would support the Government in that direction.

Sir HENRY HOARE said, they did not want a cuttle fish to stir up the waters of this debate, so that all insight into the merits of the case might be totally obscured from the gaze of hon. Members. There was no question of the expenditure of national money involved in the case under discussion, as it was money given to the Government for a particular purpose; and he protested against the imputation which the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down sought to throw on 16 or 18 metropolitan Members.

Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE was sorry that he could not accede to the appeal which had been made to him by the Prime Minister. An offer was made to the Metropolitan Board, in 1863, to accept the forestal rights of the Crown, and was declined, because it was thought that those rights ought to remain in the Crown.

Mr. GLADSTONE rose to address the House—["Order, order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman has a right to explain; and that, I understand, is the purpose for which the right hon. Gentleman has risen.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, his right hon. Friend did not explain but reply, and he wished for a similar right; it has been granted in similar cases. He complained, on behalf of the Government, that this Resolution was impossible to construe. This was not a question of a small sum of money which had been received in former times by the Commissioners of Woods. If it were, let it be reduced to that, in plain terms. ["Order, Order!"] He had made an appeal to the House, which he hoped would be responded to. The question was that of the Government taking the responsibility. ["Order!"] He rose at the close of the debate, when no one else attempted to rise; his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) replied, and allegations were then made which, if made before, he should have met at the proper time. It was not improper, in such a case, for the responsible Minister of the Crown to reply to allegations which he had not had an opportunity of noticing before; and, in saying this, he should confine himself strictly to the point in question. He wished to state that as Government construed this Motion—and he did not think it could be construed in any other way—it threw on the Government the responsibility, either by itself, or by putting in motion other parties over whom it had no control whatever, of attaining the end, that all rights should be bought up and disposed of which prevented the absolute enjoyment of the remaining 3,500 acres of Epping Forest. If that was not the case, then his right hon. Friend the Member for South Hampshire should give the Government a Motion that they could understand; or, if this Motion referred simply to the limited amount that had been received by the Commissioners of Woods, let his right hon. Friend put it in intelligible terms. For himself, he was totally at a loss to know how to act upon a Resolution of this character. The Resolution involved a great expenditure of public money, against which many had loudly disclaimed; if it did not, he was at a loss to understand what it meant.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 96; Noes 197: Majority 101:—Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That it is expedient that measures be adopted, in accordance with the humble Address presented to Her Majesty in February 1870, for preserving as an open space accessible to Her Majesty's subjects for purposes of health and recreation, those parts of Epping Forest which have not been enclosed with the assent of the Crown or by legal authority.

Mr. CARDWELL said, the Amendment having been carried, the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Barttelot) could not bring forward his Motion. Therefore, to give the hon. and gallant Gentleman an opportunity of bringing forward his Motion, he would move that the House resolve itself into a Committee of Supply.

SUPPLY.

Resolved, That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Secretary Cardwell.*)

Mr. Gladstone

ARMY—MARTINI-HENRY RIFLE.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Colonel BARTTELOT rose to call attention to the Report on the Martini-Henry Rifle, and to move that—

> "A Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the merits of the Martini-Henry Rifle, particularly as to its lock arrangement and mode of stocking; and whether it is the most suitable rifle as compared with others now manufactured to arm our troops with."

The hon. and gallant Gentleman said, he brought this question before hon. Members with the full intention of dividing the House upon it, and without the least prejudice in favour of any other invention than that brought forward by the Government, and, as the House would readily believe, with no other interest, with no other view, than that of endeavouring to show that this weapon, which the Government wished to place in the hands of our soldiers and of our Reserve forces, was not the best weapon that could be placed in their hands. He could not believe that any Government, especially the present Government, though they had done many curious things, would attempt in such an important question as this was, at the expense of the ratepayers of this country, to place in the hands of our soldiers and of our Reserve forces a weapon which was not the best. The task he had undertaken was, doubtless, a difficult one. He knew he should have the full power of the Government against him, though he thought from what had just occurred in the House the power of the Government was not so strong as it appeared to be some short time before. He had no feeling against the Committee that reported on the Martini-Henry rifle; on the contrary, he was in favour of it. He believed that the gallant officer who presided over that Committee was a man above all suspicion, a man that would act only in the best interests of his country. And as regarded the other Members of the Committee they were equally honourable; but there was yet another name he had to mention—that of his noble Friend (Lord Elcho) who sat below him, and who joined the Committee last year, and who, though he was at the time prejudiced against the very arm which he now recommended as the best, would no doubt state to the House what made him change his opinion on the subject. Having said so much for the Committee, he must now say that, with regard to the position of the Government in this matter, if the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War had paid a little more attention to remarks that were made by the Prime Minister, we should not now be in our present state. On the 12th of October, 1868, the Prime Minister said at Warrington—

> "You have heard much about our troops having been badly armed before, and being well armed now. Why, for the last 15 years we have been doing nothing but arming and re-arming, and building and re-building. Thinking we had found a better method of building ships, thinking we had found a better method of constructing guns or small arms, we rushed with precipitate haste to a wholesale execution of the idea of the moment, and before the idea of the moment had been fully embodied, at vast public expenditure, some superior inventions were brought forward and the whole thing had to be done over again. What is the lesson of common sense under these circumstances? It is this—to proceed with moderation. Of course, when you know of better arms and better ships you must get them; but do not throw yourselves into a fever for the purpose."

He cordially agreed with the right hon. Gentleman in those views; but what was the lesson which common sense taught under such circumstances, and what course had the Secretary for War pursued? That right hon. Gentleman having informed the House that we were in a most efficient state, and fit to go to war anywhere, having told us that we had 300,000 breech-loaders in store—of which he (Colonel Barttelot) believed 200,000 were abroad—set to work to convert the Enfield rifle into a Snider breech-loader, and he had armed our troops and our Reserve forces with that arm, which was superior to any arm known on the Continent. We were now, however, asked to supply money for the most costly arm that had ever been introduced into the service, and he would undertake to say that the right hon. Gentleman did not know at this moment whether it was the best. In answer to the Question, why he was in such a hurry on this matter, the right hon. Gentleman said to him (Colonel Barttelot)—

> "My predecessor appointed a most competent Committee to examine the question what rifle should be adopted. About the time of my accession to office, that Committee reported in favour of the Martini-Henry. I referred the Report to the Ordnance Council, and, under their advice, the weapon has been tried by the troops in hot and cold climates, at home and abroad. The Reports from the different regiments have been laid upon the Table of the House, and are eminently satisfactory. I have re-appointed the Committee, under the same Chairman—Colonel Fletcher—with some new members, to consider those Reports, and the final Report of that Committee has been laid upon the Table also. Sufficient inquiry in a matter of so much importance is an excellent thing; but there is a point at which, if the Army is to be armed at all with the improved weapon, inquiry must terminate and action must commence. The present case is, in my opinion, one for decision, and not for further and probable indefinite inquiry."

The impression left upon the minds of all was that the right hon. Gentleman, without intending anything actually discourteous in his answer—of which he (Colonel Barttelot) was perfectly assured—was so fully determined to arm the soldiers with this weapon that he would listen to no reasons for delay, and would not farther discuss the question. Having shown that the men were well armed at the present moment, he had another accusation to make against the right hon. Gentleman—namely, that this weapon having been accepted by the Committee in 1869, from that time to the present all other rifles had been shut out from competing with it. In reply to a Question he put, the right hon. Gentleman said that his only desire was that the best possible weapon should be ultimately adopted; and, in answer to another hon. Member, he had stated that no limitation whatever had been placed upon the powers of the Committee to examine other arms. These terms were too vague to be employed by a Minister with reference to matters of this importance, and it would have been far more satisfactory had the right hon. Gentleman distinctly stated whether or not private manufacturers, who had been labouring for years to produce a perfect weapon, and who were peculiarly qualified for the purpose, were to be allowed to compete with the Government factories. He was prepared to maintain that the private manufacturers had been totally and entirely excluded from such competition; and, moreover, that it had been found necessary to patch up and alter every portion of the Martini - Henry rifle, adopted in 1868-9, before it could be rendered fit to be introduced into the service. So great had been the alteration in the lock and other parts of that weapon, that it was thought that it would be necessary to alter the manual and platoon exercises before the rifle could be served out to the troops. He had it upon the best authority that all these alterations and mutilations had been made at the Enfield Factory at the expense of the nation. He, however, wished to lay it down as a broad principle that the whole of these weapons ought not to be manufactured at Enfield, without giving private manufacturers and others out-of-doors an opportunity of competing with the Government. It was not too late, even now, to make the alteration; and he asked the right hon. Gentleman to issue a notice to the effect, that the trade would be allowed to compete with the Government weapon. He suggested that 100 rifles of different descriptions should be manufactured by the trade, and sent down to the troops at Aldershot to be tested by them against the Martini-Henry rifle. His only object in making this proposal was, that the best weapon should be placed in the hands of the soldiers, and if the Martini-Henry rifle maintained its character as the best rifle, he should be the first to express approbation of it. His belief at present, however, was that it was not only not the best, but that it was of such a complicated and delicate construction that it would not bear the test of campaigning. If such should prove to be the case, how great was the responsibility which rested on the right hon. Gentleman. It was not because a weapon shot the best under ordinary circumstances that it was the best for the service. The rifle that ought to be selected for arming the troops was one of simple construction, which under the most adverse circumstances would not get out of order, and which, if it should get out of order, could be repaired with the greatest facility; and if the Martini-Henry rifle answered to those qualifications, he (Colonel Barttelot) would have no more to say on the matter. Now, the adoption of this weapon would involve an expenditure of between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000, and he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman, if he carried his point, how rapidly he proposed to arm the troops with it. If the process were to be commenced at once, it would involve an additional expenditure upon the Army for the present year of £500,000, and he should like to know how the Government intended to meet the extra drain upon the finances of the country. He further contended that when any Committee was appointed to inquire into the relative value of weapons, the War Office had no right to make that Committee both a judicial and constructive Committee. The House was aware of the enormous sums which had been expended for the last 10 years upon the trials of various weapons, and from a Return which he had obtained—and in moving for which, he had fully described what he wanted, but what he had given to him was only the rewards given to inventors, and, moreover, was of a most meagre character—he found that £232,227 had been given as rewards to inventors of ordnance, and £8,124 to inventors of small arms. Those sums, however, did not include the cost of the experiments entered into to try the value of these different arms, which had amounted to an enormous sum. For instance, no less than £1,000,000 had been expended upon the 4-ton 7-inch Armstrong gun for the Navy, which they had heard so much of, and which, after all, had been condemned; and yet the country was now to be called upon to sanction an expenditure of £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 upon a weapon the value of which was, at all events, doubtful. He must again say that before they went into the construction of the Martini-Henry rifle, they ought to be sure they had selected the best weapon procurable by either skill or money. He took three objections against the Martini-Henry rifle. In the first place, he objected to the short Martini-Henry rifle with a sword-bayonet, because he regarded the sword-bayonet as being a most unwieldly weapon, which could not be rapidly fixed on an emergency, and would interfere with the men using their rifles with effect. The result of the encounter between the French and the Prussians at Spicheren was decisive against the sword-bayonet, and proved the fact; for, whereas the latter moved with ease with their light bayonet, which they fixed in ascending the hill, the former threw away their sword-bayonets when they ran away. His noble Friend (Lord Elcho) had invented a saw-backed sword-bayonet, and he (Colonel Barttelot) gave him credit for it, for there was no doubt that it was better than the one with which some regiments of our Army were at present armed. But what was the sword bayonet to do? If men were accustomed to chop and saw wood with their sword-bayonets, as had been said to be the case, they would end by roasting geese upon the barrels of their rifles. He further objected to the short rifle, as two ranks of men could not fire with it while the front rank stood upright, and nothing was more difficult than to get the front rank, who found themselves sheltered when kneeling, to stand up again. It might be all well enough to arm one or two regiments with the sword-bayonet, such as the Rifle Brigade and the 60th Regiment, but it would not do to place it in the hands of the whole Army. His second and next objection was to the spiral spring in the lock, and to the method adopted for the purpose of raising the "falling block." He should go but very shortly into this part of the subject, as his hon. Friend the Member for Bolton (Mr. Hick), who was well known as a mechanician, would deal with it by-and-by more effectively than he could hope to do, although he must say the opinions in the Blue Book were entirely against the efficiency of the mechanism employed. In regard to the spiral spring, if they looked through the Reports, they would find that when those arms were issued in some places not fewer than 80 per cent of miss-fires occurred. Could it be said that an arm liable to such a percentage of mis-fires was fit to be placed in the hands of our soldiers? [Lord Elcho: There is a reason for it.] No doubt there must be; but they had to look not to fair weather times, nor to ordinary rifle-shooting matches and the like, when they could do as they pleased with their arm, but to times of emergency and of actual warfare; and to see that that arm did not get out of order, or, if it did, that it could be repaired in the easiest and speediest possible manner. The hon. and gallant Member then quoted the evidence of one of the witnesses — Mr. Davidson — to the effect that the spiral spring in the lock was not the best form of what was at best an uncertain agent, and that the coil spring would be more likely to be effective than the lever. When gentlemen received a fee of 50 guineas—for that was the sum paid to those witnesses—although he admitted that they were men above all suspicion, yet they would naturally be more inclined to advocate one side of the question than the other if they possibly could. He had, however, got the opinions of some authorities, which he confessed weighed with his mind very much in regard to the Martini-Henry rifle. He had the opinions of Mr. Ramsbottom, chief engineer of the London and North-Western Railway; of Mr. C. W. Baker, civil engineer; of Mr. Greenwood, of Leeds; of Mr. John Penn, of Greenwich; of Mr. Robinson, of the Atlas Works, Manchester, and other eminent gentlemen, who one and all condemned the spiral spring and lock arrangement of the Martini-Henry. The opinions of these authorities were equal in weight to those contained in that Report, and surely when they had such a conflict of opinion on the subject, they ought not to adopt an arm which might fail at the very time they most needed it. He hoped, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman would give way, and that he would grant the Committee which was now asked for. Moreover, this matter was discussed by the Institute of Mechanical Engineers at Birmingham, on the 27th instant, Mr. Ramsbottom in the chair; all the rival guns were taken into consideration, and in the conclusion arrived at by that body, it was stated that the details of the lock action in the Martini-Henry involved serious mechanical defects, which, however, might be corrected by employing the ordinary principle of construction in gun-lock action that had been confirmed by long experience; and that this could be effected without any detriment to the principle of closing the breech, while very decided advantages might be gained in respect to other points. That was the opinion of a body whose authority the right hon. Gentleman opposite would not impugn; and if they were so unanimous that there were some defects in the lock apparatus of that rifle, surely he was not asking too much if he again said that he hoped the House would grant him a Committee to inquire into the subject. His third and last objection was, as to the mode of stocking, which in the case of the Martini-Henry rifle was faulty. The stock being screwed on in an extraordinary way, if it got bent it could not be taken out and replaced with the requisite facility as it could be in the ordinary stock at present in use; but it would have to be sawed in two in order to repair any defect occurring in it. He had asked the opinion of a vast number of officers, and they all said that, although that rifle shot well, its mechanism was too complicated for a private soldier. It had been rather difficult to obtain information on the point of merit in shooting; for although there were some rifles sent down to Aldershot, he was sorry to say they were only of one pattern; but when they were sent down the Martini-Henry was being tried at Aldershot, and accordingly these rifles were put into competition with that arm. With regard to their respective merits, he had received two letters which he had permission to use—the one from Sir James Yorke Scarlett, and the other from Major General Lysons. The first letter—from Sir James Yorke Scarlett—had reference to the Westley-Richards rifle. [Mr. CARDWELL: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman cheered; but he was sorry to be obliged to make use of those letters and of Mr. Richards' name, because, without meaning anything offensive, he thought the right hon. Gentleman had formed a strong prejudice against that arm. The letter of Sir James Yorke Scarlett was as follows:—

> "I have much pleasure in sending you the report made to me by Major General Lysons, whom I requested to try in every possible way the rifle you submitted to me. As far as my own judgment is worth anything, I like your arm better than any I have seen. It is handy and strong, and the mechanism of the lock and block arrangement most simple and easily worked. The bayonet fits admirably, and is a very serviceable weapon. The shooting as to accuracy, trajectory and distance being given, I do not think any better weapon could be placed in a soldier's hands. The only suggestion I have to make is that in the arm now before me the cartridge extractor does not seem to work with sufficient power; if the metal by any chance was to be split in the explosion and stick in the breech, though it throws back so easily now, it might be more difficult of extraction. This, I conclude, could be easily remedied. The index on the lock-plate is easily worked, and adds much to security from accident when the gun is loaded."

The report of Major General Lysons, enclosed, said, that the writer had during the summer tried the Westley-Richards rifles which had been sent to him by Sir James Yorke Scarlett's orders, and had submitted them to every sort of practical test. General Lysons reported in the most satisfactory terms of this arm in respect of breech-action, arrangement and make, bayonet, the pull-off, miss-fires, cartridge, and bolt arrangement. At any rate, whether the Committee were granted or withheld by the Government, or whether they took the broad ground, and allowed these other arms to be tried at Aldershot, as he thought they should be tried, the country would have an opportunity of judging for themselves on this matter. He was biassed by no wish whatever, as he was actuated by no interest beyond that of seeing our soldiers armed with the very best weapon available; and so he confidently commended his Motion to the House as one to which, as being reasonable, the Government should assent. The hon. and gallant Member concluded by moving his Amendment.

MR. HICK, in seconding the Motion, said, he disclaimed any intention of acting in any antagonism to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War or anyone else on this question. His only object was in accordance with that of the right hon. Gentleman—namely, to obtain the best weapon wherewith to arm our troops. He was quite aware of what he had done to effect that object, but he thought he should be able to show that further inquiry was not only desirable but necessary. He approached this subject with great diffidence, because any man attempting to re-open a question apparently settled incurred serious responsibility; but, at the same time, a still graver responsibility would be incurred by those who withheld the expression of the opinion they held as to the defects of the Martini-Henry rifle, as to which there had, he thought, existed considerable misapprehension. The Reports laid on the Table of the House dealt only with the Snider and Martini-Henry rifles, many other rifles—such as the Westley-Richards, the Henry, the Soper, and the Remington—being left unnoticed. He thought it entirely wrong to speak of one rifle as the Martini-Henry, because what was so called consisted of the Martini stock and lock and the Henry rifled barrel. They might as well speak of the Westley-Richards-Henry, or the Soper-Henry, or the Remington-Henry, because the same barrel could be used to any of the locks. This being so, he would put this incontrovertible proposition—given the same barrel, and the same ammunition, in the same hands, and there would be the same penetration and the same accuracy, and consequently he would leave the barrel and ammunition out of the question, and reduce the matter to the Martini lock. The Martini lock would never have attained the position it now held if it had been connected with a barrel inferior to what it had; not that he regarded that barrel as by any means the best, for he believed that it was not so good as the Whitworth barrel, which he was sorry had been so much ignored in consideration of this question. The hon. Member said he would briefy describe the different rifles now before the public; and that he could do plainly enough if he had been able to place before them drawings, diagrams, and models; but as their rules did not permit him to turn the House of Commons into a lecture-room he could only attempt to impart by verbal explanation the knowledge he wished to impart. Having accordingly explained the peculiarities of the several rifles referred to the hon. Member proceeded to say—In the opinion of all practical gunsmiths the flat main-spring was incapable of improvement; at least, it was very undesirable to replace or alter it. The defects in the Martini rifle were—first, the spiral main-spring, which consisted of nine coils placed in a cylindrical cavity in the breech-block, and made to act upon a piston or striker placed in the coil. The spring had an initial velocity of 40 lbs. or upwards. The action was that of a short stiff spring moving through a small space, and was more of a push than a blow. This mode of ignition in connection with this spiral spring was, he thought, open to many objections also. To ignite a cap, a sharp, smart, but not heavy blow was required. The consequence was a liability to miss fire, which it was sought to overcome by introducing a stronger spring; but with what effect? By throwing an increased weight on the lever it was almost impossible to make it go along. To facilitate its movement the tumbler of the lock was bevelled, the result of which was that the act of grounding arms was now frequently sufficient to send the rifle off. The second defect was having the lever so near the centre in which it moved that any wear which might occur was multiplied at least seven times at the other end, so that in a short time the block would cease to be raised to the right point, and then miss-fires would frequently occur; to add to this, it would be almost impossible to get the cartridge home. Another cardinal defect was the liability to rust, and the effect of rust on the coils. The witnesses examined before the Committee stated that the spiral spring was more liable to break than the flat spring, and that the spring was the weak part of the arm; and altogether the statements made on this head were strong and startling. It appeared that the springs became weak at the close of the experiments, and that out of 377 miss-fires, 349 were due to the arm and 28 to the cartridges. Then as regards the stocking—it was said that the mode adopted was very convenient, and ensured sufficient firmness for all practical purposes. To that he (Mr. Hick) entirely demurred, for he concluded that a very slight blow laterally would bend the stock from its true position, and with it the screw, which it would then be impossible to withdraw, and the rifle would consequently be rendered useless. It was of the utmost importance that rifles should have a uniform pull, but the pull of this rifle was stated to be irregular, requiring sometimes a heavy and sometimes a light pressure. The pull of the Martini was a straight pull in the direction of the shoulder, whereas in most other rifles the pull was a simple pressure of the finger and a corresponding pressure above with the thumb. Several witnesses spoke to the liability of the Martini to disablement by rust; and there was also evidence of excessive recoil, which, it was said, would give a man a blow on the nose and put him off the firing. [The hon. Member read numerous extracts from the evidence published with the Report.] With all this weight of evidence, he thought they were fully justified in asking for a Committee to inquire into this matter. It might be, and it ought to be, possible to say a great deal in favour of the rifle; else why had it been adopted? But that was scarcely the point at issue; the question was, whether there was any rifle superior to, and not possessing any of the disadvantages of the Martini-Henry rifle; and he believed he had, at all events, made out a case for further inquiry, and that sufficient had been stated to justify the appointment of a Select Committee. While refraining from expressing his opinion as to which was the best rifle, he had no hesitation in saying that, in regard to the points he had named, the Martini-Henry rifle was the worst.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the merits of the Martini-Henry Rifle, particularly as to its lock arrangement and mode of stocking; and whether it is the most suitable rifle as compared with others now manufactured to arm our troops with,"—(*Colonel Barttelot,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Lord ELCHO, having been a member of the Committee whose Report was under consideration, and which had been so extensively and minutely criticized, believed it was the wish of the Secretary of State that he should at once, on behalf of that Committee, offer a few remaks to the House. This he should do most readily, as he was anxious to justify the recommendations to which he had attached his name. Being aware of the strong common sense which his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Colonel Barttelot) always so clearly expressed, he had looked forward to his speech with curiosity, though not with alarm. Many years ago he heard the late Mr. Hume remark of some hon. Member, that he was the greatest "allegater" in the House, and he (Lord Elcho) thought his hon. and gallant Friend would in some sort come under that remark, for his hon. and gallant Friend had made a number of allegations which he had wholly failed to subtantiate. He stated that the rifle would not do this or that; and that it had been so altered and transmogrified that its own parents would not be able to recognize it—indeed, his hon. and gallant Friend went on "allegating" in this way to a great extent, but did not give the House documentary proof of any sort whatever. On the other hand, no one could complain in this respect of the hon. Seconder of the Motion, who had displayed much ingenuity and industry in accumulating documentary evidence—indeed, the hon. Gentleman had handled the subject in a most clear and scientific manner. But how did he preface his remarks? He expressed a wish that he could produce diagrams, drawings, and sections, in order to render the subject more intelligible; but this he was unable to do, because the House of Commons was not a lecture-room. He (Lord Elcho) himself also regretted immensely that diagrams could not be exhibited; but, surely, the circumstance showed that a discussion of this nature was not a fitting one for the House of Commons. A chance vote might be given one way or the other; but such a question could not be satisfactorily discussed here in any matter connected with its technical details. He would cite a case in point. After the question of a survey of Scotland had been carefully inquired into by Committees and numerous scientific men, the Report which was drawn up did not satisfy an hon. Member of this House, who procured its rejection; and if a deputation on the subject had not gone to "another place," and got a Commission appointed, there would have been no great cadastral survey of Scotland. He denied that the House of Commons was a proper arena for the discussion of technical questions of this kind, and must say of the manner and extent in which the subject-matter in dispute had been entered into, that probably no technical question had undergone a more protracted and searching investigation than this of the Martini-Henry rifle. He believed the result was thoroughly satisfactory, and that the Report of the Committee rested on grounds which could not be shaken by quoting the opinions of one engineer against another, or by selecting passages from Reports concerning rust and miss-fires. It had been said that if you put an Irishman on a spit you would always find another Irishman ready to turn him; and, in the same way, engineers were always ready to contradict the opinions of their professional brethren. His hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Barttelot) told the House that his object was to get the best rifle; but surely this was the object sought by everybody. At all events, this was the object which the Committee endeavoured to attain. The hon. and gallant Gentleman patted the Committee on the back, but fell foul of the Secretary of State for having gone on manufacturing Sniders, instead of adopting the Martini-Henry rifle. The right hon. Gentleman, however, was obliged to do so, because the store of arms was so low that it was absolutely necessary to procure a fresh supply of rifles, and it would have been most imprudent to have ordered the stoppage of the manufacture of Sniders, and the alteration of all the machinery at Woolwich, in order to manufacture a rifle on which the Committee had not at that time finally reported. The House ought to understand that the Committee had gone to the very root of the matter. It originated under these circumstances. Our country was far behind the rest of the world in regard to breech-loaders. Prussia having used breech-loading arms to suppress the revolutionary movement of 1848; but it was not till 1866 that steps were taken to supply our Army with a breech-loading weapon. In that year General Peel, then Secretary for War, offered three prizes: one of £1,000, for the best combination of qualties in a military rifle; another of £600 for the best breech-loading arrangement; and a third of £400 for the best ammunition. An invitation was sent to a number of gunmakers, and 105 responded to it. In March, 1867, a Committee was appointed, consisting of Lieutenant Colonel Fletcher (President), Captain Rawlins, Captain Mackinnon, Earl Spencer, Mr. Edward Ross, and Captain Hay, of the Royal Artillery, who was secretary. This Committee reported in 1869, when it issued five Reports of different descriptions, and its course of procedure was as follows:—Out of the 105 arms sent in, 37 were selected as having complied with the terms of the competition; but with regard to ammunition, the terms had been complied with by one person only —Mr. Daw. Out of the 37 arms they selected nine, and six of each of these nine kinds of arms were ordered to be supplied, together with 1,000 rounds of ammunition. These were tested; the result being that the Committee awarded the second prize to Mr. Henry, while Mr. Daw took off the third prize of £400 for the only ammunition sent in. It might appear strange that the Martini-Henry rifle, which was one of the selected arms, did not obtain a prize in the first award, but the simple reason was that the ammunition was very faulty. The powers of the Committee were then extended, so as to enable them to examine and report upon the best arm for the service. This they proceeded to do, having first reported unfavourably of repeating rifles and compressed powder. From 64 arms sent in, the Committee first selected 10, which they divided into two categories—namely, bolt-rifles and block-rifles—and then, having examined them and tried them further, they adopted the first-named variety, and decided finally in favour of a weapon which was a combination of the Henry barrel with the Martini breech. The Report of the Committee, drawn up in 1869, two years after its first appointment, having been endorsed by the Ordnance Council, according to the customary regulation on the subject, six rifles, made by hand on the model which had been supplied, were sent to Canada, India, Dublin, and elsewhere, to be tested and reported on. Other 200 similar rifles, made by machinery, were afterwards sent out to be tried. This completed the first great division of the question. Immediately after this two minor Committees were appointed, one consisting of military members of the original body, to consider such questions as those of bayonets, muzzle-stoppers, and the rest, and the other to report upon the powder best to be used, and other similar questions. He now came to the second branch of the question—the period at which he himself individually had any connection with it, and that was when the second Committee was appointed in May, 1869. With the 200 arms which had been sent to all parts of the world were sent out 20 questions to be answered by the regiments and persons to whom the arms were forwarded. Reports came in gradually, and he quite admitted that it did appear from these Reports that the arm had not been satisfactory. The Secretary for War in 1869, proceeding anxiously and steadily, as he was bound to do, appointed this second Committee to collect these Reports, tabulate them, consider them, and advise on the whole question. The Committee went very carefully into the Reports, and the result was a Report drawn up in July upon long-action arms. It appeared to the Committee that there had been miss-fires, but it arose from the fact that whereas the Henry-Martini had a spring with a striking power of 40, these arms had been sent out with a striking power of 26 only. Stronger springs were then substituted, and, as a result, miss-fires had practically ceased. The ordinary soldier pull was 6 lbs.; for fine shooting with a small-bore it was fixed at 3 lbs. and the pull of the Martini-Henry had been reduced to 3 lbs. The hon. Gentleman who seconded the Motion before the House, held that a proper "pull off" could not be obtained with the stronger spring, but he did not know at what the hon. Gentleman estimated the "pull off" with such a spring would be.

Mr. HICK explained that he had stated the amount of pull would reach 12 lbs. to 14 lbs.

Lord ELCHO said, he had shot with one of these rifles, and the pull did not amount to anything like what the hon. Member had stated. As Chairman of the National Rifle Association, he was naturally anxious to obtain one rifle instead of many, and he made inquiries with a view of ascertaining whether, for finer or small-bore shooting, in which they required a pull of not more than 3 lbs., such a result could be obtained with the description of spiral spring that had been resorted to in order to prevent miss-fires. The question was submitted to Mr. Perry, of the Small Arms Factory at Enfield, a most intelligent working man, to whose opinion he hoped the House would attach due weight, and Mr. Perry in his reply stated that a "pull off" of 3 lbs. could be obtained with perfect safety, by a very slight modification of the spring, and without interfering with its principle. The Committee, in accordance with the decision it had formed upon its consideration of the subject, then recommended the issue of 22 short-actioned arms to troops in different parts of the country. The difference between short and long-actioned rifles was that they were constructed in the breech for using short and long cartridges respectively, and in addition to other advantages possessed by the short-breech action it was thought that it gave a neater and lighter rifle. These rifles having been tried and returned with the Reports, the Committee reported in the strongest terms in favour of the weapon with the short-breech action. This was not, however, the final Report of the Committee, for proceeding cautiously and steadily they were at length able to obtain a Martini-Henry weighing 8 lbs. 7 oz. instead of 9 lbs. 7 oz., the original weight, which was a great advantage, because it enabled a soldier to carry a larger quantity of ammunition with the same aggregate weight. ["Hear, hear!"] His hon. Friend opposite cheered that statement; but he (Lord Elcho) maintained that a more handy or better shooting rifle than the one in favour of which the Committee finally reported had never been seen. Having thus stated the course that the Committee had pursued, with the result that had flowed from it, he now proposed to deal with the objections that had been taken to the weapon by the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Barttelot) and by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hick) who had seconded his Motion. Their first objection was to the sword-bayonet; but if the hon. and gallant Gentleman was of opinion that a simple bayonet, which could be used for no other purpose than thrusting, was the best form of that weapon, and that the sword-bayonet on a rifle ought not to be used in a military point of view, on the other hand, Lord Sandhurst had warmly approved the new sword-bayonet, and had pronounced it to be a great and important improvement in the equipment of the British soldier. The Report of the Committee rested upon the practical experience of the new arm of regiments and officers in all parts of the world, which he thought was a sound and secure basis. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had laid great stress upon the opinions of two officers whose letters he had read to the House; but the Committee had had before them the opinions of no less than 90 officers, all of which were summarized and reported on by the Committee, and contained in the book which he now held in his hand. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had further stated this weapon to be of such a delicate and complicated construction that it was utterly unfit for a soldier's arm, and he had stated that the spiral spring was defective, rusted easily, and would not work. But what were the reports which had been received on this subject from India — a country whose warm, moist climate was calculated to test the durability of the weapon and its power of resisting injury to the utmost — thereby showing the opinion of soldiers upon the matter, a jury in whom he was perfectly ready to risk the practical issue of the question? From every quarter in that country reports had been received to the effect that, when the spiral spring had become stiff from the action of rust owing to the want of oil, by opening and closing the breech a few times the freedom of its action was restored. He should like to know whether the same could be said of flat or any other description of springs. It was further stated that, with regard to accuracy, the rapidity of the bullet's flight, and consequent flatness of the trajectory, simplicity of the breech mechanism, and extreme non-liability to get out of order, it was unrivalled, and that compared with it on all these points the Snider was a mere toy. The miss-fires that had occurred with the weapon at one time had entirely ceased now in consequence of stronger springs having been adopted. A large number of these rifles had been fired 1,500 times with ball, and 6,000 times with blank cartridges, and one of them had been fired 10,000 times without being injured. He concluded, from these ameliorations, that the defects found to exist in the long-action rifle, arising mainly from the cartridge and miss-firing, were entirely obviated by the new arm. But, in addition to these opinions of practical soldiers, the Committee had had those of scientific men on the subject. He might, perhaps, be permitted to state that when he first saw this weapon he was greatly prejudiced against it, and it was only after it had been tested at Wimbledon by the best shots in the country, that he began to look upon it in a different light. It appeared to him when he first saw it to be heavy, ill-balanced, and to have a defective lever. This was in March, 1870, and he wrote to the Secretary of State for War to point out these defects. He added that the Westley-Richards seemed to him to be a better arm, and that he had asked Mr. W. Richards to make a rifle free from these defects, which had been done, and which he examined closely, and finding the principle well adapted for the ends proposed, he accordingly submitted it to the notice of the Secretary of State. When it was proposed to him to serve on the Committee, he stipulated that the best and most decisive scientific and mechanical authorities should be invited to examine the breech action. The question arose who should be on the Committee, and he recommended Mr. Gregory, President of the Institute of Civil Engineers. Mr. Gregory was added to the Committee, and was consulted as to the scientific witnesses who should be examined. He recommended Mr. Bramwell, Mr. Nasmyth, Dr. Pole, and Mr. Woods as scientific men, and Colonel Dixon, Mr. Perry, a practical man from Enfield, Captain Beaumont (South Durham), and Mr. Martini were also added to the list; but of these, Mr. Bramwell declined to be consulted, because he had already given his opinion on the subject; the rest of the gentlemen named entered upon a thorough investigation of the Martini rifle. It occurred to him that the scientific evidence would be overhauled, and he asked Mr. Gregory the grounds upon which he had recommended these gentlemen to the Committee. Mr. Gregory replied that they were not only men of high scientific character and distinguished antecedents, but also of different orders of mind and methods of treating the subject; for instance, Mr. Woods was a member of the College of Civil Engineers, and was held in great estimation, and Mr. Nasmyth was well-known as the inventor of the steam hammer, and as a judge of delicate machinery. It was supposed that these gentlemen, because they received a fee of £50, were likely to report in favour of those who gave them that fee. All he could say was that the Committee had great difficulty in getting this fee for them, which he (Lord Elcho) did not think excessive, considering the nature of the labours they undertook to perform, and a correspondence went on for nearly three weeks upon the question whether they should receive £2 2*s.* or £50. They answered a long string of questions put to them in writing, and they were also examined *vivâ voce.* An hon. Member, quoting the evidence of Mr. Davidson, said—"And he was one of your own witnesses." Well, the witnesses were not bribed by the Committee, nor were they asked to bolster up the evidence in favour of any particular rifle. Mr. Davidson was the only witness who gave evidence in favour of the case attempted to be made out to-night. Everyone who knew anything of deer-stalking was acquainted with the difficulty of getting practical gunmakers to alter their weapons when improvements were pointed out to them. The deer-stalker was like the soldier; he wanted to get the most efficient weapon for shooting which was, at the same time, the lightest to carry. The deer-stalker had lightened his gun in defiance of the practical gunmaker's opinion, and inquiry had proved that the soldier could be supplied with a 7½ lb gun equal in effect and with less recoil than the old one. He was not surprised the gunmakers preferred the old form of lock, because a change would oblige them to alter their patterns; but it had been proved beyond question, by the opinions of Dr. Pole, Mr. Nasmyth, Mr. Rigby, the well-known gunmaker of Dublin, and by Mr. Whitworth, that the striking power of the Martini-Henry lock was greater and gave a smarter blow than the exposed mechanism of the old lock. The evidence of gunmakers even showed this. Mr. Lancaster, the gunmaker, had expressed the opinion that the present lock was obsolete for breech-loaders, and that the spiral spring was preferable; other evidence had shown that the spiral spring could be made without difficulty, and that there was no objection to using it long. On the other hand, there were some witnesses, including Mr. Westley-Richards, who did not approve of the lock; and he might remark that the mechanical engineers of Birmingham, at a recent meeting, suggested for what they considered defects remedies which would conform to the character of the Westley-Richards lock. The breech block had also been objected to as unmechanical; but Mr. Nasmyth had said that by the same rule every action of the human arm was unmechanical, and he laid down a far more reasonable test when he said the question was—Did the contrivance do the work required of it? He had quoted evidence showing that it did work; and, in fact, they had in favour of this weapon a combination of evidence founded on practical experience such as had hardly ever been adduced on any matter submitted to Parliament. The allegation that the block pin would be strained by use had been proved to be false by the fact that the Committee had caused a rifle with a leaden block-pin to be fired many times, and then withdrew the pin without difficulty. He must further say that tests had shown that the stock was better than the ordinary stock, even before the arm had been further strengthened. He had felt bound, as a member of the Committee, to justify its action, and to show that the members had no foregone conclusion—unless, like himself, they objected before going into the inquiry to this rifle. Yet he became a warm advocate of the arm, and after hearing the evidence of three of the witnesses he had named to the House, he moved that no further evidence be taken; but the members of the original Committee, and others, determined to go on with the inquiry. They had been prepared to try other arms if necessary, and he resolved to apply to the Secretary of State to obtain such a trial if the Martini-Henry proved defective. He was relieved to find, however, that it was one of the most perfect arms they could obtain. The matter had been submitted for four years to gentlemen who were admitted to have been unprejudiced, and to have acted fairly, and perhaps not unintelligently; and he could bear testimony to the admirable tact, judgment, and firmness of the Chairman of the Committee. It was desired to put the best arm in the hands of the troops; but when were they to do it? When they had got such an arm. They had got this arm after the most laborious work, and after great sacrifice of time and convenience by the members of the Committee, who had gone thoroughly and searchingly into the question. The hon. and gallant Member who proposed another Committee might have the names of gentlemen amongst them, perhaps, being gunmakers, who were disappointed rivals of this weapon; but it did not follow that their evidence would be conclusive. Another inquiry would not settle the question; and if they found the arm defective they would have to throw open the competition to the gun trade of the United Kingdom, for they could not select for trial the rifles of Mr. Westley-Richards, or Mr. Henry, or Mr. Soper. Thus the possibility of arming our troops with the best rifle would be deferred to a remote period. That would not be a practical course; and he might add that gentlemen, whether professional or scientific, or Members of that House, would be discouraged from undertaking such inquiries as he had described if they found that, after all their labour, the question could be re-opened by a Motion and referred to a Committee, which, with all deference to the House, he must say was not so good a tribunal as the one which had drawn up this Report.

Mr. M. T. BASS said, the noble Lord need not apologize to the House for occupying its time, for the country was indebted to him for the trouble and patience he had bestowed upon questions of this kind, and of which the one under consideration was not the least important. He did not profess to rival the noble Lord's acquaintance with the subject, and would only repeat the opinions of men who combined the highest science with a degree of practical mechanical knowledge which qualified them to be the most competent witnesses. The question was certainly one of a purely technical character, and no one could thoroughly discuss it who was not master of all the technical details. In accordance with that, it would not be easier to find a higher authority upon it than Mr. Whitworth, and he was informed that Mr. Whitworth was totally opposed to the rifle under consideration. At present, the weapon had really no existence, because the Committee in their Report recommended certain alterations, and all they said was that the desired weapon could be produced by improvements in the Martini-Henry rifle. No doubt the witnesses examined were men of the highest character and engineering qualifications; but with the exception of Mr. Davidson, of the Royal Laboratory at Woolwich, they had not had any experience of that description of mechanism peculiar to the rifle, and Mr. Davidson objected to the Martini arm on several grounds. He (Mr. Bass) was told that the pull-off was heavy; that, instead of being 4 lb or 5 lb, as it ought to be, it went up to 7 lb, and some regimental reports stated that it varied from 6½ lb to 17 lb. Such a variation would surely not be sanctioned at Wimbledon, and it would render the arm quite unreliable in a campaign. No foreign Power had adopted the principle of this rifle, and the Portuguese Government had examined it, and had rejected it as an undesirable military weapon. The objections against it had been urged by men of scientific attainments, who were also working mechanics. He was informed that many high authorities at Enfield were strongly opposed to this rifle, and there was a prevailing opinion that the Snider as a military weapon was better. It might not be as accurate in shooting, for he believed the barrel of the Snider was not equal to that of the Martini-Henry; but the mechanism of the lock and breech was far more simple, more effective, less liable to get out of order, and, in short, the Snider was far more serviceable. Was it to be supposed that in the four years which had elapsed since the Committee sat there had been no improvement in rifles, and that the experience of the late war had been thrown away? If this question had been discussed eight months ago, he would have said—"Make any number of Martini-Henries you can;" but now there was no danger, and having waited for four years we might very well wait for a few months longer, for there was a prevalent opinion, that there were many other rifles which would shortly be brought under the public notice, far superior to the one now adopted by the Government. He was further of opinion that such delay would afford the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War a better opportunity of deciding upon the weapon which should be finally adopted. He had that very day received a letter, dated yesterday, in which the writer, who was pretty well known to hon. Gentlemen opposite, had asked him what he thought of a rifle that made 10 shots at 1,000 yards with 35 points, 10 shots at 1,100 yards with 32 points, 10 at 1,200 yards with 26 points, 10 at 1,300 yards with 24 points; and in 40 shots only once was the target missed. He should like to try the Martini-Henry against that rifle. He must support the Motion for inquiry as proposed by the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Barttelot).

Mr. MALCOLM said, that he had been practising the use of the rifle for the last 20 years, and flattered himself he had acquired a good knowledge of the weapon. He must be allowed to correct the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. M. T. Bass) in respect to the evidence given by Sir Joseph Whitworth, as that gentleman, when giving evidence before the Committee of 1869, stated that he could see no objection to the use of the spiral spring; at the same time, he must allow that he (Mr. Malcolm) did not know what his present opinion might be on the matter. [Mr. M. T. Bass: The very reverse.] With regard to the "pull," having handled 9 out of the 12 rifles sent down by the Government to Wimbledon last year, for the use of the Volunteers at firing points, he must say that he had felt no difficulty whatever as to the "pull," and no variation at all in its working. In the competition for the Duke of Cambridge's Prize, 3,119 rounds had been fired from 12 rifles, in the hands of 77 men, none of whom could have had any previous experience of the weapon. Therefore the Martini-Henry could not be such a very difficult arm to manipulate. It had been stated that the Whitworth barrel was superior to the Henry barrel; but, if that were so, why did the makers of all the other rifles choose the Henry barrel? He thought it was a conclusive proof that the latter was considered the best. In noticing the foregoing objection, he must also take notice of the one that had been raised by some hon. Gentlemen to the name of this rifle. He did not think there was any validity in that objection, inasmuch as the breech action was purely that of Mr. Martini, and the barrel and ammunition that of Mr. Henry, than whom no man deserved greater credit for having devoted the whole power of his mind to the lubrication of the bullet and the manufacture of the best ammunition. In all the statements made on the subject that night, no rifle was put forward to compete with the Martini-Henry; no other rifle had gone through the same amount of test and trial. Many hon. Gentlemen, however, seemed to think that the competition ought to be kept still open. Now, every gunmaker had had a fair chance for competing; the time was fixed for all those rifles to be sent in; and every man who had put in his rifle had it fairly tested, the result being the adoption of the two parts combined in the Martini-Henry rifle. A great many hon. Members had paid no attention to the Reports of the two previous Committees. A great deal of stress had been laid on the evidence of Mr. James Davidson. No doubt that gentleman was a very able man, and was employed in the Laboratory at Woolwich. He was, however, more accustomed to the manufacture of ammunition than of arms. Mr. Davidson, speaking of the arrangement of all the parts of the breech action, said he thought that the Martini-Henry rifle was the best that could be devised, and that it protected the working part from any injury. That gentleman concluded by saying, that he was not prepared at present to suggest any better arrangement of the main spring than that shown by the combination; and that he had a high opinion of the spiral springs as far as they had gone, but what he was afraid of was, that they would not continue the same when made in large numbers. Against this last observation, there was the opinion of Mr. Nasmyth, who said he could make 10,000 of them at a time of the same strength. With regard to the objections about the lever he (Mr. Malcolm) thought that the lever did its work, and that it had not in any case failed to do it, either on the trial given by the troops, or at the long-continued firing which the weapon had passed through at the hands of the Volunteers at Wimbledon. He knew an instance in which one of these rifles fired 3,102 rounds in England between December and March without cleaning. At the end of that time it was taken to pieces, when it was found that the coil spring was all right, and that the oil and dirt which had penetrated, to a very small degree, through the hole out of which the plunger had come, had made a perfect case for the spring, which was as bright and as good as when it was first put in. Another had fired 5,097 rounds of ball cartridge and 1,020 blank cartridge without cleaning; while Mr. Perry, the gunmaker, had taken to pieces 65 arms which had been returned from various regiments, and although some of those weapons were returned in a wretched and rusty state, which showed that they had undergone severe treatment, the action in every case worked freely, and the springs were found to be without the least rust. A little practical experience was worth an enormous amount of theory, and the experience derived from this gun showed that it had done its work well. One of the objections urged against it was that the coil springs would get weak, but it had been found that when supplied with the proper 40 lb spring there were no cases of miss-fire. In all these trials, only one coil spring had been broken, and no one could tell how that one breakage had happened. There had been no loss of strength in any other of the coil springs, and when examined those springs were found to be of the same length as when first supplied. No springs could do more than withstand such severe trials as these had been subjected to. As to the trials at Wimbledon, it should be remembered that the man who shot the rifle had a great deal to do with its success or the want of it. The Martini-Henry rifle had been handicapped very heavily at Wimbledon; because, as it was a Government weapon, the general body of men had not been able to get hold of it until they went on the ground; but notwithstanding that it had made extraordinary practice and carried off many prizes. With regard to the question of expense, the cost of this rifle was very much the same as the Snider-Enfield—the difference between them was not more than 1*s*. The troops themselves declared that for accuracy, flatness of trajectory, penetration, strength and simplicity of mechanism, and strength and safety of ammunition, this rifle was infinitely superior to the Snider. Under all the circumstances, he hoped the Government would decline to grant a Committee; because by granting a Committee they would only be putting off the arming of our troops with a thoroughly efficient weapon for at least three years more. He ridiculed the proposal for referring this question to a Committee of that House, who would merely be able to weigh the evidence of gunmakers on the one side or the other; for no Committee of that House could afford the time for going down to Woolwich Marshes and practically testing the rifles in every possible way. He trusted the Government would decide upon adopting this arm, which was peculiarly suited for the steady courage of the British soldier.

Mr. WHITWELL said, he was disposed to recommend the Government to appoint this Committee upon many grounds. He was glad that a large number of our troops were armed with the Snider rifle, which he believed to be a most useful arm; and he must totally dissent from the opinion that this was not a fit subject for that House to take into its consideration. The subject, moreover, was one of the most special interest to the taxpayers of the country, as it involved a very large expenditure. The machinery of our small arm factories ought not to be altered to suit this weapon, until it had been proved beyond doubt that it was the best arm that could be obtained; and it was evident from the Report of the Committee, that its construction had been considerably changed, and that its final form had not even yet been decided upon. [Lord Elcho: The pattern was sent in on Tuesday last.] Well, even if that was the case, the House had not yet had time to consider the question. The weapon had continually miss-fired, and the evidence given before the Committee proved it was only by a very recent change that that evil had been remedied. While allowing that that object had been attained, he must still, however, object to the rifle on the ground that its efficiency was liable to be seriously impaired by rust. In his opinion, a Committee of the House of Commons would be the best judge of the merits of the weapon; and it could scarcely be disputed that this country was entitled to have the full advantage of the whole intellectual and scientific progress that had been made during the past year. He hoped, therefore, the Government would allow the Committee, moved for by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Barttelot), to be appointed.

Colonel JERVIS said, this was not a question of four or five shillings, but a question of the re-arming the whole Army at an enormous expense, while they were at present in possession of the very best rifle in Europe. He should not enter into details or engineering questions, because he had been long enough in the service to know that inventions cropped up daily; and although they had gone on improving, it would be years yet before they got a perfect weapon; but from what had occurred in that House, even recently, he thought the Government might well reflect before they asked the House to refuse an inquiry into the expenditure of several millions for re-arming our Army, that was already well armed. His objection was not to the Martini-Henry, but that the Report of the Committee which sat on it would not have the confidence of the Army or the people. He had been long enough in the Army to remember the change from the old Brown Bess to the Minié rifle. That weapon was adopted, not on the recommendation of a scratch Committee, but on the report of a Board of general officers, assisted by competent persons to carry out the experiments. There was not a single officer on the late Committee in any way connected with the small arms department; and the only witness found fault with by the Committee was the only practical man called before them in any way connected with the service—the foreman of the Laboratory at Woolwich. The basis of small arms should be the cartridge, and after that the barrel, stock, and lock. No practical evidence was given before the Committee, and the Inspector of Small Arms, who was one of the most able men in the service, was not called, and consequently they knew nothing of his opinion upon the matter. That being so, why did the Government refuse further inquiry? If this country was famous for the production of one thing more than another, it was in the manufacture of weapons of warfare; and whilst our manufacturers supplied nearly every Government in the world, they were not employed by our own. When the war broke out between France and Prussia, the Government was extremely anxious to arm the service, the Militia, and the Volunteers, with the best weapon that could be had. The heads of the small arms department in Birmingham and London were sent for; but their answer to the Government was that their offers had been so repeatedly refused that they were not then in a position to supply arms, from the want of the requisite machinery, and that it would take them several weeks to provide it. The course of the War Office had been to rely on those connected with it, instead of the great manfacturers of the country. He spoke practically and not theoretically. He was for more than 12 months at the head of the whole of the small-arms branch in Birmingham, and since then he had had considerable experience in the department in London, and he knew that the manufacturers had at all times been most anxious to do everything in their power to serve the country; but repeated Governments had done all in their power to break up the trade. The arming the British Army was not a question of Whig, Radical, or Tory, but to do what was right, and he for one should be happy to give the Government any assistance in the matter. It was unsatisfactory to the Army at large to know that the armament of the service was in the hands of a Committee of that House—what he might call a political Committee, and Gentlemen not practically acquainted with the small arm branch—instead of being in the hands of general officers to report to the Secretary of State for War. To be practically acquainted with the subject, it should be learned as a mechanic; and unless a man paid attention to one particular branch, he could not expect to become master of the art, and the country could not get what was wanted. This, he again said, was not a party question, and he hoped that if the Government consented to the appointment of the Committee of Inquiry, it would not be with the desire of throwing a silent shield over the question of the superiority of the Martini-Henry, which was started before they came into office, as he was of opinion that neither the Army nor the country had the same confidence in the Martini-Henry rifle as had been expressed by the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho). He believed the Government had done their best to carry it through; and if a new arm was to be issued, he was desirous it should be done with the fullest consideration, in order that those who gave and those who accepted might be confident they had the best weapon in the world, and not one that had been supplied to them from any political motives. He should, from these considerations, support the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Colonel Barttelot).

Mr. CARDWELL said, he concurred in the opinion that this was no party or political question, and he was sorry that his right hon. Friend (Sir John Pakington) who preceded him in office, and appointed the Committee, was not present to take part in the discussion. Neither was it a question of expense, because it was not at all necessary or reasonable that if we had got what we considered to be the best weapon, that the country should, on that account, incur greater expense than the circumstances of the time required in anything in the nature of armament. By failing to adopt the best weapon, they would not incur less expense; because, of necessity, the Army must be armed, and in order to do that there must be a reasonable reserve of arms. He hoped the House would not be misled on those points. There were two questions now before them, and they were these—Firstly, had the Committee done its duty, and if they had, had they adopted an arm which, according to their present light and knowledge, it was judicious for them to adopt; and secondly, if there was any doubt about it, was a Committee of the House of Commons the most likely and the most practical way of arriving at a better conclusion? The Mover of the Resolution, the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Sussex (Colonel Barttelot), in his opinion had justly praised the Committee appointed by his (Mr. Cardwell's) predecessor, and spoke of them in terms very different from the rather disparaging epithets applied to them by the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Jervis) who had last addressed them. The hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex had not been pleased to speak in complimentary terms of himself (Mr. Cardwell); but had found fault with him for one or two things, and he had endeavoured to extract from his speech what those things were. He thought it was alleged that the Government were in too great a hurry in what they did, and refused the co-operation of the trade; but the charge of hurry preferred by the hon. and gallant Member was simply disposed of by the fact that this matter had already occupied attention for some four or five years; and with reference to the other charge—namely, that competition had been refused, that, also, might easily be disposed of, by the remark that he (Mr. Cardwell) entirely accepted the principle that it would be very undesirable the Government should entirely rely upon their own manufacture, as one of the great sources of strength of this country in the moment of emergency was the command of that vast support which outdoor trade was always able to give to the Government in the manufacture of arms. The only object the Government had in view was to obtain the best weapon. There was a time when they talked about "finality" in politics, and they came to the conclusion that there was no finality in politics, nor was there any finality in inventions; for whatever conclusion they might come to to-day, the intelligence would arrive to-morrow that somebody had invented something which ought to be considered; so that a question of this kind could scarcely ever be closed; and it would always be the duty of the Secretary for War to be open to receive suggestions from every quarter, and to consider, not only their value as inventions, but also the cost their adoption would entail to the country, with a proper regard for the efficiency of the services and economy of expenditure. What had been the actual course pursued in the present instance? In 1866, General Peel, then Secretary for War, invited the competition of all gunmakers for the best weapon that could be put into the hands of the British soldier. A reward of £1,000 was offered for such an arm, and a most competent Committee was named to distribute the reward. The hon. and gallant Gentleman who spoke last had described it as a "scratch Committee." That was not a complimentary term, but the fact was, that the Committee, which devoted much time, energy, and practical skill to the solution of a most difficult question, was appointed by his predecessor in office, and it consisted of a colonel of the Guards; Earl Spencer, the President of the National Rifle Association—who took so much interest in the subject that he left his own pleasures and pursuits, and took a house at Woolwich, in order the better to labour in the inquiry; the other members being Mr. Ross, Captain Rawlings, and Captain Hay as secretary. Surely, this was a Committee worthy of commendation, and not to be described by such a term as had been used by the hon. and gallant Member. They had before them some 120 arms, a sufficiently wide range of choice, as he thought; and as the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex had attributed to him prejudice against the weapon of Mr. Westley-Richards, he had simply to deny the existence of any such prejudice, and to inform the hon. and gallant Member that no fewer than nine of the arms submitted to the Committee belonged to Mr. Richards, and if they had not a fair chance, Mr. Richards himself was alone responsible, because he withdrew them from the competition. Indeed, he must say, that he should, in no degree, have been sorry if Mr. Richards's arm had proved the best. The Committee sat, more or less, from the year 1867 to the beginning of 1869, and the arm selected was referred to the Ordnance Council, which consisted, amongst others, of the Under Secretary for War (Lord Northbrook), the Surveyor General of Ordnance (Sir Henry Storks), a general officer; Major General Lefroy, Lord William Paulet, Sir Edward Lugard, Sir Hope Grant; Admiral Cowper Key, not a general officer, but competent to give an opinion on the subject; Colonel Jervois, and Colonel Halliday, Inspector General of Musketry, also competent to give an opinion. This council recommended the provisional adoption of the Henry-Martini rifle, and suggested that

200 of these weapons should be manufactured, with a view to their being tried in every climate, by the heat of India and the cold and wet of Canada. This test was absolutely necessary before a safe decision could be arrived at. Of these 200 rifles which were manufactured, about 100 were forwarded to India, and the remainder distributed in other places. If, as had been suggested in the course of the present discussion, the arm was sent for trial to Aldershot, it could not be there subjected to the test of extreme differences of climate, to which it ought to be subjected before a proper conclusion could be arrived at. They were told that theory was nothing in comparison with practice; that what was wanted was practical experience. Now, what was the way to get practical experience? Was it not to distribute these weapons, and get them used by the soldiers in the field in all parts of the world? That was what the Government did; and in the middle of last year, when the Reports came back they laid them on the Table of the House. Then they appointed a new Committee to examine them; they did not appoint the same Committee. His noble Friend Earl Spencer had ceased to be President of the National Rifle Association, having been called to the discharge of public duties elsewhere, and the noble Lord opposite (Lord Elcho), who had shown by his speech that evening the attention he had paid to the subject, was appointed in his room. Would that justify the imputation that the Government had any prejudice against the arm of Westley-Richards? Why, the noble Lord was at that time the warm advocate of that arm. He had written to him (Mr. Cardwell) to urge the claims of Westley-Richards. Well, he said to Colonel Fletcher, on re-appointing the Committee — "Don't be troubled by the consideration that you are merely to consider one subject. You will find that if you are to have a practical inquiry in every part of the world, and if you are to be continually re-opening the question, you will get into a vicious circle, and will never come to a decision at all, and the result will be, that in looking after the better you will never get the good thing at all. Take care that, if you are of opinion that any weapon other than the Martini-Henry should be examined, you will have the right of examining it." The only members of the former Committee were Colonel Fletcher, Mr. Ross, and the Secretary. Who were the rest? Captain Chapman, Captain Aylmer, the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho), and the President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, all perfectly independent and impartial men, as must be acknowledged. And what did the Committee? They determined to take scientific evidence. The hon. and gallant Member opposite (Colonel Jervis) said, that notwithstanding that a knowledge of machinery and a knowledge of metals were very good things, they did not qualify a man to give an opinion on small arms. [Colonel JERVIS: With many years' experience.] He would like to know how many Gentlemen there were in the House of Commons whose experience of many years had qualified them for giving an opinion on small arms? There were many Gentlemen in the House of Commons who possessed great knowledge on almost all subjects—a great knowledge of mines, a great knowledge of machinery, a great knowledge of metals. He would not have ventured to say that these were not competent to give an opinion on almost every subject; but the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Jervis) had cut the ground from under him by saying that they were not competent to express an opinion of small arms. Able speeches had been made by the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire and the hon. Member for Boston (Mr. Malcolm) on the subject, which, in his (Mr. Cardwell's) opinion, somewhat militated against the dictum of the hon. and gallant Gentleman. It would have been his (Mr. Cardwell's) duty to have entered into various particulars recorded in the Blue Books; but he found that the passages which he had marked for that purpose were precisely the passages which had already been quoted in the course of this discussion. They dealt with the question of the coiled spring: they were told that Mr. Woods objected to it, because the spring might rust; but when told that there was a protection against the rust he altered his opinion. They had been told by the last speaker that the Martini-Henry rifles had been treated as pet rifles; but he believed that if ever any rifles were exposed to severity of treatment, whether in Canada, in India, or afterwards at Enfield, those rifles were

those in question. After that a Report was made by this Committee, and that Report was considered by the Ordnance Council. He now came to the officers of that Council. The members were not the same. Sir Richard Airey had taken the place of Lord William Paulet; Captain Hall of Admiral Cowper Key; and there were other changes. And what did this new Council? They recommended the final adoption of the Martini-Henry; the Lords of the Admiralty confirmed the recommendation; the Commander-in-Chief confirmed it. That was the course which had been taken with regard to this question. Now, he asked the House—and he wished to do so in the spirit in which the whole discussion had been conducted—were they likely to mend the conclusion by a Committee of that House? The hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Jervis) said there was no need for any hurry in this matter. He agreed with him. He did not think that the Government had shown any disposition to hurry, nor would they desire to hurry the subject in future; neither would they shut their ears to any alteration or suggestion that might be brought forward on the subject. But the question was—"Would improvement be effected by referring the matter to a Committee of the House of Commons? How would the Committee be formed? What witnesses were to be called before it; and what was likely to be the result of the proceedings? The House had already been told that there were no hon. Members in the House sufficiently acquainted with small arms to be competent judges on the subject. What sort of witnesses were they to call? Should they call the Government witnesses? The hon. Member for Derby (Mr. M. T. Bass) suggested men practically acquainted with the subject. He (Mr. Cardwell) took the liberty of interpreting the phrase to mean gentlemen interested in the manufacture of small arms. Now, he ventured to say, that if they appointed this Committee, and that Committee called before them such witnesses, the result would be to verify the old adage of *Quot homines, tot sententiæ;* everybody would recommend his own weapons, and the result would be greater confusion than ever. As practice was to bear the bell, and theory was to be disregarded, every man would recommend his own invention, and claim that his opinion must prevail, on the ground that his experience of it was the greatest; and the general perplexity on the subject would be increased. And when they had got the Report, the House would be in this position—General officers, members of the Ordnance Council, had expressed their opinion as to the recommendation; distinguished soldiers and experienced riflemen had done the same; and that opinion was in favour of the Martini-Henry rifle. The highest professional authorities were unanimous in favour of the Martini-Henry. Then what was that House to do? Were they to send out for another two years a large number of weapons to every part of the world to be reported on subsequently? Great expense would be incurred, delay would be occasioned, and the House would arrive at no opinion at all. To recapitulate, competition was tried, but no weapon obtained the prize that was offered. Then we had a most competent Committee, which suggested a weapon for provisional adoption, and that weapon had been tried in India, in Canada, at Aldershot, in the Navy, and at Wimbledon. It had been again referred to the Committee and to the Ordnance Council, and scientific men had given their opinion upon it; and that being the case, he would respectfully ask the House to be allowed to adopt, as the best weapon known at the present moment, the Martini-Henry rifle. The Government did not propose to launch into any extravagance, and the Estimates were not framed with any view to the total re-arming of the British Army; and though he did not think that the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex had any just ground of complaint against him for giving the troops last autumn the best weapon then available—the new one not being adopted—he did submit that it would be more advisable, now that the superior weapon had been adopted, and had been shown by experience to be better, not to go on manufacturing the former weapon, but, in the true spirit of economy, make the best rifle of which they were aware. Should it come to the knowledge of those who were responsible in the matter, that it was an error to proceed manufacturing Martini - Henry rifles, other measures would be taken. But they would go on to infinity and land in an absurd conclusion if, after the theoretical and practical testimony in favour of a particular weapon which they had had, they hesitated to adopt it, and expended the public money in the manufacture of an arm less desirable and valuable.

Mr. MUNTZ said, he had failed to learn any satisfactory reason from the right hon. Gentleman why the Committee should not be appointed, as those which he had given would be equally forcible against the appointment of any Committee. The opinions expressed during the discussion surely justified some investigation. The noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) had told them he was no egotist, and that he had sat on the Committee with a prejudice at first in favour of the Westley-Richards rifle; but the noble Lord was just an illustration of the man who "went to scoff and remained to pray." Then the hon. Member for Boston (Mr. Malcolm) said this inquiry would take three years. Now, he (Mr. Muntz) guaranteed it would not take three months; and if, at the expiry of that period, the Martini-Henry was not proved to be perfectly unfit for the use of our troops he should give up the question. They had had five years already of investigation and discussion, and surely an additional three months was a matter of little importance, as there was no immediate hurry. They were beginning to distribute the Snider, which he believed to be the best gun in Europe. It was better than the needle-gun, or even the Chassepôt, the recoil of which was much to its disadvantage; but as to the Martini-Henry, while admitting the excellence of the barrel, the chief cause of its good hitting powers, what would they say of a weapon which in one of its trials had 382 miss-fires out of 1,000 rounds? He had pointed out two years ago that the spiral spring was not sufficiently strong, and that miss-fires might consequently be expected; and the Blue Book had proved the correctness of every word he had then said. He knew he spoke at a disadvantage on this subject, because he was supposed to be urged on by his constituents. The fact was, however, they did not care one farthing about it. They were indifferent as to the nature of the gun so long as they could secure orders for its manufacture. Then it was also most unfair to insinuate that this was a question of Mr. Westley-Richards, for he knew that gentleman, and if there were an election for Birmingham to-morrow, he would, probably, vote against him (Mr. Muntz); therefore it was unjust to put him under such an imputation. If the Martini-Henry rifle were a safe gun, he should not have said one word upon the matter; but he contended that if the Germans had been armed with it in the late campaign, one half of the muskets would have become useless before they reached Sedan, as he was confident it would not stand the wear and tear of service in the field. In Sir John Moore's retreat from Lugo to Corunna, even the old Brown Bess was knocked to pieces, and became useless. Was it right for a great country like England, which, though she had no great anxiety now, might be compelled, at no distant date, to defend her territories all over the globe, that we should risk the probability of an inferior weapon being placed in the hands of our troops? All that was asked for was six weeks or two months' delay for investigation, and he should be sorry if the Government should incur unnecessary responsibility by refusing the Committee.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, that the Secretary for War thought that a Committee would be of no service upon the question of small arms; but he (Mr. Newdegate) happened to be a Member of the Small Arms Committee of 1854, the result of whose investigations materially affected the supply of small arms to our troops in the Crimea. The House, acting on the Report of that Committee, induced the Government to send orders to the arms trade of England, though they had sent orders to foreigners, and the result was that the English trade, which had been reported against by the Ordnance Office, supplied all the arms that were wanted, which were five times the number the Ordnance Department said they would be able to produce. This showed that a Committee upon this subject would not be incompetent. It was evident from the debate, that the question had been decided in favour of the Martini-Henry rifle long before the tests to be applied to it had been decided upon; and the Government were acting upon the tests applied to one rifle instead of the many. What was felt was that the tests should be applied to some of the other arms. It did, indeed, happen that tests had been applied to one other of these arms by Sir James Scarlett and the troops at Aldershot, and it had gained the complete approval of the commanding officer at Aldershot, and of the Army also. But the Government ignored the experience thus gained, though the experiments had been conducted under the direction of the Secretary for War. He could quite understand that the right hon. Gentleman was weary of the experiments, and took refuge in the advice of his own officers. For years, officers consulted upon this subject had shown a dislike to the production of any English gunmaker. As a proof of this, he would mention that in 1852 he himself introduced Mr. Westley-Richards to Lord Hardinge, and he attended all the trials of the rifle invented by that gentleman, and he could answer for this—that the arm he shot with was the arm adopted by Lord Hardinge. But the Government had changed the name, and called it the Enfield rifle, although it had been made by Mr. Westley-Richards, under the direction of Lord Hardinge, and Enfield never saw it until it was complete. He mentioned this as evidence of the objection to which he had referred. It was not unnatural that officers should be jealous of information coming from practical men, for it offended their pride; and unless its producers made over to the officers of Government the credit of producing the arm, they were sure to meet with coldness from the officials. The Secretary for War said that all the arms were tried about two years ago, except the Westley-Richards, and this omission was because that gentleman withdrew his weapon. The reason he did this, was because he feared a repetition of the unfair treatment experienced in former years. He (Mr. Newdegate) thought that it was a mistake to withdraw his weapon; but were they to be deprived of the benefit of having it because of this? He thought that the Secretary for War was making a mistake in refusing the assistance of a Committee, because such a Committee would embody public opinion and collect the knowledge of practical men without being influenced by official prejudice.

CAPTAIN BEAUMONT said, he opposed the Motion, on the ground that it would be impossible for a Committee of that House to arrive at a conclusion of any practical value on a technical subject like the one under discussion, without causing great and unnecessary delay. Either the question must be hung up for a year, or the Committee must report within three months, a result which he did not think desirable.

MR. H. A. HERBERT opposed the Motion, and denied, as a musketry instructor of experience, that the Martini-Henry rifle was a weapon of such delicate mechanism as had been stated by the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz). It had passed successfully through a test to which scarcely any other weapon had been subjected.

MR. HUSSEY VIVIAN observed, that the principles which had governed the manufacture of rifles of late years were due to Sir Joseph Whitworth; and what was called the Henry was a direct piracy of Sir Joseph's invention.

SIR HENRY STORKS, in answer to a remark of the noble Lord (Lord Elcho), said, he never intended to disavow any statement in regard to the labours of the Committee that had been made by his hon. and gallant Friend the Under Secretary for War (Captain Vivian). He on one occasion urged Captain Fletcher to expedite the labours of the Committee; but praised the diligence and energy they had displayed in conducting the work intrusted to them.

MR. NEWDEGATE, in acknowledging a correction of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hussey Vivian), said, he had omitted to notice the fact that Sir Joseph Whitworth had been associated with Mr. Westley-Richards.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 137; Noes 72: Majority 65.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," by leave, *withdrawn.*

Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES ACT REPEAL BILL.

Select Committee on the Ecclesiastical Titles Act Repeal Bill *nominated*:— Sir ROUNDELL PALMER, Mr. WALPOLE, Mr. JESSEL, Dr. BALL, Mr. BRISTOWE, Sir RICHARD BAGGALLAY, Mr. SHERLOCK, Mr. MATTHEWS, and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL:—Three to be the quorum.

House adjourned at half after Twelve o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 1*st May*, 1871.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Ewelme Rectory* (82).

Second Reading — Trades Unions (68); Criminal Law Amendment (Violence, Threats, &c.) (69); Anatomy Act (1832) Amendment* (74); Charters (Colleges) (73).

Report—Bankruptcy Disqualification* (79-83).

CHINA—MISSIONS IN CHINA.

QUESTION.

The Earl of CARNARVON asked the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he could affirm the authenticity of a telegram from Shanghai which had appeared in the public Press, according to which the Chinese Government had demanded that female schools should be abolished, that teaching contrary to the doctrines of Confucius should be prohibited, and that all missionaries, except those at Treaty Ports, should be regarded as Chinese subjects; a declaration being added that in the event of another massacre compensation would not be granted, and that only the actual murderer would be punished. This announcement had already caused considerable anxiety, and if the noble Earl was in possession of such a despatch from the Chinese Government he should be glad to know whether he would object to lay it on the Table?

Earl GRANVILLE said, that the Government had not received a telegram of such a purport, and that he could not confirm the accuracy of the statements referred to by the noble Earl.

TRADES UNIONS BILL—(No. 68.)
CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (VIOLENCE, THREATS, &c.) BILL—(No. 69.)

(*The Earl of Morley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

The Earl of MORLEY, in moving that the Trades Unions Bill be now read a second time, said, that he must begin by explaining that this Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment (Violence, Threats, &c.) Bill originally formed a single measure, which, in deference to the representations of various parties whose interests were affected, was divided into two Bills. They would therefore be better understood by being considered together, and it was proposed that they should pass their different stages *pari passu.* He must bespeak the indulgence of the House, especially of noble and learned Lords, in dealing with questions of great delicacy and legal difficulty while he explained the position of trades unions and trade combinations in relation to the existing law. Before 1824 all trade combinations, whatever their purpose, were violations of the Combination Statutes, which were based on the principle that the State should fix the rate at which labour should be sold. As early as 1350 that principle was laid down in the celebrated Statute of Labourers, and again, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the Statute of Apprentices. Subsequently various statutes were passed prohibiting combinations for whatever purpose, culminating in the Act of 1800, which prohibited all trade combinations, and forbade any workman or master to induce his fellows, by any means however gentle, to join him in any particular course of action relating to their business. So far as the common law was concerned, Mr. Justice Grose, in 1796, said—

> "In many cases an agreement to do a certain thing has been considered as the subject of an indictment for a conspiracy, though the same act, if done separately by each individual, without agreement among themselves, will not have been illegal. As in the case of journeymen conspiring to raise their wages, each may insist on raising his wages if he can; but if several meet for the same purpose it is illegal, and the parties may be indicted for a conspiracy."

In 1824, an inquiry before a Parliamentary Committee having shown the injustice and inequality of the state of the law, all the combination statutes were repealed, and a statute was passed legalizing all trade combinations, irrespective of the objects which they had in view; but in the following year an immense number of strikes occurred throughout the country, many of them accompanied with violence to person and property. A panic was the result; the Act of the previous year was repealed, and a new Act substituted for it. But in reviving the old disabilities it was provided that combinations, intended merely to regulate wages and the hours of work, should be exempted from the penalties attaching to all other trade combinations. This enactment governed the question of trades unions down to the present day, and all unions, except those thus exempted, were illegal at common law, their members being liable to indictment for conspiracy in restraint of trade. But not a single trades union, in point of fact, confined its objects to the regulation of wages and hours of labour—so that the distinction drawn by the Act of 1825 was wholly futile. In the case of "Hilton *v.* Eckersley," in which some masters endeavoured to enforce a bond against one of their fellows for breach of an agreement, the Court ruled that the bond, if not altogether illegal and punishable, was a contract by which the parties agreed to carry on their trade not freely, as they ought to do, but in conformity with the will of others, which was contrary to public policy. Moreover, in two important cases, under the Friendly Societies Act, it had been decided that the agreements on which trades combinations were based were unlawful, one of their objects being directly or indirectly in restraint of trade, and that they therefore could not take advantage of the 44th section of that Act. As the result of the disabilities imposed by this legislation, it became impossible for unions to sue their members or officers, or to sue their bankers for money deposited with them; neither could they enforce any agreement they might have entered into with their landlords in respect of the premises they occupied, nor take criminal proceedings against those who might have defrauded them. The law of partnership, moreover, had some bearing upon the subject, for a trade union could not sue its treasurer if he was also a member of the society—which he, in fact, always was—as he became to that extent a partner in the concern. The 44th section of the Friendly Societies Act gave uncertificated societies, for purposes not unlawful, an advantage in this respect, enabling them to prosecute their treasurers or servants who embezzled their funds; but the decisions mentioned above prevented trades unions availing themselves of it. The result was that an Act, which was known as the Recorder's Act, was passed, amending the law of partnership, so as to make it possible for a partnership to prosecute its officers, even if members of the partnership, for embezzling the common property; but with regard to prosecuting summarily officers who embezzled their funds, it required the consent of the accused, and though this might sometimes be given, in the hope of the punishment being lighter than if he were indicted, there was no certainty that such consent would be given. In consideration of this difficulty, and of the fact that this Act gave no facilities for the recovery of stolen books and property, the Home Secretary introduced a measure two years ago which gave trades unions the advantages given to uncertificated societies by the 44th section of the Friendly Societies Act. This measure, however, was a temporary one, being only passed for a year, though it had been renewed for another 12 months. Under the present law all trades unions, whatever they might be in theory, were, in fact, conspiracies in restraint of trade, the agreements on which they were based were unlawful, and they were incapable of suing civilly, although there were special provisions to enable them to prosecute criminally under certain circumstances. But that law was both doubtful and unjust, and it had become both politic and just to amend it. Trades unions, no doubt, were placed under the restraint of the law; but the law had proved wholly inoperative, it had entirely failed to check the growth of these societies, whether they were beneficial or injurious, and this was a fact which no Legislature could ignore. As had been remarked by a noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), whose opinion would have weight with their Lordships—

> "The question whether trade societies are desirable or not is a question which, in our day, is idle to put. They exist; they are a fact; they never were more strongly supported than now; and they are not likely in our time to disappear. No one can reasonably dispute the right of men working together in one trade to combine in joint action for matters connected with that trade. It is legal, it is right; and that it is their interest on the whole I do not see that anyone can doubt who has considered the matter practically. At any rate, this latter point the parties interested have settled for themselves. They do it—they have a right to do it; and it is for experience and for the future to show how far and to what limits they have done it wisely."

It was unnecessary that he should adduce any proof, or produce any statistics to show how vast were the resources of these societies, or how wide the extent of their ramifications. But he would mention, by way of illustration, that between 1858 and 1867 the members of the Engineers' Society increased from 15,000 to 33,000, and those of the Ironworkers' Society from 6,630 to 10,829. It was surely unwise to leave these organizations without the pale of the law. Was it not better to give them legal status and protection; to relieve them from the taint of illegality and consequent secrecy; and by encouraging them to give publicity to their rules and transactions, to obtain the best possible securities for their good administration? If it were once admitted that workmen were justified in combining to get the best wages they could for their labour, how could they be restricted to the objects sanctioned by the Act of 1825? As to the relation between the employer and the employed, it was true that every employer was not necessarily an oppressor; but it might be also assumed that every employer was not necessarily a philanthropist; and the workman had, therefore, a right to a position in which he could cope with him, which, single-handed, it was quite impossible for him to do. There had been many things done by these trades unions which, on economical and social grounds, could not be defended; but he regretted that the feeling against them should be too much one of distrust, if not of hostility. Though the recent disclosures of the transactions of trades unions at Sheffield and Manchester had naturally had a great effect upon the public mind, it must be remembered that these were isolated instances, and that, as was clearly shown by the Commissioners, these bodies had confined themselves more closely to legitimate objects since the repeal of the old combination laws than before it. It was needless to inquire how far trades unions were economically beneficial and how far they had affected trade. They existed, and it was much better that they should be recognized by the law. The Commissioners had pointed out that, with regard to driving trade out of the country, strikes were a natural consequence of the decline of trade, and that so many causes influenced the distribution and prosperity of trade, that it was extremely difficult to trace to any particular cause the vast effect which had been attributed to these organizations. Some of their rules, doubtless, were oppressive and some were economically false in principle; but it was difficult to draw the line between what was morally wrong and what was legally criminal; and, as many of their objects were attained by a petty social tyranny, of which the law could not take cognizance, the correction of these errors must be left to the growing intelligence and the experience of the workmen rather than be made the object of stringent repressive legislation. The benefits derived by the working classes from these trades combinations were very great. They were benefit societies in the largest sense of the word, having sick, burial, and, in more than one instance, superannuation funds. They were able, also, in many cases, to regulate the distribution of labour, so as to transport it from places where it was in excess to places where it was deficient. This was, unquestionably, a most useful and admirable office for a trade union to fulfil. Mr. Applegarth, in his evidence before the Commission, said—

> "When the monthly returns on or about the 6th of each month come into my hands, I run down the reports to see where men are wanted, and where men are out of employment. I then take the earliest opportunity possible of writing to the secretaries in the towns where men are out of employment to tell them where men are wanted, and we make a practice of paying the railway or steamboat fare of the men that are out of employment when we send to the places where men are wanted."

There was, moreover, in most unions a great disparity between the amount expended in strikes and disputes, and those used for benefit purposes. For instance, in 10 years the Engineers spent £459,000 in benefits and £26,000, or 6 per cent, on disputes; while the Ironworkers spent £210,000 in benefits, and £5,300, or 2½ per cent, on disputes. Having said thus much in reference to the existing state of the law and the general character of these trades unions, he would now draw their Lordships' attention to the Bills before them. Considering the vast network of these societies, their large funds, their capacities for good as well as for evil, and the impossibility of discriminating between what was mischievous and what was beneficial, the only line of demarcation which Parliament could draw was between that which was criminal and that which was not so. The principle on which the first Bill before their Lordships was based was that these societies should be released from all criminal liabilities so far as their objects were not unlawful, that protection should be given to their property, and that certain qualified rights resembling those enjoyed by corporations should be extended to them, the law in all other respects taking up an attitude of neutrality towards them. As to the doctrine of restraint of trade, which was set aside by the Bill, he would quote the opinions of two learned Judges. Mr. Justice Hannen's words were these—

> "By the expression that a thing is contrary to public policy I understand that it is meant that it is opposed to the welfare of the community at large. I can see that the maintenance of strikes may be against the interests of employers, because they may be forced to yield at their own expense a large share of profit or other advantage to the employed; but I have no means of judicially determining that this is contrary to the interest of the whole community, and I think that in deciding that it is, and therefore that any act done in its furtherance is illegal, we should be basing our judgment, not on recognized legal principles, but on the opinion of one of the contending schools of political economists."

Lord Campbell, in 1855, remarked on the same subject—

> "I enter upon such considerations with much reluctance and with great apprehension, when I think how different generations of Judges and different Judges of the same generation have differed in questions of political economy and other topics connected with the adjudication of such cases. . . . I should have been much more pleased if a clear rule had been expressly laid down to me by the Legislature."

The Commissioners, in their Report, unanimously recommended that the doctrine of restraint of trade should be repealed, but the majority of them wished to make certain exceptions, the first being the exception of all combinations which involved breach of contract; but, as pointed out by Lord Elcho, this point was amply protected by the Masters and Servants Act. A second exception related to all strikes directed against particular individuals; but surely this would be an arbitrary interference with the right of combination, and cases might occur where such strikes would be justifiable:—such, for instance, as the case of an inefficient foreman of a mine, whose incapacity might endanger the lives of hundreds of his fellow-workmen. Under those circumstances, it had been thought right to do away altogether with the restraint of trade doctrine, and to declare that a trade union shall not be, merely on that ground, criminal, so as to render its members liable to prosecution, nor unlawful so as to render void or voidable any agreement or trust. The Bill provided that all primary contracts made by trades unions should not be enforcible, but that the secondary contracts should be enforcible. The result of that would be that no legal proceedings could be instituted to enforce any agreement between the members as to the conditions on which they will work, nor to compel the payment of subscriptions, nor for the application of the funds, or to discharge fines imposed upon any person by Courts of Justice; but, on the other hand, the secretary could sue the society for his salary, or the society their banker in respect of their funds deposited with him. None of the agreements he had mentioned as unenforcible were constituted unlawful, but they were simply not enforcible by law. Indeed, it was not the wish of the trades unions to be put completely in the position of Friendly Societies. Their objects, rights, and liability were mostly, as remarked by the minority of the Commissioners, such as Courts of Law should neither enforce, modify, nor annul, but such as should rest on consent. With regard to the registration of trades unions, the Commissioners were unanimous as to the desirability of the rules of these societies having the guarantee of publicity; and though compulsion in this matter would be impracticable, the question arose whether, by the offer of certain privileges, by giving certain rights and removing certain disabilities, they might not be induced to come forward and register themselves. The Commissioners were unanimous in recommending some system of registration, but they differed most radically as to the conditions they would impose. The minority of the Commissioners were for laying down as the sole condition of registration that the unions did not contemplate any criminal purpose; but the majority were for refusing registration to any rules which restricted the number of apprentices, the use of machinery, piecework, and the employment of non-unionists or of foreign labour, or which sanctioned agreements with other unions. It was also suggested that there should be two classes of unions—the first class separating their benefit and trade accounts, while the second class kept the two accounts together. Such a separation of accounts would strike at the root of many societies, though not all of them, and the imposition of such conditions would virtually deter every union from registering. As to the division between benefit and trade funds, it was impossible to distinguish between funds used for benefit purposes and those devoted to other objects, the funds being applied at one time to one purpose and at another time to another; and it was difficult to distinguish whether a payment was made to a man out of work in consequence of a strike or for other reasons. The Bill rendered registration optional, the only proviso being that the purposes contemplated were not of a criminal character; and it enforced the deposit of the rules, and, what was more important, of the accounts. The advantages which registration would confer were that it gave the societies *quasi*-corporate rights, and also a summary remedy against embezzling officers—a privilege temporarily enjoyed under the Act of 1869. Societies which did not register would have the power of prosecuting fraudulent officers under the Recorder's Act. The Bill provided that all offences and penalties under the Bill may be prosecuted and recovered in the manner directed by the Summary Jurisdiction Acts; with an appeal to the Courts of Quarter Sessions. Turning now to the other Bill—the Criminal Law Amendment (Violence, Threats, &c.) Bill—he need not remark that all unionists were subject to the general law of the land, but there were certain offences specified from time to time by statute which, though not criminal in themselves, became so if there was the ulterior intention of coercing any person to do something in restraint of trade. The principal Act on this point was the Statute of George IV., as amended by an Act of 1859. The interpretations put upon the offences which it mentioned—violence to person or property, threats, molestation, and intimidation had, however, been so fluctuating that it was necessary to define them more clearly — for when Judges differed, justices of the peace, without the advantage of a legal education, could not be expected to solve the problem. The Bill defined "threats" to be when any person threatens or intimidates any other in such a manner as would authorize a magistrate to bind over the person so threatening or intimidating to keep the peace—that is, threats of violence to the person himself, his wife or children, or threat to burn his house down. "Molestation" included the persistently following any person from place to place, hiding his tools, or watching or besetting the place where he resides or works—in fact, those acts which were generally understood by the terms "dogging," "rattening," and "picketing." And, moreover, these acts must be done with the intention of restraining another person, be he master or workman, from freely disposing of his capital or his labour, in any of the different modes defined in the Bill. It had been objected that this clause created a new offence of "picketing," for Mr. Baron Bramwell remarked, in the case of the tailors' strike, that if picketing could be so carried on as to excite no reasonable alarm, and as not to coerce or annoy, it would be perfectly lawful. Now, it was true that the best unions gave their pickets instructions not to violate the law; but in view of the irritation excited by seeing men go to work at a place where others had struck, it would be taking too charitable a view of human nature to suppose that the methods of persuasion made use of by pickets would be invariably of a gentle character. Consequently, the Bill prohibited all pickets, composed of three or more persons, in the belief that all legal and proper purposes of a picket, and there are such purposes, could be attained by one or two watchers, and that the employment of a greater number implied that something more than persuasion was to be attempted. As in the Trades Unions Bill the proceedings under this Bill would be in the manner directed by the Summary Jurisdiction Acts, with an appeal to the Courts of Quarter Sessions. The complaint that this was special legislation was scarcely a reasonable one, for if special legislation was necessarily unjust, how could the Truck Acts, the Mining Act, and the Merchant Shipping Act be justified? If acts were likely to occur which would be injurious to the public, though not in other respects and under other circumstances criminal, the law was entitled to check them as far as possible, and though unions, he believed, had done a great deal of good to working men, it must be recollected that as men had a right to combine, so also they had a right to stand aloof from combinations. He must apologize for trespassing so long on their Lordships' attention, but the subject was so important, and the interests involved so large, that he had felt it his duty to explain at some length the legislation which was proposed. It was his earnest hope that by bringing the unions within the pale of the law, by endeavouring to give publicity to their rules, and by bringing all their good points into the light of day, Parliament would do much towards the abolition of that feeling of mistrust and antagonism which was said to exist, and to some extent, doubtless, did exist, between labour and capital. As the majority of the Commissioners had observed in their Report—

> "Whether the circumstance is to be regretted or not, the habitual code of sentiment which prevailed between employers and workmen in times when the former were regarded both by law and usage as the governing class is now greatly relaxed and cannot be revived. A substitute has now to be found for it, arising from feelings of equity and enlightened self-interest and mutual forbearance, which should exist between contracting parties who can best promote their several chances of advantage by aiding and accommodating each other."

Moved, "That these Bills be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Morley.*)

Motion *agreed to:* Bills read severally 2ª, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* the 15*th instant.*

UNITED STATES—THE ISLAND OF SAN JUAN.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE asked the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the report in *The Times* of 25th April is correct—namely, that the future ownership of the Island of San Juan is left to the arbitration of a friendly Power; and, if so, whether there is any reservation or stipulation that the Island is not to be fortified or made a military station? The Island of San Juan was 12 miles long by about six miles broad, and lay on the south-east end of the Island of Vancouver. It had been occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company for many years, and commanded the entrance to the ports in Vancouver. The channel which led into the inner waters was not more than five miles wide; it is called the Haro Canal. If San Juan were given up to the United States, and fortified by that Power, the effect would be much the same in that part of the world as it would be nearer home if the Isle of Wight were given up to the French and fortified by them. For the last 200 years the Island of San Juan had formed part of Her Majesty's dominions; having been ceded, amongst other islands, about the year 1792, Captain Vancouver, and another commissioner, were appointed to receive from the Spaniards their possessions in those seas. As their Lordships were aware, about 1859 the island was taken forcible possession of by a party of troops from the United States. It was, at that time, occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company; and it was not taken possession of by the direction of the Government of the United States, but by the act of a general commanding the United States forces in that part of the world. The excuse for taking possession of the island was that some insult was offered to American settlers or squatters. He believed that to have been a perfectly false pretence, for up to the year 1858 there was only one American squatter in the whole island. A treaty between Great Britain and the United States was signed in July, 1846, by which it was decided that the line of boundary between the two countries should be the parallel of 49 north latitude to the sea, through the centre of the strait dividing the main land from the Island of Vancouver. The wording of the treaty was clear and distinct; but, unfortunately, the diplomatists did not mark the line down in a chart, and though there could be no doubt that it was meant that the line should go down the Rosario Channel, close to the main land on the American side, a diplomatic dispute had been going on about it for the last 20 years. The reason why he brought this matter forward was because he believed that the United States had no right whatever to the Island of San Juan, and because it had been thought by this country that in giving to the United States all that was called Washington Territory, consisting of about 60,000 square miles of the finest land in that part of the world, this country did so with the idea of settling the matter, and having no more disputes. Nevertheless, in consequence of the boundary line not being put down on the chart, a dispute commenced within two years of the signing of the treaty. An agreement, he might add, had been entered into that until the Commissioners, to whose appointment both sides had assented, had decided the points in dispute, neither party should interfere with the other; but, notwithstanding, a violent occupation of the island by American troops occurred during the existence of the convention. To the United States, San Juan would be of little or no value, except to enable her to prevent us from getting out of our own ports, or out of the Channel. It was not likely that a naval man would readily settle anything with a Philadelphia and a Penang lawyer, neither of whom was very pleasing to naval men; and it was by such persons that America was represented. When the dispute first arose, there was only one squatter in the place. But no sooner had the American Commissioner made his appearance than a change was at once perceptible, and within a few months the island contained twenty squatters. Shortly afterwards a justice of the peace was sent to take charge of these squatters; also a tax collector. One of the squatters shot a valuable animal, a breeding sow, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, worth not less than £50, and when complaint was made, the general, the Penang lawyer, responded by sending a company of soldiers to take possession of the island, this being an aggravation of the general policy pursued by the Americans towards us. It had been agreed that until the Commissioners had made known their decision, things should remain *in statu quo*. Under these circumstances, he could not but think that if this island be given up to the Americans—it having belonged to us and having been forcibly occupied, contrary to stipulation and convention—it would be most unjust to the people of Vancouver's Island and British Columbia, and would be very galling and lowering to the honour and credit of this country. This dispute had been going on for 20 years; and in a chart, made by the Americans last year, the line had been moved about 25 miles over to our side, and he could only say that, if the island was given up and fortified by the Americans, it being of the greatest importance to us, and of none to the Americans, except for the purpose of hostile action against Great Britain, it would be a thing to be very seriously deplored. The noble Lord concluded by asking formally the Question which stood in his name.

Earl GRANVILLE said, he had no doubt the facts which the noble Earl had stated, might with advantage be brought before arbitrators on either side. But he could not give the House any information as to pending negotiations; for the Joint Commission, which was dealing with those matters, had determined, with the consent of their respective Governments, to keep their proceedings secret until they had arrived at some definite result one way or the other.

The Earl of LAUDERDALE wished to know whether the Commissioners were in possession of two American charts, the one published by Colonel Freeman in 1848, and the other last year, the line in the former being drawn down close to the American shore, through the Rosario Straits, and in the latter so close to Vancouver's Island that it was impossible a ship of any size could get through the passage.

Earl GRANVILLE: The Commissioners are in possession of all the information which we have been able to give them. As to details such as those mentioned by the noble Earl, I would observe that the Commissioners are not to settle the questions open between ourselves and the United States, but to agree upon the mode in which they should be decided.

CHARTERS (COLLEGES) BILL—(No. 73.)

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

The Marquess of SALISBURY wished to call attention to some extraordinary language in the Bill. It was said that a charter proposed to be granted should be laid before both Houses of Parliament for a period of 30 days, and during that time it should be lawful for either House to present an Address to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to withhold her charter. Of course it was lawful, and had long been lawful. But on the principle that *expressio unius* implied *exclusio alterius*, if it were lawful to present an Address on this subject, that would exclude the presentation of an Address on any other.

LORD REDESDALE expressed an opinion that the Bill went to sanction a great innovation on the Royal prerogative.

On Question, *Resolved* in the *Affirmative;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

RELEASED FENIAN CONVICTS—WILLIAM MACKAY.—QUESTION.

EARL GREY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the William Mackay whose name is included in the list of convicts specially discharged from custody, recently laid before this House, is the same person with the Captain Mackay who, in a question put to the then Secretary for Ireland in the House of Commons on the 9th of March 1869, was described as—

> "An individual who last year killed a police constable at Cork; who attacked and set fire to a police barrack at Ballyknockbane, and seized the arms belonging to that station; who also attacked and rifled the Martello Tower at Fota in December 1867; and who was implicated in other outrages at Castle Martyr, Knockadown, Kilcooley Wood, and elsewhere;"

And of whom this description was stated by Mr. Chichester Fortescue in his reply to be "substantially correct." Now, as to-morrow their Lordships would have submitted for second reading a Bill brought forward by Her Majesty's Government with a view to prevent murders committed at the instigation of one unlawful society in Ireland, he was anxious to know whether it could possibly be true that they had considered a man who for the purposes of another unlawful society, was admitted to have been guilty of the murder of a police constable, in addition to a good many other outrages, a fit subject for the Royal clemency?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, his answer to the noble Earl's Question would be the same as that given by Mr. Chichester Fortescue—namely, that the description of what had been done by Mackay was substantially correct. William Mackay, whose name was included in the list of released Fenian convicts, was the man referred to. But he wished to add that it was not true, as his noble Friend seemed to suppose, that Her Majesty's Government had released a man who had committed a murder; for, although Mackay did undoubtedly kill a policeman at the time he was arrested, and was tried for it, the verdict was an acquittal, the defence being that the revolver with which he was armed at the time went off by accident. The offence of which he was convicted was treason-felony. As to the connection which the noble Earl supposed between Ribandism and Fenianism, and the inconsistency the Government was guilty of in letting off Mackay when they had brought in a Bill to prevent murder by Ribandmen, he did not think it convenient to enter into that subject at present, but should postpone any remarks he had to make until to-morrow. However, he begged to say that he did not admit the objects of the Riband and Fenian conspiracies to be identical, or that there was any inconsistency in the course taken by the Government in releasing members of the latter body at a time when they were seeking from Parliament additional Powers for the suppression of the former.

House adjourned at Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 1st *May*, 1871.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—John Lloyd Wharton, esquire, *for* Durham City.

SELECT COMMITTEE — Tribunals of Commerce, *nominated.*

WAYS AND MEANS — *considered in Committee* — INCOME AND PROPERTY TAX.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution in Committee*—Pensions Commutation Acts *.

Ordered—First Reading—Treasurers of Rates * [120].

Second Reading—Metropolitan Poor Act (1867) Amendment * [119].

Committee—Report—Metropolitan Commons Supplemental * [62].

Considered as amended—Lunacy Regulation (Ireland) * [102].

SCOTLAND—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—QUESTION.

MR. M'LAREN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a statement in the newspapers of 24th

April, to the following effect: That Sir John Orde, baronet, of Kilmory, was charged at the instance of the Procurator Fiscal for the county of Argyle, with the crime of assault upon the person of a boy four years of age, while driving tandem along the public road; that it appeared from the evidence that the baronet while proceeding at a smart rate along the road, struck with his whip at some children who were standing on the roadside, and who were doing nothing to provoke him in any way; that the lash of the whip caught around the neck of the boy, who was pulled to the ground, and dragged several yards along the rough road, whereby he was cut and bruised along the head and neck; that Sir John's groom swore that his master struck at the boy quite gratuitously, and that when told that he had lassoed a child by the throat he merely gave a mocking laugh; that several witnesses swore to seeing the boy dragged on the ground, and that he had been doing nothing to molest Sir John or his horses; that, notwithstanding this evidence the interim sheriff substitute Spears, acquitted Sir John, holding the occurrence to have been purely accidental; and whether he has instituted any inquiry into the administration of justice in this case? He further wished to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman has applied for or received a Copy of the shorthand writer's notes of what occurred at the trial?

The LORD ADVOCATE said, in reply, that the subject-matter of the Question was within his Department, and, if his hon. Friend and the House would permit him, he would answer it. He had seen in the newspapers the statement to which the Question referred, but he had not found it necessary, in consequence, to institute any inquiry into the administration of justice in the case, because it came under his cognizance before it was sent for trial; indeed, it was ordered for trial after consultation with himself. The statement of the case in the Question was somewhat sensational, the facts being these:—On the 1st of November Sir John Orde was driving tandem along a road through a village of Scotland, when the leader was frightened by some children who were playing at the side of the road. Sir John was under the impression that the children had frightened the horse by throwing something at it; but when he considered the case he was disposed to think that Sir John's impression in this respect was erroneous. However, he threw the lash of his whip out in the direction of the children, and, unfortunately, the lash wrapped itself around the neck of a little boy, who was pulled along a distance of six yards, according to subsequent measurement. The child was not materially hurt, it was not laid up, it did not require the attendance of any medical man, and it was out as usual on the following day, although this occurrence happened in the afternoon. The father of the child first applied—not improperly—to Sir John Orde for some pecuniary compensation, demanding the sum of £5, which he failed to obtain. After the lapse of three months, in February the father lodged an information with the Procurator-Fiscal; the depositions of witnesses were then taken, and he had an opportunity of seeing them recently in Scotland. The case was ordered to be heard in a summary manner by the Sheriff, and it was heard before an hon. and learned gentleman, Mr. Spears, who held an interim appointment in the absence of the ordinary Sheriff Substitute of the place, a gentleman who was fully qualified to discharge the duties of the office. The acquittal of the accused was not a result which surprised him in the least degree; on the contrary, he thought it not an improper result of a fair and impartial trial before a perfectly competent magistrate. Under the circumstances, he had not thought it necessary to direct any inquiry in consequence of the statement in the newspapers referred to in the Question, being perfectly satisfied that justice had not been defeated, but that it had been administered in a just and satisfactory manner.

SMALL POX (METROPOLIS)—RETURNS OF VACCINATION.—QUESTION.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he is aware that in several of the Registrar General's weekly Returns in February and March of this year the proportions of vaccinated and unvaccinated persons who died of small-pox in the metropolis were given; and, whether he can state for what reason, or at whose suggestion those important particulars have been omitted since the 11th of March last?

Mr. BRUCE said, in reply, that the Registrar General, at his own instance and for the public information, obtained Returns of the proportions of vaccinated and unvaccinated persons who died of small-pox in the Metropolis; but after two months' experience he discovered that the Returns were inaccurate and incomplete, and he, therefore, of his own authority discontinued the publication of them. With respect to the vaccinated there was no evidence of the completeness of the vaccination, and, further, the Returns would be misleading unless something like the proportion of vaccinated to unvaccinated persons in the kingdom could be ascertained.

ARMY—SMALL ARMS FOR THE MILITIA.—QUESTION.

Mr. RIDLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, Which description of the three breech-loading small arms (the carbine and sword, the short rifle and sword, the long rifle and bayonet) is to be issued to the Militia, and which to the Volunteer Artillery; and, when the respective issues will be made?

Sir HENRY STORKS, in reply, said, the weapon of artillery soldiers was the heavy gun, and in furnishing small arms they had postponed the issue as regarded the Militia and Volunteer Artillery until after the infantry forces, whose weapon was the small arm, should have been fully armed. The issue of Snider carbines and swords would be made in the course of 1872. Volunteers who wished in the meantime for a breech-loading arm to enable them to compete for prizes could receive the long rifle.

IRELAND—PRISONS.—QUESTION.

The O'CONOR DON asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether it is his intention to introduce, during the present Session, any measure for the amendment of the Law relating to the management and supervision of the County and Convict Prisons in Ireland?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, a measure for the amendment of the law relating to the management and supervision of these prisons was in preparation, and was ready to be introduced almost at any time. He was extremely anxious to proceed with it; but in the present state of public business he was quite unable to say when he should be able to proceed with it with any reasonable prospect of passing it.

EDUCATION—LONDON SCHOOL BOARD. —THE CENSUS.—QUESTION.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will authorize the Registrar General to allow the School Board for London, at their own cost, to extract from the Census Papers the following particulars in reference to all children in the metropolis between the ages of three and thirteen; the name, sex, and age; whether a scholar or not; and, the occupation of the parent?

Mr. BRUCE, in reply, said, it would only be possible to obtain Returns of the number of children in London by suspending the operations of the Census for six weeks or two months; but the matter should be gone into carefully to see whether it would be possible to allow the London School Board to extract the Returns without undue interference with the Census operations. Of course, the privilege if accorded to London must be extended to other places which required the information.

METROPOLIS—STREET TRAMWAYS. QUESTION.

Sir HENRY HOARE asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to a Letter which appeared in "The Times" of the 7th of April, containing the opinion of the editor of the "New York Evening Post," that if proper precautions had been taken when Charters were granted in that City it would now be in receipt of sufficient revenue from them to pay all expenses of paving, lighting, cleansing, sewerage, &c.; and, whether, seeing that no independent evidence has been laid before the House as to the conditions upon which such concessions are now granted in the United States, any steps have been taken, or will be taken, to secure evidence upon this important point before further powers are granted for the construction of Street Tramways in the Metropolis?

Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE said, in reply, that the position of the Board of Trade was this—An Act of last Session gave power to local authorities to construct tramways if they chose, and, if they did not choose, it empowered companies to do so. In no case had the local authorities elected to construct tramways; on the contrary, they had given their assent, under the Act, to some of the schemes promoted by companies. The Metropolitan Board of Works had declined to undertake the construction of them. Under these circumstances he felt bound, acting in the spirit of the Act of last year, to place before Parliament the schemes which had received the sanction of the local authorities. They would be embodied in provisional orders, and their fate would then depend upon the House and its Committees.

CLERKS OF THE CUSTOM HOUSE.
QUESTION.

Sir HENRY HOARE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer Why, in the case of the forty or fifty clerks of the Custom House who are about to be reduced, the same principle should not be adopted as in other departments, viz. that they should be placed on a redundant list and absorbed as vacancies arise; more especially taking into consideration the fact that these gentlemen had all to pass a competitive examination and believed their situations to be permanent?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER replied that the difficulty of the case was the difficulty that had occurred since the Civil Service of the Crown had been thrown open to public competition. The Government were willing, however, to give a favourable consideration to the case of these persons, and would endeavour to provide for them as far as they could without unfairly stopping the progress of competition and inflicting injury on those who were preparing for examination.

THE MATCH TAX.—QUESTION.

Colonel BERESFORD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Messrs. Delarue and Co. have been directly or indirectly employed by the Government, during any portion of the last three months, in manufacturing label stamps which, had the proposed Match Tax become Law, would have been affixed to the match boxes; and, if so, what has been the cost of the labels so prepared, and out of what fund are they to be paid? [*Cheers.*]

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Sir, I judge by the cheers of hon. Gentlemen opposite that they consider it was the duty of the Government to have endeavoured to pass a Bill for the purpose of placing a stamp upon matches without taking the precaution to be provided with the stamp in case the Bill passed. That was not the view we took of our duty. Therefore we did directly instruct Messrs. Delarue to prepare stamps; they have been employed in preparing them, and I am told the expense will be less than £1,000.

CASE OF THOMAS WEST.—QUESTION.

Colonel BERESFORD asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that the only compensation awarded to the widow of Thomas West, who was employed as labourer in the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, from 1864 to 1869, and died in the latter year from injuries received there whilst in the execution of his duty, and who, up to the time of his death, was in receipt of a pension of £29 4*s*. per annum for twenty-four years' service in the Royal Navy, and has left a widow and four children, was a sum of £15; whether it has not been the custom to allow pensions to widows under such circumstances to support their children; and, whether the Secretary of State for War will reconsider the case with a view to allowing the widow of the late Thomas West a pension in consideration of his long service in the Navy and the great loss she has sustained both by reason of her husband's death and the loss of his pension?

Sir HENRY STORKS, in reply, said, a gratuity of £15 was granted to the widow of Thomas West. It was the practice formerly of the Treasury to grant compassionate pensions to widows of hired men who had lost their lives in the service, but the Treasury had now altered the principle, and granted gratuities only. This individual case had been re-considered by the Secretary of State and by the Treasury, and it had been found impracticable to give any further relief. He might, perhaps, mention with regard to it that the head of the department in which West was employed reported as follows:—

"I feel bound to state that the evidence as to the injury is not of a very decided or complete character, and it appears to me to fall short of what should be admitted to give to widows a special claim on the department."

NEW FOREST BILL.—QUESTION.

Mr. HAMBRO asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is his intention to proceed with the New Forest Bill; and, if so, whether he will name a day, or probable day, on which he will take the Second Reading of that Bill?

Mr. BAXTER: Looking, Sir, to the great pressure of public business and to the interest manifested by the House in forest questions, I do not intend to proceed with the New Forest Bill this Session, and perhaps I may be allowed to take this opportunity of stating with reference to the altered form of the Notice for to-morrow which stands in the name of the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett) that it is not intended, pending legislation, to make any fresh inclosures in the New Forest, and that no timber is to be felled except for current repairs, the necessary thinning of plantations, and the satisfaction of legal rights to fuel.

Mr. FAWCETT said, considering the reckless destruction which had been committed in the New Forest, it was peculiarly a subject on which the House was bound to act with the greatest care and caution. He thought the best plan would be for the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to put on the Paper this evening, if possible, the Amendments he might deem it necessary to propose to his Motion.

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY.—QUESTIONS.

Mr. EYKYN said, he had given Notice of his intention to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, taking into consideration the statement made to the honourable Member for Nottingham, he will direct the Commissioners of Inland Revenue to discontinue the collection of the Inhabited House Duty for "offices or business premises used only as such," and direct the return of all amounts that have been collected in error? In now putting the Question he wished to explain that he had referred by mistake to the hon. Member for Nottingham, instead of the hon. Member for Sheffield.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: The question raised by the hon. Member was whether offices and business premises were within the exemption put into the Act of 1869. That exemption was, in substance, as follows:—It exempted houses occupied for purposes of trade only, or as a warehouse for the sole purpose of lodging goods, &c., therein, or as a shop or counting-house, although a servant or other persons might dwell there for its protection. It appeared to him that "offices or business premises used only as such" did not come within the terms of that exemption.

MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.—QUESTION.

Mr. MAGNIAC asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government have received any information from Mr. Wade in regard to an announcement said to have been made by the Chinese Government, which would appear to be in contravention of their treaty obligations with Foreign Countries? He likewise wished to know, whether the report was correct that a Minister had been appointed to China?

Mr. MACFIE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has any information (or will communicate to this House when he shall have it) as to the matters reported in a Telegraphic Despatch from Shanghai, dated the 12th April, relating to the treatment of Missionaries?

Viscount ENFIELD, in reply, said, a telegram was received some time since from Mr. Wade, at Pekin, to the effect that he had sent a Circular on the missionary question which had been addressed unofficially by the Chinese Government to Foreign Legations. Up to the present time, however, the despatch containing the circular in question had not been received at the Foreign Office. He could not positively undertake to produce a document which he had not yet seen; but whenever it came to hand, he would at once communicate with his hon. Friends on the subject. As to the second Question put by his hon. Friend the Member for St. Ives, he had no information to give on that point.

Mr. MAGNIAC said, he thought that as Mr. Wade not unfrequently sent a telegram when nothing had occurred, he might possibly have sent one when something had occurred.

Viscount ENFIELD said, a telegram had been received from Mr. Wade stating that the Circular had been received by him, and that he would forward it by mail.

VACCINATION ACT—PENALTIES.

QUESTION.

Mr. T. CHAMBERS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Medical Officer of the Privy Council has stated his opinion in evidence before the Vaccination Committee that the penalties of the Compulsory Vaccination Act are too severe, and that a nominal penalty first, and, in case of neglect, one penalty of 20*s.* is all that ought to be enforced; and, whether, in consequence of that opinion the Home Secretary has given instructions to magistrates to refrain from inflicting repeated fines or imprisonment on successive prosecutions for the neglect of vaccination in the same case, where parents have a conscientious objection to the practice?

Mr. BRUCE replied that the Committee before which the Medical Officer of the Privy Council was supposed to have given this evidence was now sitting. He had not heard that any such expression of opinion had been given by that officer, and indeed he had rather reason to believe that such was not the case. If, however, the statement were correct, he should consider it in the last degree indecorous to interfere with the magistrates in their administration of an Act of Parliament upon the mere opinion of the medical officer.

ARMY EXPENDITURE.—QUESTION.

Lord ELCHO said, that as the Government had made declarations to the effect that the proposed Army expenditure was of a transitory character, he wished to ask the Secretary of State for War, What part of such expenditure may be considered transitory; what is the present and prospective amount of such transitory expenditure; and, at what period it may be reasonably expected to terminate?

Mr. CARDWELL: Sir, the Estimates in any year depend very much upon the number of men the Crown may ask for and Parliament vote in that year. But, besides the number of men, there are other charges in the present year which may be considered exceptional, and which have been referred to by my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government and myself—such as armaments for the forts, purchase of torpedoes, of small arms in consequence of the arming of the Reserve Forces, the purchase of horses, of clothing, &c.; and if the noble Lord wishes for any further particulars, and will move for a Return, I shall be happy to give him any information in my power.

INDIA—INDIAN MUTINY MEDALS.

QUESTION.

Mr. KINNAIRD asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there is any hope of the Indian Mutiny Medals being speedily distributed to the officers and men of the 81st Regiment, a very small number having as yet been given, and great disappointment being felt by the rest of the Regiment at the long delay which has occurred; and, whether in future it would not be possible to avoid such delays in the distribution of medals?

Mr. GRANT DUFF replied, that the medals referred to by the hon. Member had within the last few days been sent to the War Office for distribution. He could assure the hon. Member there had been no undue delay on the part of the War Office. The grant of the medals was only extended to the regiment in which the hon. Member was interested—the 81st—by a General Order, dated the 12th of August, 1868. As soon as the list of claimants was received from the commanding officer—in May, 1870—it was forwarded to India, and on its return to the India Office, on the 27th of December last, the medals were ordered to be made.

THE CHARITY COMMISSION—EXEMPTION OF ENDOWED CHARITIES FROM INCOME TAX.—QUESTION.

Mr. CUBITT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he can give any estimate of the annual income arising from the endowments of charities in Great Britain, and what addition would consequently be made to the yield of the Property Tax if the Motion of the honourable Member for South Essex carried on Friday, April 21st, were put into operation?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, in reply, that he was sorry to say that he could not give as satisfactory an answer to the Question of the hon. Member as he could wish. He had obtained Returns from the Inland Revenue and the Charity Commissioners which substantially coincided. The income of the charities was £2,120,000 per annum, and on that sum the income tax, at 4*d.* in the pound, would be £35,332, and at 6*d.* would be £53,000. But these Returns were very defective. They did not include any Roman Catholic or Jewish charities; they did not include the metropolitan and other hospitals throughout the City; and they did not include the Universities, or the Colleges in the different Universities.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

QUESTION.

Mr. CRAUFURD asked, What would be the course of business on Thursday, and more particularly with regard to the Scotch Education Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE replied, that it would not be possible to fix the course of Business for Thursday until they saw what progress they made to-night; but he did not think the Scotch Education Bill could be taken on Thursday in any event, inasmuch as the Government had already announced their intention to go on with the Army Regulation Bill on that day.

SUPPLY.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

WAYS AND MEANS.—COMMITTEE.

Mr. W. H. SMITH, in rising to move—

> "That it is inexpedient that the income tax should be increased to the extent contemplated in the Financial proposals of Her Majesty's Government,"

said, he had ventured to undertake the discharge of a duty—upon which he felt it incumbent upon him to ask the forbearance of the House—which devolved upon him as the Representative of a large and important constituency, who felt deeply interested in the financial measures proposed by the Government. In pursuance of that duty, he would remind the House of the several steps taken by the Executive during the consideration of their proposals. In his statement, about ten days ago, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had informed the House of the fact that the Revenue of last year, the year just closed, had exceeded the estimated receipts by £2,311,000; but that the estimated Revenue from existing taxation for the current year, 1871-72, would fall short of the estimated expenditure of £72,500,000 by £2,713,000. To meet this deficiency, it was proposed to tax matches and to increase the succession duty, proposals which had been abandoned, the former last Tuesday, the latter on Thursday. The substitute offered to the House was an additional 2*d.* on the income tax, which, it was calculated, would produce a surplus of £300,000; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer had himself given a reason against this when he deprecated the acquisition of an excessive surplus, believing it would establish a dangerous precedent; and he (Mr. W. H. Smith) had the further objection, that it would be wrong in principle to impose a tax, yielding more than the necessities of the case required, and which, in the odious shape of an increased income tax, would still further grind the taxpayers of the country. Under these circumstances, he had placed a Notice on the Paper, by which he desired, by means of a Resolution, which he hoped the House would adopt, to protest against raising the whole sum required by means of income tax, and his task had been made more easy by the chorus of objections raised on all hands against the proposals of the Government. ["No, no!"] He had carefully watched the organs of public opinion in which reference had been made to this suggestion; and, although those organs differed as a rule on public questions, not one had expressed a clear verdict in favour of the proposed addition to the income tax. All felt it to be both unjust and unnecessary. It had been urged that the House had accepted the Estimates, and must find the Ways and Means; he had little to say upon this point, for his proposal did not distinctly affect the Votes the Government asked for, and further, he considered the responsibility of making Estimates rested with the Government; but the circumstances of the country had somewhat changed since the Estimates had been submitted to the House. The Army Regulation Bill had not made very rapid progress; it stood for Committee on Thursday, and it was possible some of the numerous Amendments suggested upon it would be supported by a majority of the House. If those Amendments, and especially that proposed by the hon. and gallant Member for Bewdley (Colonel Anson), were passed, the Government would either find itself in possession of £600,000, the estimated cost of the abolition of purchase falling on the current year; or it might, on the other hand, happen that the charge would be greatly swelled, and the Government would then have to re-consider its course, and decide whether the charge should be spread over a term of years, so as to distribute as fairly as possible the burden on the shoulders of those upon whom it ought to fall. He had noticed that the First Lord of the Treasury, in the course of the debates that occurred on the Budget, had referred to two questions which might, in his opinion, result in a reduction of expenditure in the course of the ensuing year. They were asked to grant the Ways and Means for the demands of the Government, and yet, at the same time, they were told it was a question after all whether the Ways and Means would be entirely required. He thought with the enormous demand made upon the public purse for the Army and Navy, there never was a time when prospective Budgets were more required than at the present moment; for if it was intended that the very large Votes demanded from and granted by the House were merely to be Votes for the present year, and if a fit of economy should ensue, and if reduced establishments were to be the order of the day next year, this year's Vote would be nothing less than meaningless extravagance. Every effort had been made to obtain from the Government some declaration as to its policy in Army regulation for the next three years or so, as to what those establishments might be; but, up to the present time, the House had been left completely in the dark on that subject, and unless he could feel sure that the proposed expenditure would give an efficient Army of Reserve, based upon a distinct principle, clearly stated by the Government, and carrying out the promises already made by them, he would gladly vote for a reduction in the Estimates. He should be glad if Her Majesty's Government would tell the number of men they intended to have not only this year, but for future years. He would next allude to the analogy which existed in his opinion between the position of the present Government and that of Lord John Russell's in 1848, when it was proposed that the income tax should provide for a deficit of £3,346,000, by a Government as strong as the present. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No.] At all events, the proposal of the Government was at first received and carried by a large majority; and although there might, indeed, have been subsequently some secessions, yet they never materially affected the number of the majority. A Budget was brought on in January, another in February, and another in June, and the result of the whole matter was, that at the end of the year it was found that the addition to the income tax could be dispensed with, and at the end of three years from that time not only had there been no increase to the income tax, but the public service had not suffered in consequence. There was this further circumstance, too, that now while we were endeavouring to re-organize the Army, a charge which had not yet been incurred, then we required a large outlay to meet a charge already incurred in consequence of the Kaffir War. Now, he ventured to say that the immediate mode in which this deficiency was to be met would not receive the acceptance of the country. He believed there was no tax which fell so heavily and so severely upon those who had to pay it as the income tax. He was aware that hon. Gentlemen opposite approved the income tax on the ground that it was a direct tax, and was so strongly brought home to the taxpayer as to lead to increased watchfulness and an increased check upon wasteful expenditure. The fact of the case was, that by far the largest portion of those who paid income tax were very poor persons indeed. They were persons upon whom such a direct tax fell with all the severity which had been so eloquently described by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer a few days since; indeed, he despaired of being able to find any stronger objections to the tax than those furnished by the right hon. Gentleman himself. Now, from the Returns furnished to that House, it appeared that of the 400,000 persons who contributed to the payment of income tax under Schedule D, 325,000 paid upon less than £300 a-year. Thus they had evidence that four-fifths of the payers of the income tax were persons struggling probably more severely against poverty than the artizan or working man, who was under no pressure whatever to keep up what was termed "a decent and respectable appearance." He was one of those who rejoiced in the fact that the House had passed an Act under which the ratepayer became liable for the major portion of the cost of the education of the working classes; but we had done nothing to assist people with incomes of £300 a-year in the education of their children. Further, he would say, that in addition to the 325,000 persons he had referred to, 36,500 persons paid income tax upon incomes of less than £500 a-year. Then there was this further augmentation of the extreme nature of the pressure caused by the payment of income tax, that, under the arrangements initiated by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the whole of the income tax was paid in the first quarter of the year, and the House could picture to themselves the inconvenience and hardship and suffering inflicted upon poor professional men or upon poor tradesmen, who, in the first month of the year, were called upon to pay £7 10*s*., instead of £5, out of the £75 which constituted their first quarter's income. In the case of the poor professional man the addition of £2 10*s*., at a time, too, when the person who had to pay it might fairly consider it unnecessary, might reasonably be looked upon as an unnecessary exercise of a harsh and cruel power. He would venture to say that the income tax was never designed for an occasion like the present. In 1842 it was revived by Sir Robert Peel, as he (Mr. W. H. Smith) thought most wisely, to meet a great emergency. But after having carefully traced the history of the tax, he could find no occasion in which it had been increased, unless in view of some emergency, some apprehension of war, or of some trouble under which it was necessary to have recourse to the income tax, in common with other sources of taxation. On the present occasion, Her Majesty's Government proposed to refer to the income tax alone as a source of revenue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had lately drawn attention to certain exemptions at present existing. Now, the income of the country was estimated by very competent authorities to be no less than £760,000,000 a-year, but the amount subjected to the income tax was only £366,000,000. Was it, therefore, the intention of the Government that the remaining £400,000,000 should be exempted from taxation? We must, he supposed, wait till next year to know what course the Government intended to pursue; but it was quite clear that a very large portion of the incomes of the country were exempted from the payment of income tax, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had distinctly given notice that the question of exemptions ought to be considered by the House, and they might, therefore, regard the £400,000,000 as liable to taxation when the proper time arrived. In making this statement, he had no desire whatever to impose the income tax below the point at which it at present pinched most injuriously those who laboured under it; but it was right that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after what he had stated the other evening about exemptions, should bear in mind the fact that the whole of the incomes of the country were not liable to the payment of the income tax. He must apologize to the House for having trespassed so long upon its time and patience. He had not ventured to quote the opinions, which he held in his hand, of right hon. Gentlemen who sat upon the front Ministerial bench, because circumstances occasionally occurred under which opinions changed even at the distance probably of a single week; but he would appeal to hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House not to subject the poorer and struggling classes of the community to a tax which was unnecessary; with regard to which Amendments had been proposed by hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Ministerial side of the House; which was felt to be harsh and cruel in its operation; and which was attended with great danger, except when applied to a necessity recognized by the country. He did not desire to offer any suggestion to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the responsibility in this matter appeared to him to rest with right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury bench. It had been suggested that the application of money to the reduction of the National Debt by the creation of Terminable Annuities should be suspended. Hon. Gentlemen who took that view might, most consistently, support his Resolution, for by voting against it they would be supporting the proposal for an additional income tax. Again, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) desired to afford the Government an opportunity of re-considering their Estimates, and the hon. and learned Gentleman would, by voting with him, afford the Government that opportunity; whereas, if his Resolution were negatived, the hon. and learned Gentleman would lose the opportunity he desired. His wish was that the country might escape from this large addition to the income tax, and he trusted he might receive, if not the unanimous, at all events, the warm support of a large majority of the House. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

Mr. LIDDELL, in rising to second the Motion, said, he would take three distinct objections to the financial schemes of the Government, and would challenge the accuracy of the description of them which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman had called the expenditure transitional; he, (Mr. Liddell) maintained it was not, and challenged hon. Members to prove it; and he wished, in the first place, to state his reasons for contending that it was not transitional. The second proposition which he would urge was, that the expenditure was national, and, consequently, ought to be borne by the whole nation, and not thrown on a portion of the nation only. His third and last proposition was, that it was grossly unjust to charge the payers of income tax with the entire burden of the cost of the abolition of purchase in the Army. With regard to his first objection, the difficulty of proving his case was very much mitigated in consequence of an answer recently given by a Colleague of the Prime Minister (the Secretary of State for War), and according to which the expenditure to be incurred for the abolition of purchase was professedly to be spread over a considerable term of years—for they did not know how many years; and even assuming for the sake of argument that it was a boon —although he thought it was a measure of the most doubtful character, and certain to be followed by the most hazardous results—it was not a boon to be enjoyed by the present generation only, but for all time. Therefore, he held that the expenditure upon it could not be properly termed transitional, and, as it was to be spread over a long period, the means of meeting it ought to be raised by a loan, and ought not to be a charge on the year. Again, they had just been told by the War Minister that the remaining portion of that expenditure was intended to provide small arms for our troops and big guns for our fortifications and our ships, torpedoes, and other warlike stores. Well, was that a transitional expenditure? They all knew that the life of a rifle was 16 years; and according to that, that expenditure for small arms ought likewise to be spread over a considerable period. So, also, with the outlay upon guns for ships and forts; its advantages would be extended over a long time, and therefore it could not be accurately described as transitional. His second point was, that that being a national expenditure, ought to be borne not by a part of the nation, but by the whole nation. What was it to be incurred for? Within the last 48 hours they had been informed by that great and wise statesman the Commander-in-Chief—the highest authority on military expenditure—that this increased expenditure was necessary, in order that the country might maintain its position in the world. What was the meaning of that expression? He apprehended that it meant that we must maintain our dignity and our credit, and thereby give stability to trade; and the stability of trade meant certain employment at fixed wages. Surely those were objects in which the working classes were essentially interested, and in the cost of securing which the working classes should bear their share? Then he came to his third proposition—namely, that it was a grievous injustice to throw on the payers of income tax the whole charge for the abolition of purchase in the Army. It was unjust to call upon professional income — the kind of income more severely pressed upon by that impost than any other in this country—to bear a double burden for the jeopardizing of the interests of the highest and perhaps the noblest profession we had among us. It was cruel and unjust to call upon the pensioned officer, living on his hard-earned pension, won perhaps on the field of battle, to bear a double tax, in order to inflict what probably, in his opinion, was the greatest blow to the service with which he had been connected. It was still harder to impose a double tax on the widow of the officer who had perished on the field of battle, and to deprive her perhaps of the schooling of one, or it might be two, of her children in the course of the year, in order to pay the full amount that the brother officers of her slain husband, required as compensation for the value of their commissions. Those were questions on which he believed the Government dared not challenge the opinion of the country, because they knew well the response the country would make to such an appeal. Another point connected with that increased military expenditure was, that they had never been told a word about the cost of retirement. They ought to know how far that would go to swell the deficit before they voted any addition to the income tax. The right hon. Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) the other night said he shrank with alarm and apprehension from that question. Now they were responsible to their constituents for that matter, and so far from shrinking from it, he (Mr. Liddell) considered it their duty to scrutinize it with a vigilant and keen eye, and not allow the Budget to pass out of their hands, until they had some definite estimate from the Government as to what amount of money would be swallowed up by the cost of retirement from the Army. His great complaint against the Government was that all the expenditure at which they were now grumbling had been rendered necessary by the Government themselves, for their difficulties were difficulties of their own creation, because they were caused by that excessive zeal for reduction by which they had been actuated during the last two years. While they were engaged in starving the services, they were at the same time squandering the Revenue; they threw away in one financial year £900,000 in the shape of the registration fee upon imported corn, and in the next year, when they had a magnificent surplus to deal with, they threw away £2,350,000 upon the sugar duties, which were complained of by no single class. They were now driven from pillar to post to meet a deficit, and it was a remarkable fact that the amount of Revenue they threw away in those years corresponded pretty nearly with their present deficit. That was the source of these financial disorders and embarrassments. Much had been said out-of-doors, and a good deal more was likely to be heard in that House, as to suspending the Terminable Annuities scheme, to provide the Ways and Means now sought to be raised by additional taxation. Having himself only recently been one of those who, in common with other hon. Members of the House, had urged on the Chancellor of the Exchequer the policy of endeavouring in time of prosperity to make some greater effort for the reduction of the National Debt than of late years had been the practice, he thought it would be almost cowardly in him to desert the right hon. Gentleman on the present occasion in regard to that proposal, and, therefore, he could not vote in favour of interfering with the operation of the Terminable Annuities. At the same time, however, he thought there was a very great and wide difference between the policy he had then urged and the policy proposed now. It was one thing, when they had a surplus Revenue, to retain existing taxes for the reduction of Debt, and another thing, in the face of a deficit and increased expenditure, to put on new taxes to meet that increased expenditure, and also to pay off debt. The proposition that he and others had pressed on the House on a former occasion was, that when they were in a state of prosperity they should retain their taxes and reduce their debt; but now they were putting on new taxes, which the country would not accept at any price, to meet increased expenditure, and at the same time, with the other hand, they were paying off Debt out of taxes to the extent of not less than £2,250,000, according to this year's Estimates. Those were the reasons which induced him to second the Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith), and he did so with a perfectly clear conscience, believing that they would be supported by the country, if an appeal were made to it, against the financial projects of the Government. He believed that their principle would be supported by the country, because that principle was nothing less than that upon which the whole prosperity of the nation depended—namely, a system of just, of equal, and therefore of sound finance.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is inexpedient that the Income Tax should be increased to the extent contemplated in the Financial proposals of Her Majesty's Government,"—(*Mr. William Henry Smith,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. PEASE said, that having been one of the hon. Members who opposed the Army Estimates when originally introduced, he wished to state his reasons for supporting Her Majesty's Government on the present occasion. In a multitude of counsellors there was wisdom, it was said; but the danger of the Government appeared to be that there was a great deal of counsel and very little wisdom. This was evidenced by the fact, that four distinct proposals were on the Paper; the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), for instance, was opposed to the levy of an additional income tax; the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. White) reiterated his view, upon which the House had already expressed its opinion, as to the general policy of the proposed expenditure; while the hon. Members for Finsbury (Mr. W. M. Torrens), and for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler), regarded the question from the point of view affecting the payment of the National Debt. Let the House bear in mind what had occurred. On the 17th of March the hon. and gallant Member for Berkshire (Colonel Loyd Lindsay) brought forward a Resolution, by which he invited the House to affirm that, owing to the proposed Army outlay, the time for the abolition of purchase was inopportune; but the House negatived the Motion, and practically affirmed the proposals of the Government, which involved the principles of a large outlay on the Army, and, in addition, the abolition of purchase. The Army Bill, in which the abolition of purchase constituted the vital point, was read a second time without a Division, and thus the House stood committed to the principle of the Bill, although the process of extinguishing the purchase system might be extremely gradual. On the 23rd of March the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) moved the Resolution which he himself had seconded, affirming that the money paid for the Army in the year previous ought to be sufficient to provide an Army in the current year. But the House negatived that Motion by a majority of 203, thereby adopting once more the Army Estimates for the present year. Almost immediately afterwards the House went on to vote in Committee £5,411,900 for the pay of officers and men. This Vote practically determined the shape of the Votes on Estimates, for, having granted the men, it was impossible to refuse the necessary stores. The Easter holidays, however, came round, and hon. Members found that the expenditure, against which some of their number had been contending in the House, was not very popular among the constituencies; and opinions found expression upon both sides of the House that the amount which Her Majesty's Government was about to spend upon the Army was not justified by the state of things existing either in this country or abroad. The House, however, had committed itself to the principle, and it was only now when the money came actually to be voted that resistance was raised. He was one of those who had voted in the first Division against the match tax; he had also done his best to induce the Government to give up the increased succession duties, believing that these would be taxes permanent in their nature, and that they were not required to meet a temporary expenditure; but, he must say, he felt confidence in the assurances of Her Majesty's Government that this was only a temporary tax. He could not say "yes" to the proposition of the hon. Member (Mr. W. H. Smith), that the Government should bring forward Estimates for 1872-3; and he intended to give them his support against the proposal which was now before the House. He entertained a confident hope that the measures which were being taken with regard to the creation of an Army of Reserve would considerably reduce the military expenditure, and that an efficient Army of Reserve was impossible till the great question of purchase was boldly faced. But great as the loss to the country would be, in his opinion, if those now sitting upon the Treasury bench were to cross over to the other side of the House, he should prefer even that result to any further withdrawal of the Estimates which had been so largely supported by the House. The question lay between direct and indirect taxation, and those who had urged the Government to take away the match tax and the increased succession duties might legitimately support an increase of income tax to meet a temporary emergency. Let them raise this taxation in a way which would be always in their minds—in a way which would remind them that it was money levied for a temporary purpose, and the purpose aimed at by the Resolution would soon be attained. His hon. Friend the Member for Westminster knew that there was no tax more fallacious in the view which it afforded of the persons who sustained the burden than the income tax; and it should be remembered, as an additional reason why the income tax was the fittest tax to supply the increased charges, that it was the middle, and not the working classes, who had called for the measures which had rendered that increased expenditure necessary. For his own part, therefore, he should vote with the Government in support of a tax falling upon those who were best able to afford it.

Lord GARLIES said, he hoped some explanation, as promised by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, so far back as the 16th February last, would be given of what was really meant by the term "transitional expenditure." Taking the several Votes together, he found that the increase upon last year's military Estimate amounted to £2,890,450, and deducting from this amount the due proportion of Votes 12 and 13, for ammunition, buildings, barracks and fortifications, amounting together to £1,283,813, there remained a net increase of £1,606,637. The only way, he maintained, in which this increase could be got rid of in future years was by decreasing the number of men, with their clothing, &c.; but if they did that, if the number of men were only increased this year to be taken off again next year, he quite concurred with the hon. Member for Westminster in thinking that no practical purpose was gained by increasing the Army Estimates. "*Le jeu nevaut pas la chandelle.*" Besides, what would be the use of their Army organization in such a case. There were two other Votes to which the House should look. The first was that for munition of war, which this year amounted to £995,461; but as during the past two years the Government had reduced that Vote by £478,000, it could not be surprising that they should now find it necessary to increase their expenditure; but the transitional portion of it was only about £500,000. The other Vote, that for buildings, amounted this year to £288,352; but, as in the last two years, the expenditure under that head had been reduced by £264,151, the Government only asked for £24,201 extra. One part of the new Army scheme of the Government related to the provision of barracks for the distribution of battalions among counties; but the replies to the circular which had been issued by the Secretary for War showed that it would be necessary to begin the re-organization scheme by the erection of 89 new barracks, and the sum required for that purpose could not be called "transitional expenditure." After hearing the figures he had quoted, he thought the House would be of opinion that that term was a deceptive one, and that when next year there would be an additional expenditure of £1,200,000, it would be found that, instead of 2*d.*, 3*d.*, or 4*d.* extra would be required on the income tax.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN said, that whatever might be thought of the financial proposals of the Government he thought everyone would agree that some commiseration was due to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman had had to bring in a panic Budget without the assistance of a panic; at a time when the spring-tide of enthusiasm which carried us so gaily over the addition of 20,000 men to the Army and £2,000,000 to the Estimates had receded and left us stranded amid the shoals and quicksands of a re-action. But that was not all. The right hon. Gentleman had brought in three Budgets. He had tried

> "Everything by turns, and nothing long."

He had burnt his fingers with lucifer matches. He had invented a percentage which no human being had been able to reduce to any known coin of the realm, and last, but not least, he had braved the wrath of the paterfamiliases of this country by telling them that a man who bequeathed his property to his wife and children was entitled to no more consideration from the State than a man who left it to a stranger whom he had never seen, or to endow a hospital for the reception of sick dogs, or to a society for supplying flannel petticoats to the widows of Evangelical negroes, or to any other equally useful and philanthrophic purposes. And having done all this—having disported himself for three or four days amid the aerial regions of finance he had had to come down to the common ground and to fall back upon the income tax—that financial donkey which was always at hand, ready to bear any extra burden which could not be disposed of in any other way. He could assure the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), that he liked that income tax as little as he did. Speaking not only for himself but for other professional men like himself, he could truly say that no tax hit them harder. This addition of 2*d.* to the impost was therefore a very bitter pill to swallow, and it stuck in his throat as much as in that of the hon. Gentleman opposite. But he asked what was to be done? His hon. Friend the Member for Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) said—"Take back your Estimates—take back your Army Bill — as you have taken back your Budget. Let us make a *tabula rasa* of the whole concern, and begin afresh from the beginning." Well, now, considering that they were at the 1st of May — just half through the Session—and that they had not got into Committee on a single Government Bill except the University Tests Bill (and that was not yet out of the wood), it was not a very encouraging prospect to be told that they were to flounder through another Army Bill and another set of Estimates. No doubt it was never too late to mend, and if they had to retreat it was better to do so at once. But was there any real chance that the House—whatever individual Members, like himself, thought—would reverse its decision? From the speech of the noble Lord who spoke last, one would think that we had passed the Army Bill and the Estimates without a discussion. Why, they had discussed nothing else. Talk of the long windedness of lawyers, why, the noble Lord the Member for Haddingtonshire (Lord Elcho) spoke for two hours and a-half on the purchase system alone; and he had no doubt he would do the same again. Perhaps he said a word too much, but to a non-military mind like his (Mr. Osborne Morgan's) it was somewhat of an infliction. And when Mr. Speaker put the Question that the Army Bill do pass, how many voices challenged his decision? Not one. How many Members voted, as he did, for his hon. Friend the Member for Huddersfield's (Mr. Leatham's) Motion against the increase of the Army Estimates? He did not recollect the exact number, but it was under 100. Now, he was not a thick and thin supporter of the Government — he had voted against them almost as often as he had voted for them, but he did say that the line taken by a large party in this House was not creditable to this House. It was not generous—it was not just towards Her Majesty's Government to throw upon them the entire blame of an expenditure to which the great majority of this House was, by its vote on that occasion, party and privy. Talk of expenditure, indeed! Why the *gravamen* of the charge brought against Her Majesty's Government until quite lately was that they did not spend money fast enough. He never took up a Conservative paper, or read the speech of a Conservative Member to his constituents last autumn, without seeing an attack upon that "cheese-paring Government" which, by its miserable parsimony and its contemptible economy, had reduced England to the rank of a fourth-rate Power, and effaced her from the roll of nations. [*Opposition cheers.*] The effrontery of that cheer amazed him. Did they think that men, and ships, and guns were to be had without paying for them? The cheers he heard just now reminded him of a picture which used to amuse him when he was a boy in a work very popular then —*Mr. Pip's Diary of the Manners and Customs of the English.* It represented a scene with which they were all familiar —A white-bait dinner at Greenwich. On the one side was the dinner. There were the guests bawling for more champagne—shouting, singing, and speechifying. Then came the reverse of the picture. The waiter brought in his "little bill," as his right hon. Friend had just brought in his Bill. The change which came over the company was remarkable. Their faces were lengthened by several inches. Instead of "more claret, more champagne," it was, "I did not order that extra bottle." "I did not want that dish," and in the back ground was a little gentleman of whom his hon. Friend the Member for Westminster forcibly reminded him, who was trying to sneak out by a back door without paying his share of the entertainment. Well, now, that was just how they stood. There was the Bill—it must be paid. There was the gulph—it must be filled. How were you to fill it? You dared not tax the necessaries of life. No Government dared put a new tax upon the articles on which the poor man lived —tea, sugar, and the like. It was idle even to discuss it. It was all very well for the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett), to talk about taxing the wage-earning classes by putting duties on the articles which they consumed. But he wondered whether his hon. Friend dared go down to his constituents and tell them that he was in favour of putting a 6*d.* duty on tea, and a 3*d.* duty on sugar, and he wondered what sort of a reception he would meet with if he did. If he did, he did not believe that all his advocacy of woman's rights would save him from being torn to pieces by the fair hands of the ladies of Brighton. The increase of the legacy and succession duties being also out of the question, what source of revenue remained? An hon. Member (Mr. Osborne) suggested a tax on photographs, and recommended the Chancellor of the Exchequer to utilize his motto *Ex luce lucellum* in that way. Having been himself several times the victim of photography, he (Mr. Osborne Morgan) could only say that he should not object to the prohibitive tax on that diabolical art. But he suspected after his experience in what he might call the fancy department of finance the Chancellor of the Exchequer would hardly care to repeat the experiment. Besides, he (Mr. Osborne Morgan) did not doubt but that, if he did, some one would discover that the making of photographic chemicals constituted the staple industry of the East-end of London, and we should have another procession, another row in Palace Yard, and another set of questions asked of the Home Secretary; and in the meantime the photographers of England who have so much in their power would exercise their ingenuity, and wreak their vengeance on the classical features of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The question then resolved itself into one of two alternatives. Either you must get this deficiency out of the income tax or in the mode proposed by the hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. W. M. Torrens), by stopping the conversion of permanent into terminable stock. Now, into the general question whether the establishment of a sinking fund was a wise and sound measure, he was not going to enter; but he quite admitted that it was competent for Parliament, which created this scheme, to suspend its progress if a fitting occasion arose. There was something very seductive in the idea of meeting your requirements, not out of your own pockets, but out of the pockets of posterity. In the year 1885, when these annuities would fall in, many of us sitting here would have escaped even from the clutches of the tax collector — let us hope to a pleasanter place even than the House of Commons—and it would matter very little then to us whether these annuities expire on the 1st of April or the 1st of October of that year. But in the very pleasantness of the plan consisted its danger. Once begin to cut at that loaf and depend upon it they would come and cut again. And he wanted to know what was there exceptional in the expenditure of this year which would justify them in having recourse to this last resort? We wanted £600,000 for carrying out the abolition of purchase. But next year we should want £1,200,000 for the same purpose; so that there would be a stronger reason for repeating the process then—to say nothing of the yawning deficit of £5,000,000 annually, which the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Disraeli) promises us. We are not at war; we have not had a commercial crisis. On the contrary, trade, he believed, was never so sound or wages so high. Then if they suspended the payment off of Terminable Annuities this year, when were they to abstain from doing so? [The hon. and learned Member then read an extract from *The Economist* against the suspension of this payment. The annuities, it said, were created in order to pay off our National Debt steadily and systematically, and if on any slight necessity we chose to stop redeeming the Debt, we had better abandon the pretext altogether.] There was another argument against this proposal. If they once began to adopt it they would have a panic and a deficit every year of their lives. The hon. Member for Waterford said the other evening that it was right that the wealthy classes should understand that if they were to have the luxury of periodical panics, they should be compelled to pay for them. But he (Mr. Osborne Morgan) thought that was hardly a correct view of the question. It was not the wealthy classes who bore the brunt of the income tax. It was the struggling professional man, clerks with families, small merchants and tradesmen, men who had to keep up appearances, men who were trying to cover over the skeleton of poverty with the veil of respectability; those were the persons on whom the income tax fell so hard. But were those the persons who got up panics? Why everyone who had studied the history of panics, knew that panic-mongering in this country was as much a trade—a business—as petition-mongering or demonstration-mongering, or any other kind of mongering — as much a trade or business as patriotism itself. But though the income tax paying classes did not create panics, they were almost as much responsible for them as if they did. For they were the class which held in their hands the direction and control of the public opinion of the country. Let him remind them of the fact stated the other night by the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett), that Lord Russell put a stop to a panic in a few days by threatening to raise the income tax from 7*d.* to 1*s.* Now, he (Mr. Osborne Morgan) said that if the middle classes of England chose to surrender the power of which he spoke of, they allowed themselves to be blown about by every breath of vain doctrine, whether it came from above or whether it came from below—they were as little to be pitied when they came to feel the consequences, as the peace-loving and industrial masses of French people who were now reaping the bitter consequences of having allowed themselves to be hounded into a war by a small knot of noisy and interested agitators. And he would say this for the income tax, much as he disliked it, it had one redeeming and invaluable feature,

> "Like the toad, ugly and venomous,
> It wears a precious jewel in its head;"

for it did bring home—if anything ever would bring home—to the minds of the most thoughtful and intelligent classes in this country—those classes upon whose demeanour depended the future greatness and happiness of England—the folly, as well as the wickedness, of a reckless and fruitless expenditure.

Mr. STANSFELD said, he would admit that nothing could be more judicious than the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith); nothing could be more astute than the Motion he had placed on the Table. It stood at the head of certain other Amendments to which the names of hon. Members who sat on that side of the House were attached, inviting their adhesion and support. In one sense the Motion was highly practical; it directly attacked the financial policy and Budget of the Government, and no one could doubt the result that would follow the acceptance by the House of the Motion of his hon. Friend. But although in one point of view the Motion was highly practical. in another point of view it was catholic and vague in its nature; it asserted no positive view, either with regard to expenditure or finance; it opened wide its arms, as if it were the expression of the creed of a negative Church, to all who dissented from the established creed. Then the hon. Member spoke mainly of the injustice of a considerable addition to the income tax, but he addressed himself also in a few suggestive words to the subject of expenditure, and turning to his hon. Friend the senior Member for Brighton (Mr. White), he asked if the Army Votes were transitory or permanent; and he argued if these Votes were transitory and in future to be reduced, then being extravagant, he claimed his support. He (Mr. Stansfeld) however, did not think the hon. Member for Brighton was to be seduced by an argument of that kind, because if anything could satisfy him—as he trusted he would be satisfied—it would be the assurance he had already received, and which would be repeated to-night, that these Estimates were transitory in their character, and that they might reasonably look forward to their reduction. The hon. Member for Westminster, moreover, had excusably fallen into an error, which he must take the liberty of correcting. He stated that his first objection to the imposition of an extra 2*d.* in the pound of income tax was that it would give the Chancellor of the Exchequer a surplus of something like

£300,000; but that was a misapprehension and a miscalculation. The deficiency was £2,713,000; the extra 2*d.* of income tax would give not £3,000,000, but £2,720,000 within the year. The source of the error into which the hon. Member had very naturally fallen was this —the arrears at the conclusion of last year were arrears at 4*d.* in the pound, amounting to £800,000; and the arrears at the end of this year would be arrears at the rate of 6*d.*, which would be £1,200,000. The question before the House was twofold, being a question on the one side of expenditure, and on the other side of Ways and Means; and as he took a very great interest in the question of expenditure, he hoped the House would allow him to say something upon the subject, perhaps even more than was called for by the remarks of those who had preceded him. In the course of his Financial Statement the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the expenditure upon the Civil Service Estimates had increased by no less a sum than £1,609,000; and his right hon. Friend, with a generosity which was best appreciated by those who knew him, spoke kindly of his labours upon the Civil Service Estimates and Expenditure. He could not, however, fail to remark that the impression which seemed to remain was that those efforts had succeeded in a very small and insufficient degree in checking an expenditure which was subject to illegitimate and abnormal growth. He wished to say, and he thought the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. White) would agree with him, that it was not to the Civil Expenditure of this country, it was not to the Civil Service Estimates that we must look for great economic operations in the future. He was prepared to prove that the whole increase in expenditure since 1868-9 was not in the slightest degree a matter to be apologized for or regretted. Part of it was merely the result of transferences from the Consolidated Fund, and from fee funds and similar sources; and part of it was the growth of expenditure which we did not desire to keep down, because, if it were rightly applied, it was profitable expenture. That, however large, was not waste, and therefore the saving of it was not true economy to the State. The total gross increase of expenditure between 1868-9 and 1871-2 was no less than £1,795,000; and of that the principal items were the following:—Surveys, transferred from the Army Estimates, £128,000; salaries and superannuations of the Courts of Chancery and of Bankruptcy, £371,000, transferred from fee funds, and diplomatic salaries transferred from the Consolidated Fund, £159,000: altogether a sum of nearly £700,000 was thus simply transferred as a charge from one service to another. Then there were increased charges for police and reformatories, while the item of £134,000 for the Census came this year only. And to conclude, there was a large and profitable increase of £715,000 for the education of the country; but he could, if required, carry this view of the matter much further. There had already been laid on the Table, and would shortly be distributed, a Return, drawn up by an extremely able accountant—Mr. Mills, of the Treasury—which would show that from 1853-4—a year so often taken as indicating the economy which preceded the Crimean War — down to 1868-9, the increase of expenditure for civil government, whether charged to the Consolidated Fund or to the Civil Service Estimates, was less than £3,000,000. These figures showed the hon. Member for Brighton, and those who thought with him, that it was not to the Civil Service expenditure they must look for future economy, but that they must look to the expenditure upon the military and naval forces. No objection had been offered to the Navy Estimates of this year. The grants for 1868-9 were £11,157,000; the amount of the Navy Estimates for this year was £9,756,000, which showed a reduction of no less than £1,401,000. He did not affirm that the smaller amount was one which it was necessary should always be maintained. This would depend partly upon the condition in which our naval forces were maintained from year to year, and partly upon the condition of Europe; but, as far as this year was concerned, he thought the House would agree with him that, under present circumstances, no fault could be found with the Navy Estimates that were before the House. Without doubt, the Army Estimates were the head and front of our offending; the increase, compared with the grants of last year, was no less than £3,487,000. He did not desire to extenuate that large increase; he certainly was not prepossessed in favour of any unnecessary increase of expenditure of that kind; but he might make one or two remarks upon the items which constituted that increase by way of justifying it, at any rate, under the conditions of the time at which these Estimates were framed. Of the increase of £3,487,000, £1,047,700 was to be attributed to that increase in the number of men and of horses which was made at the end of last Session, when Europe was involved in the throes of convulsion produced by a tremendous war. Whatever reduction might be possible and prudent in future, and he would reserve to the Government perfect freedom of judgment as to the number of men that should constitute the Army of future years, no one would say that we ought now to reduce the number of men and of horses added at the close of last Session. The next item was £554,900 for the Reserve forces, and to that addition no one would object who considered that the reform of the Army would increase its efficiency, augment the defensive power of this country, and eventually result in economy of expenditure. Then came the increase upon stores, principally guns and small arms, £995,400; and for works, including torpedoes, £288,000. The hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell) had spoken of these items as if they had not been transitional, and no doubt he should exaggerate his own aspect of the question if he were to say that all these amounts constituted transitional expenditure; but it was impossible to deny that in this year the Government, for reasons which were perfectly well understood, were asking for a very much larger sum for great guns, small arms, torpedoes, and works than was likely to be required in any future year, and therefore he was justified in saying that a large proportion of this expenditure was transitional and would not recur. Then there was £600,000 for the abolition of purchase in the Army, which was the bribe offered to the other side of the House by his hon. Friend the Member for Brighton (Mr. White) and his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt). This sum of £600,000 represented less than a saving of a halfpenny in the pound of income tax, and what was the price at which that last halfpenny was to be saved to the payers of income tax? It was the suspension, if not the abandonment, of the proposal to abolish the system of purchase in the Army—a scheme which hon. Members on that side of the House were almost unanimously in favour of, which they believed to be at the bottom of all radical Army reform, and without which, in their opinion, neither efficiency nor economy in Army administration was possible in the future. He trusted and believed, therefore, that his hon. Friends who were economists would not be seduced to vote with his hon. Friend the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith). He now came to the supposed hardship of the increase of the income tax on the poorer middle classes, who might be said to feel the incidence of that taxation more than the working population. While the hon. Member for Westminster did not draw attention to the proportion of direct and indirect taxation, his hon. Friend the Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell), who seconded the Resolution, had had the courage to refer to the Budget proposals of past years, and to suggest that it might be well if we were to "go back" on our free trade policy, re-impose the duty on corn, and increase the duty on sugar. He agreed with the politico-economical views expressed by his hon. and learned Friend the junior Member for Brighton (Mr. Fawcett), who was perfectly justified in saying it would be most mischievous to accept the notion that an increase of expenditure must necessarily be met by an increase of the income tax. The hon. Gentleman spoke of the danger of voting in democratic times and in a democratic assembly an expenditure to be borne by those who did not possess control over the representation of the country. He did not know whether in the opinion of his hon. and learned Friend these were democratic times and this was a democratic assembly; but, as far as existing financial legislation went, he maintained there was no evidence on which he was entitled to say that a disposition had been shown by Parliament unduly to burden the population by direct taxation. Practically speaking, we could not recede from our free trade policy of recent years. He was prepared to make the admission that if in future any remission of indirect taxation should be proposed, it should be carefully considered before being assented to; but when taxes had been taken off the necessaries of life, or been prevented from hampering trade and commerce, it was practically impossible, on an exceptional occasion and with reference to a transitional expenditure, to "go back" on that policy. The alternative was an increase of 2*d.* in the pound on the income tax, or an increase of 1*d.* in the pound on the income tax and a suspension of the reduction of the National Debt. This, he admitted, was a fair issue. He trusted, however, the House would never consent to the abandonment of the policy of reducing the National Debt. We had not made such bold and ambitious steps in this respect as our Transatlantic neighbours; but still we had already done much, and might do more. The House entered on that policy deliberately; it was pledged to it by it own Resolutions; and it would be a mischievous, a dangerous, and a fatal step if, for a passing necessity, it were to abandon that policy. Since 1868-9 we had redeemed upwards of £10,000,000 of the National Debt; and at this moment we were reducing it by more than £2,000,000 per annum in respect of Terminable Annuities which would come to an end in the year 1885. His right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had a still larger scheme which he indicated the other night, and which, in connection with the Chancery and Bankruptcy Fee Funds, would enable him to operate still more liberally and largely in this direction. The House had been told that it would be easy to suspend at least one-half of the payment of capital, as far as Terminable Annuities for this year are concerned; but it would not be quite so easy as some hon. Gentlemen imagined. In the first place, it would require legislation; and it would be necessary for the Government and the House to say to the country and to Europe—"Although we have determined to re-organize our military forces and defences, although the danger is a passing one, and the expenditure is not likely to be permanent, we are frightened at the last penny of the income tax it would cost us in order to carry out our schemes for this single year, and we are going to call upon Government, or Government are going to call upon us, to suspend the operation of a deliberate policy which finds its place in the Statute Book of this country for the reduction of the National Debt." How would that House, the country, and the Government look in the face of Europe if they did such a thing; and how would the country like the adoption of such a course? He might mention to the House one embarrassment which would follow on such a course. The Terminable Annuities were Ways and Means in the hands of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, and one of the immediate consequences of the adoption of such a policy would be, that they would be obliged to refuse a continuance of the assistance they were now rendering to the Irish Church Commissioners by advancing them money at a low rate of interest. But if the operation were easy, he would say to hon. Members that, because it was easy and tempting, therefore they ought not to yield to the temptation. It had also been asserted that the creation of Terminable Annuities was a contract based on a promise made to ourselves, and that we could at any moment break it. Well, it was upon that ground that he appealed to the House, and to his hon. Friend who was to speak to-night on this subject, not to be tempted into such a course, for everybody knew how easy it was to fall away from virtuous resolutions. They knew how dangerous was the first fall; and he maintained that if hon. Gentlemen who supported the proposal before the House succeeded in inducing Her Majesty's Government to yield to their proposals, no future Government would be able to hold its own upon a great and deliberate policy like that which had been adopted by the present Government, and accepted by Parliament and the country, and which was pregnant with benefit to the people in the future. There was, he considered, no necessity for taking refuge in such a worn-out expedient as that which had been laid before the House. The national expenditure was large, but the burdens of the country were not overwhelming. The real increase in the expentiture of the country in 1870-1, as compared with 1853-4, making allowance in respect of transfers, miscellaneous revenue, and so forth, was £5,500,000. In arriving at this conclusion, he omitted the cost attaching to the General Post Office from his calculation, because that Department was a source not of burden, but of profit; and though the cost of its maintenance had increased of late years, the profit arising from it had increased also. He also left out of his calculation what was called miscellaneous revenue, and amounted to upwards of £3,000,000, because it arose entirely from fees and other similar contributions, and was not derived from the taxation of the country. This being so, he asked the House to compare the increase in expenditure with the increased Revenue and resources of the country, and to remember that in 1853-4 the income tax was not 6*d.*, as was now proposed, but 7*d.* in the pound, and that the charge for Debt was £28,054,000, against £26,910,000 in the current year, which last sum included the charges on account of Terminable Annuities. He therefore maintained that the resources of the country were not so low that the House was driven to the alternative of suspending the payments in reduction of the National Debt; and while concurring in the view, that in future the expenditure ought to be reduced, he thought that the proper course to be taken was to grant the Ways and Means necessary to meet the Estimates which the House had itself sanctioned.

MR. HUNT: The truth of the saying, "Great is the irony of events," has never been better exemplified than in the incident that has just come under our notice. Who could have expected to see the right hon. Gentleman, who made his first remarkable speech from below the gangway on a Motion to reduce the national expenditure, put up by the Government to defend their conduct in raising the income tax by 2*d.*, and that, too, in a time of peace? It is not my intention to attack the expenditure, though the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think he was called upon to defend it; but I think it must be a perfectly new discovery to the right hon. Gentleman to find that the Civil Service expenditure cannot be reduced, but must increase. Before the phrase "automatic services" was invented, and when I had the charge of the expenditure, we were told the new expenditure should be met by new economies; but now the phrase seems entirely to have departed from the minds of right hon. Gentlemen opposite, and we are now told of "automatic services," and of expenditure which, in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's words, "takes care of itself." I must ask the House to consider under what circumstances Her Majesty's Government ask to impose an additional 2*d.* on the income tax, which it is contended by the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Westminster ought not to take place. We are at peace with all the world, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer told us in his first Financial Statement that this year the Revenue was in a prosperous condition, maintaining all its elasticity, and yet the Government are asking this additional 2*d.* The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think we might single him out for blame; and he remarked that as he had got credit last year to which he was not entitled, there would be some compensation by his receiving blame this year to which also he was not entitled. I am not prepared to single him out either for praise or blame. I assure him that though it was his good fortune to reduce taxation, I never thought he deserved any great encomiums on that ground; neither do I single him out for blame, because I think the whole Government are responsible. [MR. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government cheers that sentiment. Well, as I said before, while holding the Government, as a whole, responsible, I specially and particularly hold him responsible, and that proposition will be shown by taking a broad view of the question. The financial difficulties in which we now find ourselves are the legitimate consequence of—I will not say the heedless rhetoric of the South Lancashire hustings, for I believe it was well considered—but I will say the ill-judged rhetoric of the Lancashire hustings. For the purposes of my argument we must decline to look at the proposals of the Government merely for this year; but we must look at the policy of the Government as statesmen, and at their conduct as running through their present Ministerial career. We must see whether they have taken a broad view of the circumstances, after careful examination, in having been led to recommend to the House those changes which they have proposed during the nearly three years they have held the reins of power. I say most deliberately our financial difficulties, notwithstanding our flourishing Revenue, and the financial difficulties of the Government in having withdrawn one Budget and now introduced a second one, which is being opposed, entirely arise from the ill-judged rhetoric of the right hon. Gentleman when canvassing South Lancashire. He told the constituency that the Government then in office were extravagant; that the expenditure was excessive; that they wished to "make things pleasant all round" by dispensing public money; that he wished a radical change; and that if the Government was turned out, and the Government over which he might preside came in, there would be a considerable reduction of expenditure and a consequent reduction of taxation. Well, the right hon. Gentleman laid so much stress on this, that when the change of Government took place, and he came to the charge of the councils of the nation, he felt bound, in order to maintain his consistency, to reduce the expenditure. Well, what happened? He singled out the great spending Departments of the State, into which he put men he could trust not to make those Departments more efficient, but to make them less costly. In fact, their very tenure of office was their success in reducing the expenditure. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the first speech which he made in that capacity, told us of the heroic efforts in the direction of retrenchment, made by the Secretary for War and the late First Lord of the Admiralty, whose absence we all regret. What were they? The Secretary for War struck off 20,000 men from the rolls of the Army, and the policy of the ex-First Lord of the Admiralty took the same direction. I want to know if that was a statesmanlike course? Can the right hon. Gentleman opposite get up and defend the course that has been pursued, considering that within two years they have been obliged to reverse that policy—the Secretary for War restoring the number of men he had cut off in 1869? These heroic efforts are now directed to the increase of the expenditure of 1871. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, seeming to expect that this argument would be used against him, said the other day, that when Army and Navy retrenchment was determined upon, he could not know what was going to happen. We did not know whether the French or the Prussians were to be victorious in the war then in preparation; but, I ask, had not the Government reason to know that great military preparations were being made on the Continent? To what purpose do we spend large sums every year in maintaining functionaries in foreign capitals with military *attachés* but to afford information? Will any Member of the Government get up and say that they did not know what was coming? Why, we have had in the papers interesting communications published which Count Stoffel had with the Emperor of the French, in which certain German preparations for war were very fully described. I want to know had the Government no such communications? If they were not informed, all I can say is that they were very badly served; while if they were, they were most culpable in making the reductions of last year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has been following the advice of that favourite author he used to quote five years ago, who says that to dig a hole and fill it up again is the means by which you may judge of the productivity of land; but then the advice is to fill up the hole with the same soil that has been taken out. The right hon. Gentleman has made a difference, however. He dug a hole by taking off indirect taxation, and he is now trying to fill it up by putting on direct taxation. This is the blot in the right hon. Gentleman's present scheme. The particular proposals of the Government it would be needless to argue, for they stand condemned out of their own lips. I will not refer to the eloquent speeches on Reform by which the right hon. Gentleman distinguished himself in 1866, and what he represented as the influence of the extension of the franchise upon the expenditure; or to his illustration, *de profundis*, about the pressure by which minute animals existed at the bottom of the sea; I shall go no further back than Monday, when he told us his great object had been to refrain from increasing the burden of the income tax, because it was grinding too much on the lower and middle classes. He is now shifting his ground, however, and proposes to make up the whole deficit by increasing the income tax, so that he has departed from the scheme he had in view when he made his first statement. The right hon. Gentleman, in answering my right hon. Friend the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli), alluded to the way in which the expenditure of the Abyssinian War was met, and thought it an *argumentum ad hominem;* but I deny that the circumstances are the same. I remember being taken to task in 1868, when I made the proposal on the subject. The war was of very short duration, and on that ground alone we contented ourselves with depending on the income tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on Thursday week, took credit for, and boasted of, the amount of the taxation he had taken off since he had been in office—the reduction being £8,600,000. According to the way in which he endeavoured to explain it, only £3,000,000 of that was direct taxation—namely, the 2*d*. put on for the Abyssinian War; but admitting he is justified in saying so, even in his own view he is not entitled, after digging the hole by taking off indirect taxation, to fill up the void by purely direct taxation. But he was not justified in saying he had reduced direct taxation to the extent that he took credit for, because it was put on especially to meet the expenses of the Abyssinian War, and as soon as the war was over, the 2*d*. went with it. The fair way to put it is, that he has actually reduced the indirect taxation £5,600,000. When we attack the mode in which he now proposes to raise the deficit, we are constantly told that as we have voted the expenditure already we must find the money; and I have no wish that we should depart from the usual custom with regard to voting the expenditure. Whatever we have voted in the way of Supply the House is bound to provide Ways and Means for; but the expenditure for the abolition of purchase in the Army stands on a different footing. The House had read the Bill a second time before we had the Financial Statement of the right hon. Gentleman; and before the House was aware of the difficulty there would be in meeting the extra expenditure it involved. As far as regards the amount that will be required for the Bill, I do not consider the House is finally committed, and the £600,000 could be lopped off. Now, the right hon. Gentleman will say—Why do you not provide us a substitute for the proposal you condemn? I answer, that it is not my duty. It is the duty of the House to criticize the proposals made by the Government, and if it be not acceptable, it is then the duty of the right hon. Gentleman to produce another. I feel certain the fertility of invention to which we owe the match tax, the increase in the succession duties, and the new mode of levying the income tax, is fully equal to provide us with the £600,000 required by other means. We have been repeatedly told by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, that these are transitional Estimates and expenditure; but my view is that the reduced Estimates during 1869-70 were the transitional Estimates, for whatever can be saved in another year will be more than lost by what we have already been advised of by the Government considering the reduction in the Revenue. My right hon. Friend the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) pointed out that there would be £870,000 less of miscellaneous receipts; that £600,000 would be required for the abolition of purchase; and that £1,200,000 would be handed over to the local authorities by the sacrifice of the house duty. Now, neither the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, nor the Secretary for War can attempt to show that the transitional expenditure will be less than the sums I have just named. Whether it is so or not, I do enter my most solemn protest against the facile injustice of meeting this deficit from one particular source, and that, the one which has been selected by the Government.

Mr. RICHARD said, he must confess he was one of those who felt considerable sympathy for the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the peculiar position in which he was placed. He believed that right hon. Gentleman came into office with an honest desire to be an economical Minister of Finance; and to act the part of the "benignant" fairy to which he referred in his Budget speech, by the remission of taxation to the comfort and contentment of the families of this land. As seen by the picture which the right hon. Gentleman desired to offer on that occasion, his present position was, therefore, all the more unfortunate, for not only was the whole of the surplus which he had hoped to possess, and to offer in that beneficent direction absorbed in the bottomless abyss of military expenditure, but he was required to impose additional taxation upon the people of this country to supply the deficit occasioned by the enormous cost of our armaments. Now, he objected to every proposition of the right hon. Gentleman for adding to the taxation of the country. He had objected to the tax on matches, which was a singularly unpopular conception; he objected to the increase on succession; he objected to increasing the income tax; and he objected, above all, and most emphatically, to having an addition to the taxation at all, as circumstances did not, in his judgment, require such an addition. As a friend of the present Government—an ardent and sincere friend—he looked with dismay at the proposal which they had made to add £4,000,000 in one year to the naval and military expenditure. Three years ago, many of them had gone to the country to plead the cause of the right hon. and hon. Gentlemen sitting now on the Treasury Bench, on this ground among others—at least, it was the ground he took—that if they were installed in office, the country might depend upon two things — first, that their foreign policy would be a policy of peace, and, secondly, that their financial policy would be a policy of retrenchment and economy. The former part of the promise which many hon. Members had made to their constituents, on behalf of Government, had been redeemed honourably; and he was glad of this opportunity of thanking them, from the bottom of his heart, for the admirable manner in which, on the whole, they had conducted our foreign relations during the difficult and very perilous crisis of the war which had just been raging in Europe. He thanked them for having courageously and consistently adhered to the principle of non-intervention, or intervention only by means of friendly offices, during that terrible and calamitous war. He thanked them also for their conduct in the Russian quarrel; but the peculiarity of their conduct — and what he objected to—was this—Government gave us a peace policy and a war expenditure, to use the language of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in introducing his Budget. He wanted to know why we were to have a war expenditure in time of peace? No Government ever came into power more deeply pledged to a policy of economy than the present Government; and no one had a right to call into question the sincerity with which the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had advocated that policy; for, not only when he was out of office, and in those celebrated speeches in Lancashire, which had been so often referred to, had he done so, but when he was in office under Lord Palmerston, he used to groan in spirit at the enormous Budgets which he presented to the House, and did everything to stimulate the slumbering conscience of the House and bring it into rebellion against the extravagance of his own Government. In a speech in Lancashire, in 1868, the right hon. Gentleman said that "the House of Commons was becoming the stimulator and promoter of public expenditure;" and the right hon. Gentleman most earnestly hoped that, in the New Parliament, we should witness a new state of things. All these circumstances rendered it the more inexplicable that the right hon. Gentleman should now countenance such an addition, which he maintained was enormous and uncalled-for during a time of peace, as £4,000,000 to the naval and military expenditure of the country. He (Mr. Richard) wanted to know why this was to be? It was not, he hoped and believed, that the Government intended to assume that aggressive and meddlesome policy which had cost this country formerly so much, not only in money, but also in reputation and credit. He rejoiced to know that the leaders of all parties in this country had recognized that non-intervention was the sound principle on which the foreign policy of this country was for the future to be conducted; and he would venture to address a word to some hon. Friends sitting below the gangway, by telling them that, if they intended to be sincere friends of economy, they must give up all hankering after what was called a public-spirited policy; for, if we were to act the part of a little providence over the nations of the world; if we were to espouse everybody's quarrel and champion everybody's cause, and guarantee everybody's territory, and single-handed to hold all the Powers of Europe bound, under the perils of war, to observe all the obligations of all the foolish treaties to which we had made ourselves parties, then £26,000,000 of naval and military expenditure, so far from being too much, would not be enough. And if we were not to adopt that policy, why were we to have all this expenditure? The Secretary of State for War had stated emphatically that we were in no kind of danger, and last year, in introducing his Estimates, said there never had been in time of peace a force in this country equal to the force of last year. He (Mr. Richard) had listened with attention to the speech which the Prime Minister had delivered on the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), as to the increase of the expenditure. No man living was abler to give a plausible reason for the course he had to pursue than the right hon. Gentleman; but not only had there been no plausible reason, but no reason at all offered, except that it was an expenditure of transition. Recalling to mind the financial history of the last 25 years, he had not derived any comfort from the assurances which the right hon. Gentleman then offered; for all that interval had been a period of transition, but the transition had been upwards, never downwards. The House had been told that this was a transitional expenditure; but it was a remarkable fact that when the Army and Navy Estimates were increased under any pressing emergency, the increase remained after the emergency had passed away; he had, therefore, been driven to this conclusion—that the Government had unworthily yielded to one of those panics with which this country had so often been invaded, and, as he must say, dishonoured. In the present instance, however, he believed that the country had not participated in that panic to any extent, and adverting to the assumption pervading most of the speeches which had been delivered on the question that the country itself had shown a want of confidence in the provision made for its defence, he challenged that assumption, as no public meetings had been held, no resolutions passed, not a single Petition had been presented to the House during the war, indicating the slightest uneasiness or any desire for an increase of our naval and military Empire. Had the Government looked back to the history of former panics they might have found reason to re-assure themselves, for in every instance which had occurred during the last 20 years the event had utterly belied the panic-mongers. In 1847-8 a violent panic was produced by a pamphlet written by one of the Orleans Princes upon the French Navy; a cry was raised that Louis Philippe was going to invade England, and he did land upon the coast of Sussex, but it was from a little cockboat, in which, under the name of John Smith, he had escaped from revolution at home to find a refuge in this country. Another panic took place in 1852, when a general officer wrote to Mr. Cobden, offering to pay ten guineas every year to any charitable institution that might be named until the French landed here, on the condition that Mr. Cobden would pay £20,000 when that event took place. The offer was accepted, the money was paid to the Manchester Infirmary, and for aught he knew was being paid to the present day. In bringing forward his Estimates the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, in noticing his measure for the re-organization of the Army, gave as a reason for the increase—and it was the only reason to be found in his speech—that, though we were in no danger at the time, yet, by the re-organization of the military force, we might be saved from the apprehension of danger, and of those panics which were occasionally arising. If the right hon. Gentleman thought he could provide against the recurrence of these periodical panics, and silence persons who were always clamouring for large establishments, he (Mr. Richard) must say he must be of a singularly sanguine temperament. Within the last 15 years we had paid £434,000,000 for our naval and military defences—that was to say, every 30 years we expended more upon our defences than the whole of the National Debt, and yet when any emergency arose, the very people in whose lap we had poured this treasure came to that House and said—"We are absolutely defenceless." If this was true, we had a right to ask these people what had been done with our money. But, casting that aside, and coming to the question—What were we now to do? he would answer it by asking another—Who had been the accomplices of Government in this panic folly; and had those accomplices a right to turn round now and become the avengers? The accomplices of the Government, in the main, had been hon. Gentlemen opposite. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech on the Motion of the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. White), let the cat out of the bag. He made an appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite—a sort of *argumentum ad misericordiam*, and said—"It is you who have brought us into this mess; and are you going to vote against us now, you who have been always urging us to do something?" The Government had given way to Gentlemen opposite in this matter, as they were always giving way to them, and as they gave way upon the Education Bill, which, from a measure of national education, was transformed into a series of inventions for enlarging and perpetuating a system of sectarian education, which would be found to return with bitter interest on the heads of those who made the proposal. With regard to this proposition for the increase of our armaments, it was hon. Gentlemen opposite who had been hounding the Government on. And were they now to assist the Mephistopheles of the Opposition to destroy the weak-minded Ministerial Faust, who were always selling themselves to—[*Laughter*]—well, he would not say to whom? He thought not; for it could not be forgotten that the right hon. Gentlemen who constituted the present Government had rendered great and illustrious services to the cause of progress in this country, and he was not insensible to that kind of gratitude which consisted in a lively sense of future favours, and he hoped to get something more from them. He wanted the Ballot, before hon. Gentlemen opposite had a chance of appealing to the country; and he wanted the Licensing Bill to be carried, which, notwithstanding the clamour raised against it by the publicans and sinners, he believed to be a good Bill. But, in saying what he had said, he must add, that there were other accomplices besides hon. Gentlemen opposite. Were those on the Government side of the House quite guiltless? He believed not. He believed the increase of the expenditure was laid at the close of the last Session of Parliament, when Government came down in a great fright, when there was only a small fragment of the House left, and asked a Vote suddenly for two millions of money and 20,000 men. There were only seven hon. Members in the House who had the courage to resist that Vote; and they were sneered at by the War Press as the seven wise men, and he thought they richly deserved that title; he had been one of them himself, and he thought they deserved also to be called the seven brave men. Now, of what avail would these 20,000 men have been in the gigantic conflict? He believed, if Europe was to be saved from ruin, it would not be by treading the path they were invited to tread by the propositions of the Government as to the re-organization of the Army, for it was not by arming, but by disarming, that there was any hope of salvation for Europe. At this moment the great bulk of national expenditure, and almost all study, science, skill, rewards and emoluments seemed directed to the work of destruction. Including all the losses to industry and trade, he believed it was no exaggeration to say that the armaments of Europe cost from £300,000,000 to £400,000,000 a-year. While millions were trembling on the verge of pauperism, and while a still larger number were kept from want only by incessant toil, Governments came in year after year, and swept away enormous amounts from the product of their industry, in order to throw it into the unfathomable gulf of military expenditure. The military expenditure of Europe had doubled itself during the last 20 years, and in the present rivalry of armaments, he saw no reason why it should not double itself again in the next 20 years. Was it not possible, then, to bring human reason to bear upon this system of mutual folly and mutual ruin, and so put an end to this miserable game of "beggar my neighbour?" Why should not our own Government—and no Government was in a position to do it as well—take the initiative, and make an overture to the other Governments of Europe, with a view to a general understanding for a mutual and simultaneous reduction of armaments? By taking such a course, the Government would ensure the gratitude and blessing of myriads of the population of Europe, and be the means of relieving them from a burden which was crushing them into the dust.

Mr. HERMON said, he still entertained the opinion he had formerly expressed—that if part of the money voted for military purposes had been applied to the Navy, it would have been to the advantage of the country. The Conservative side of the House had frequently been charged by hon. Members opposite with having hounded on the Government to increased expenditure, and the charge had just been repeated by the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Richard). But he (Mr. Hermon) was not prepared to accept the dictum of hon. Gentlemen opposite as to the course of the Conservative Members, for only this year he had himself made a feeble effort to obtain a reduction in the military expenditure, and in reply to the taunts of hon. Members opposite, he would ask whose policy it was that had led to this result, and had left the country unprepared for any emergency that might happen? Why the increased expenditure was owing, in a great measure, to the abandonment, on the part of the First Lord of the Treasury, of that policy of non-intervention which he proclaimed in his visit to Lancashire. At the end of last Session, without obtaining one word of assent from Parliament, the Government concluded a treaty with the Emperor of the French and the King of Prussia for securing the neutrality of Belgium. He thought it would be for the interests of this country, and of Europe generally, that there should be a revision of treaties; for he could conceive nothing more dishonourable to a country, than at a time of emergency and difficulty, to find fault with a treaty which ought to have been fully discussed and considered before it was accepted. With regard to the income tax, he hoped something would be done to remove the uncertainty which prevailed as to the obligation on employers of filling in the amount of the salaries paid to their servants. Only that day he had received a letter from a friend, who, in consequence of a recent reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had refused to comply with such a request, and had been since subjected to continual pressure. As to the Terminable Annuities, he wished to remind the House, that when the Bill which created them was introduced, it was specially mentioned that in a case of difficulty or in the event of any transition occurring in the expenses, that method of dealing with stock might be suspended. Much inconvenience at present arose in consequence of the income tax being collected in one month somewhere about the month of January, and he suggested that in future it would be advantageous to allow the tax to be paid by two instalments. If any plans of the Government ought to be well considered before they were laid before the House, they were plans connected with finance. Nothing gave more trouble than uncertainty in connection with finance. All uncertainty in reference to taxation interfered with the national credit, and brought trouble and anxiety upon every person engaged in commercial pursuits.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he should have voted for the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) if it could have been taken as an abstract Motion, or as a Motion in favour of economy; but while, on the one hand, it was not intended as an abstract proposition, on the other it could not be regarded as in favour of economy, supported as it was by hon. Members who had systematically voted for increased expenditure. No Motion of that kind could, he was sure, be proposed by any hon. Gentleman sitting on the Opposition side of the House, inasmuch as they had supported the Government in every proposal for increasing the national expenditure. He regretted that the Government had made proposals for the increase of our armaments; but, at the same time, he felt that if hon. Gentlemen opposite had been in power the country would have had much heavier burdens to bear. Still he hoped that the Estimates need not be considered as unalterable. He could not forget that they had been framed at a time when Europe was much agitated; when the general condition of affairs was totally different from the present; and it certainly appeared to him economy then would now be extravagance. He, therefore, thought that the proposals of the Government might be subjected to a re-consideration under the altered circumstances of the case. The present mode of voting the income tax was, in his opinion, inconvenient, the income tax being now voted for the space of a single year, commencing on the 6th of April; the result was that at the beginning of each year, and especially when, as in the present instance, there was any delay in passing the financial proposals of the Government, bankers and merchants had a difficulty in knowing what income tax ought to be deducted from dividends payable on particular stocks, and at the present moment the dividends on several important stocks — Russian, Swedish, Turkish, and others—were being paid, without the deduction of any income tax whatever. That must involve considerable loss to the Revenue, because it was impossible to recover the tax if it were not collected when the dividends were paid. He would suggest, then, to the Government whether it would not be possible on the present occasion to take the Vote for the income tax for a period of rather more than a year, subject to any arrangement which Parliament might make. Again, he could not understand why income tax on railway debentures should be calculated in a different manner from that on Government securities; and he thought greater uniformity should be adopted in that respect. With regard to the subject of Terminable Annuities, he had not long ago expressed an opinion unfavourable to the reduction of the National Debt by means of Terminable Annuities. He still thought that was not the best or most economical way of reducing the Debt, and he should prefer the more straightforward mode of raising a sum every year for that purpose. Instead of Terminable Annuities he should prefer the proposal of the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Candlish), to reduce the interest on the National Debt by straightforward re-payment. If the country year by year saw the Debt diminishing, and a less sum taken for interest upon it, although we might not be able to effect as much in that direction as had been achieved in the United States of America, which during the administration of their present Government had paid off $2,004,000,000, yet we might accomplish a great deal more than we now did in lessening the public Debt. But although he did not think Terminable Annuities formed the best method of reducing the Debt, still they were infinitely better than nothing; and he was surprised that anybody who had studied financial matters should object to the reduction of the Debt in a country like ours, where so much of our prosperity was due to coals, which we were rapidly consuming, and to our trade, which might not always remain what it was. They were told that they ought not to do so much for posterity; he thought, on the contrary, we ought to do what we could for posterity; but that was not a question for posterity at all, because those Terminable Annuities would fall in at the end of 14 years, when it might be hoped that many of those now in that House would be found there still. It had been asked, would it much matter whether those annuities were paid off in October, 1885, instead of in April of the same year? It was, however, a most insidious and dangerous thing to suggest that they should postpone the fulfilment of a duty because it involved a present sacrifice. The hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) asked the Government to give them Budgets for future years; but it was quite impossible for any Minister, however wise and far-seeing, to tell what the circumstances of the case might require them to do in future years. The hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell) had suggested that the Terminable Annuities should be deferred. Even, however, if this were a year of transition, it would not be worthy of a great nation like this to suspend the payment for the Terminable Annuities; but he did not think it was a year of transition, and if they were now to suspend the paying off of those Annuities, it would be still more difficult to bring the scheme into operation next year, when they would not have the present windfall of £800,000—when the contribution for the extinction of purchase in the Army would be increased, and when it was also proposed that the house tax should be given up. But they were also met by the argument that individuals could employ their money so much better; and one high authority said they could invest at 5 per cent, whereas the Government only gave 3¼ per cent. Now, apart from labour and risk, people could not get 5 per cent for their money; but even if they could invest at a slightly higher rate than that on Government securities, that would not be a conclusive argument against reducing the Debt by the plan now in operation. Taxes were, to a certain extent, paid by economy; they came, not out of capital, but out of income, and our national savings were but a fraction of the whole national income. Moreover, one great element of the strength of this country was its financial position, and the knowledge possessed by foreign States that if we got into a war our power was not to be measured by our Army and Navy, but by the money, the science, and other resources that we had at our command. To tell foreign nations, in effect, that we had been taxed as much as we could bear, and that we could not raise a sum of £3,000,000 without interfering with a policy which had been deliberately adopted by Parliament, and approved by the leaders of both parties, would be a confession of weakness which he hoped would never be made. While the proposed new taxation hardly balanced that remitted last year, in the course of the last 10 years nearly £20,000,000 of taxation had been taken off; to add to which trade was reviving, pauperism was diminishing, and on the whole the country was in a prosperous condition. Therefore, though he regretted to throw the whole of the additional taxation on one source of Revenue, yet seeing the difficulty in which the Government were placed, and remembering the services they had rendered to the country, he would cheerfully support them on that occasion.

Mr. GOLDNEY said, he thought whatever might be the result of this debate, that it would afford much benefit to the country, and that it would show the Government that the attention of the country was now drawn to its large expenditure, which could not be long continued without bringing the Government into very great difficulties. The right hon. Gentleman the head of the Poor Law Department drew a contrast between our expenditure now, and what it was 10 years ago, declaring that the increase was only £5,000,000. But he (Mr. Goldney) would go somewhat further back and take the year 1846, for the purpose of showing the contrast between that period and the present. In 1846 the Revenue of the country amounted to £57,500,000; the net expenditure was £49,500,000, and on the previous year the late Sir Robert Peel had remitted more than £4,500,000 of taxation. Out of this expenditure, no less than £28,500,000 were appropriated to the Terminable Annuities and the payment of the interest of the Debt, leaving but £21,000,000 as the real expenditure of the country, including the Army, Navy, Civil List, and Civil Service. The expenditure now was about double what it was a quarter of a century ago; and this was the answer to the statement that the increase in the expenditure for the last 10 years was only £5,000,000. Last year the total net expenditure was £64,000,000; and after deducting £27,000,000 for Terminable Annuities, £37,000,000 was left as the expenditure, being £16,000,000 above what it was a quarter of a century ago. He believed that the time had arrived when it was necessary to inquire into many of the new items that had been placed upon the Consolidated Fund, for the new charges placed on that fund this year amounted to £1,500,000. For that reason, he quite agreed in the principle embodied in the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for the City of Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) as he thought that if there was this deficiency as estimated, the House ought to have some opportunity of reviewing the expenditure they had voted in ignorance. In reference to the proposal of the Government for 2*d.* additional income tax, he was disposed at first to think it the easiest solution of the difficulty; but, at the same time, he could not understand what the benefit was of taxing the community on the one hand for the mere purpose of making a payment to the same community on the other, yet that was precisely what the Government proposed to do in their proposal of an increased income tax and the payment of the Terminable Annuities. Looking at our Revenue now, as compared with what it was 25 years ago, he was satisfied that the resources we possessed for meeting that debt were nearly doubled — were very much larger than they were 10 years ago, and larger this year than last year, for every class of property had greatly increased, and was still gradually increasing day by day, thus adding to the productive wealth of the country, and he should vote with the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), because he thought that the proposal of the Government was ill-conceived, and that a check by this means should be put to the increasing expenditure of the country.

Mr. SINCLAIR AYTOUN said, he must decline to vote with the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), because he did not think it was convenient to take the division on the question whether the income tax was or was not to be increased by 2*d.*—a Motion that involved a Vote of Want of Confidence in the Government. He had no idea of complimenting them; but he confessed he did not wish to see the Government leave office then, although he did not think that they had done much that Session. There were two divisions of work which the Government had taken in hand—

namely, pulling down and building up. The Government had shown their powers in the work of pulling down, for example, in disestablishing the Irish Church, in which work he concurred with them; but when they set about the work of re-construction, as in the measure for the regulation of the Army, they had shown themselves sadly deficient in the capacity for construction. Nevertheless, he thought it desirable that they should remain in office in order that the Session might not be utterly wasted; for there was the Bill for the abolition of purchase in the Army, which he looked upon as an important measure, and which, if passed, would save the Session from being considered as futile. There was also the question of the Ballot, which, though he was no ardent supporter of, still he thought it was one that ought now to be settled; while the Scotch Education Bill, too, was a measure of the highest importance, and one which ought to be no longer delayed. When the Government first brought in their Budget, it seemed to have been founded on the principle that the burdens to be laid on the country should be distributed with the utmost equality possible over the various classes of the community; but he considered the proposals for the match tax and for the alteration in the legacy and succession duties as very unwise proposals, and he was glad they had been dropped. If the Government started with the principle that the sum required should be distributed equally over various classes of the community, why had the House not had any explanation why this principle was altogether ignored now? He would now say a few words as to the payment of the National Debt by a system of Terminable Annuities. The present First Lord of the Treasury proposed the conversion of the book-debt of £24,000,000, held by the Bank of England on account of the savings banks, and his successor in the Government, the right hon. Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli), carried out the scheme. In his (Mr. Aytoun's) opinion, the system adopted was open to every possible objection. When the First Lord of the Treasury introduced the scheme it was based upon the anticipated exhaustion of the coal-fields; but he (Mr. Aytoun) had never met any man who was practically acquainted with the state of our coal-fields, who shared in the alarm of the right hon. Gentleman; and whether the anticipation were well founded or not, it furnished no reason for resorting to an objectionable mode of paying the Debt. The right hon. Gentleman, in 1866, stated that he was opposed to the principle of a Sinking Fund; but added that his plan was not liable to the objections urged against Mr. Pitt's Sinking Fund. The principal objection to Mr. Pitt's Sinking Fund was, that at times when they were obliged to borrow money to carry on the Government, they would be obliged to borrow an additional sum for the payment of the Debt, and necessarily to borrow it at a high rate. The right hon. Gentleman said that he had found a means of paying the Debt which would not render it necessary to go into the open market to borrow money on unfavourable terms. His plan was to convert the book-debt into Terminable Annuities, to create an annuity that would be more than sufficient to pay the yearly demands of savings banks. The interest of the £24,000,000 amounted to £720,000 a-year, and an annuity was created which amounted to £1,725,000 a-year; so that £1,000,000 would remain after paying the average annual demands of the savings banks depositors; the National Debt Commissioners then invested the surplus money in the purchase of Consols, which were held as an asset on account of the savings banks. But the operation of creating Terminable Annuities had never been carried into effect, for to convert a debt into Terminable Annuities you must cease to owe the debt that you have converted into a payment for a fixed number of years, and nothing of this kind had taken place, for they were bound, at any time the depositors in savings banks asked for their money, to pay it. The only thing they had done was to fix upon the Consolidated Fund a certain annuity that was larger than was required for the particular purpose of paying the ordinary annual demands of the savings banks depositors, and to apply the surplus in the purchase of Consols. Passing from that point, he should like to know what could be said by the Government on the proposal for suspending the Terminable Annuities to meet the present exigency. Then they had been told that they should treat the present

Budget as an ordinary, and not as an exceptional Budget; but providing money for extinguishing purchase in the Army was as exceptionable as it was possible to conceive. When money was required for fortifications it was raised by Terminable Annuities, and he thought no one could say that that was a more exceptional matter than the one at issue. The President of the Poor Law Board had objected to the suspending the payment of the Terminable Annuities, because the creation of those annuities was a policy which had been deliberately adopted by the Government and by Parliament. Now, that was an extraordinary objection for so advanced a Liberal. He also said that it was not an easy matter to suspend the payment, because the National Debt Commissioners could not then lend money as they were now doing for the purposes of the Irish Church; to him it was an extraordinary thing that a question of finance should be made to depend upon the necessities of the Irish Church. He told them also not to do it, because it was such an easy operation to begin to suspend the payment of the Debt. The two reasons given were surely very opposite ones—because it was so very difficult and so very easy. He thought the Government ought to pause before they absolutely refused to consider the proposal to suspend the payment of the Terminable Annuities, because it was, in his opinion, reasonable to do this to such an extent as would render only an additional 1*d.* upon the income tax necessary. He hoped that some Member of the Government would fully explain the reasons which had induced them to determine upon bringing forward a Budget which was entirely at variance with the principles of their first Budget, that principle being the equal distribution of the additional charge over various classes of the community.

Mr. G. B. GREGORY said, he had not heard any hon. Gentleman on the other side deny that the income tax was in itself burdensome to a large class of the population, a proposition which he thought so self-evident that it would not require affirmation at his hands. Speaking for himself, he frankly admitted that he did not very much care about a moderate increase of the tax: for this reason—that by him and others situated as he was, its incidence was not very much felt; but that was not the case with the mass of persons who lived on small incomes, small tradesmen and others, who had to make their calculations very closely, and he thought they deserved the consideration of the House. The House had been told that this Budget was transitional, and that the expenditure would be for purposes of a permanent character, such as guns for our fortifications, torpedoes and munitions for future wars; if that were so, then the money required might fairly be divided between revenue and capital, or between those who incurred that expense now, and those who would enjoy the benefit hereafter. Any prudent man dealing with his own affairs would so deal with the expenditure, and why should not the Government act in like manner? Then came the question whether they had capital which could be properly applied in that way, the answer to which was, that there was a certain amount to be applied to the absorption of the Terminable Annuities. That was capital, and if devoted now to the reduction of the National Debt, while an increased income tax was imposed, we should be conferring a double benefit on a future generation; a course that would not be fair to the present one, and it appeared to him that those who would suffer from the imposition of an increased income tax, and who would be the hard-working, industrious men of the present day, had a fair right to complain, and that the Government would do well to take their case into consideration.

Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH said, he had listened to most of the speeches which had been made, and he thought he should be conveying a true idea of their import, when he said that there were only three possible courses which hon. Gentlemen had been able to devise, if they did not accept the proposals of the Government. One course was to take back the Estimates and reduce them; another was to suspend the operation of the Terminable Annuities; and the third was to resort to indirect taxation. With regard to the first, even hon. Members who had opposed increased Estimates for the Army had said that they would feel humiliated if, when the House had sanctioned what it held to be necessary for the dignity and security of the country, they should now, when asked to find the means, say that the country was too poor either in resources or spirit to do so. Then as to the second, the measure for the reduction of the National Debt by means of Terminable Annuities was deliberately adopted by the House, on the ground that our posterity should be relieved of the burden of that Debt; and he thought that to suspend the operation of that measure would hardly be worthy of the House. Could it be said that the burdens of the country were so great that it was necessary to take that course? The hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. White) professed to be a stern economist; but only a few days ago, he heard that hon. Gentleman encourage the House to do that which he (Lord Frederick Cavendish) thought would tend more than anything he could conceive to lavish expenditure, for the hon. Gentleman told the House to meet this expenditure by suspending all means of reducing the National Debt. If they accepted the proposals of the Government there would be an income tax of 6*d.* in the pound. In 1865 the present head of the Government had the pleasing duty, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, of reducing the income tax below that amount for the first time since it was imposed by Sir Robert Peel. That tax had been borne with patience for 23 years; and now it appeared that somehow or other, either by a reformed Parliament or some other cause, we had become so degenerated that such a burden was more than our virtue was equal to in order to carry out the determined policy of the House. And yet, in former times, the payer of income tax had to meet other heavy imposts, including a fire insurance duty, which was estimated as equal to a tax of 7*d.* in the pound on property. With regard to the proposal for increasing the income tax to 6*d.*, a late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Hunt) told the House that the necessity for the proposed increase was owing to the reduction of so much indirect taxation. Now, could anyone who looked at the state of our finances as a whole for the last 30 years make that assertion? When Sir Robert Peel began his reform of the tariff, the Revenue derived from indirect taxation was £35,500,000; and at this moment, after all the remissions made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Estimates showed that the Revenue from indirect taxation this year would be £42,500,000. Last year the Revenue from that source was £41,000,000, and the greater part of that was paid by non-payers of income tax, for, owing to increased trade and work, the producing classes were able to pay far more to the State than ever they did before. He would remind the House, that the wealthy classes once paid a far greater proportion to the indirect taxation than they did now, for formerly those classes paid for tea, sugar, and wine, however expensive they were; but those who were poor were not able to do so. Therefore, it was not simply to a reckless remission of indirect taxes, as affirmed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Northamptonshire, that this increase of income tax was due. He fully acknowledged that the income tax pressed hardly on those who just came within its reach; but, considering that in assessing that tax, £60 was allowed to be deducted from incomes under £200, and that the only alternative offered to the House was, that it should acknowledge before the world that it was unable to meet the expenditure which it deemed necessary for the dignity of the country; that it must suspend that policy which was begun in a time of peace for the reduction of the National Debt, and abandon that policy which had produced such incredible results, he should, without a moment's hesitation, vote against the Motion of the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith).

Mr. HENLEY said, he wished to state to the House the grounds which would influence him in voting upon the Motion before the House. He thought that everything that had passed tended to show that the expenditure which the Government were asking the House to sanction was not a temporary one, and there was something about it that led to the conclusion that it must go on. He then asked himself was it fair, was it according to the custom that had prevailed—he believed to the general satisfaction of the country for some years past—that where there was to be an increase of expenditure it should be fairly apportioned between direct and indirect taxation? That consideration of itself would have induced him to support the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), because he did not find in this proposal of the Government any disposition to adhere to that which had been, if he might say so, a sort of rule for some time past, whether in proposing taxation or in taking it off. He heartily wished they had to vote on the Motion standing on the Paper in the name of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for the City of Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt), because he thought the expenditure proposed by the Government to be, he had almost said, profligate, and he thought it so large and so uncalled-for, that he would vote for every measure tending to show that opinion of the expenditure. He was not able to be in the House when the Estimates were voted, or he should have expressed the opinion he was now expressing, that he did not wonder at the position we were in. Eight or nine months ago many hundred thousands of men were engaged on the other side of the water in the amiable occupation of cutting one another's throats, and great excitement prevailed in this country in consequence of what was then and there going on. Numbers of people—some regular practitioners, others quacks; some military, others non-military men — went about the country to urge increased military expenditure, and the burden of their song was the insufficiency and inefficiency of our military defences; the whole country had been disturbed, and innocent people had been tormented and worried by the various alarms that were raised. His only regret was, that the Government had not the courage to withstand those alarms; and he thought that those who were as old as he was, and, perhaps, many who were younger than himself, must feel the resemblance that existed between the present state of affairs and that of 22 years ago, at the time of the Revolution that occurred in France. At that time, there had been just the same statements made as had been put forward recently: we were then told that the Channel was bridged over, and, consequently, everybody was alarmed; but at that time there fortunately existed a man in this country whose opinion the people valued — he referred to the late Duke of Wellington. The Duke told the country, then—"It is perfectly true that the Channel is bridged over, and the generals of France may be able to throw many thousands of soldiers upon the country; but if you will enrol the Militia, old as I am, I will undertake to defend it against all comers." At that time, the Army was much about the strength that it was last year, without the addition of the 20,000 that had since been made to it; but we now had the Militia not only enrolled, but regularly called out for training for many years, and we had also our Volunteers, who were doubtless worth something, or else our economical Government would have declined to pay the considerable sum of money they cost us. When the Duke delivered the opinion which he had quoted, our naval force consisted of 40,000 men, whereas we had no less than 60,000 in that service at the present time; and he thought that addition to its force must be taken as some element in our first line of defence, and as no inconsiderable element in the expense to which the country was put; but, at the same time, he was very glad that we had that first line of defence, because he believed it to be of great value to us. He now wished to say a word or two upon what had been termed the inefficiency of the Army. It was a very curious thing that in the year 1850, we had precisely the same number of troops that were put down in the Estimates for last year — namely, 113,000, but the cost in 1870 was considerably more than in 1850; from that, apparently, then, the only advantage that we derived from our increased Estimates was, that the country was distracted from one end to the other by the belief in what was termed the inefficiency of our Army. Another thing that struck him as being curious with reference to this alleged inefficiency of the Army was, that the Government had involved us in an unknown expense, to be spread over an unknown number of years, having made no statement whatever that anybody could rely upon of their reason for so doing. And all for what purpose? Why, to break down the only part of our Army system that in all times had never failed us. During the best part of this century—and he could recollect 65 years smartish of it himself—plenty of complaint had been heard of the inefficiency of the administrators of the Army, the generals had been described as "wooden-headed," and many other inconveniences of that sort had been pointed out; but nobody had ever stated or thought that there was any inefficiency in our regiments—indeed, it had often been said that our regiments had redeemed the mistakes of our generals; and never had it been alleged that the men had been badly led, or that the officers had been badly followed. Under these circumstances, the system could not be a very bad one when that was the result, yet the Government were going to break it down, and to put the country to no end of expense for no other reason, than because there had been a great cry in the country, chiefly raised by the quacks, that we must do something — the only reason, as far as he could see, that had been given for plunging the country into this expense. No doubt a great deal might be said in favour of the re-organization of the Army; but the proof of the pudding was in the eating, and when the present regimental system worked well, why should it be broken down merely to satisfy a cry that had been got up? He deeply regretted that the Government had yielded to that cry; but he saw no chance of putting a stop to their course than by voting against the Estimates in Supply. He wished the Government would take their Estimates back. He did not wonder at the Government being almost kicked into the state in which they now were, and he could only regret that they had not shown more courage than they had exhibited in reference to this matter. He believed that within the last 20 years, the population of this country had increased some 12 per cent, while our expenses had increased more than 30 per cent during the same period. That was not a satisfactory state of affairs. He did not care whether it was one Motion or another; but he should vote in favour of anyone which went to show dissatisfaction with the proposed expenditure on the part of the country.

Mr. VERNON HARCOURT felt satisfied that the observations which the House had just heard from the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Henley), whose opinions were always received with such respect, not only in that House, but in the country, would be regarded as a most valuable contribution to the discussion upon this subject. Had more hon. Members on that side of the House shared the opinions that had just been uttered by the right hon. Gentleman, the House would not have been in the difficulty in which it now found itself, for having already agreed to enter into an unusual expenditure, they were now discussing who was to pay the bill, and everybody declined to have anything to do with that part of the transaction. The match makers said they would not pay the bill; the people affected by the succession and legacy duties said the same; and the income taxpayers also objected to have the burden shifted on to their shoulders; but he desired to ask a preliminary question, and that was, why the bill need exist at all, and why it need be paid; and he ventured to say that before the Session came to a close, that question would be very generally asked. Now, many proposals had been made for getting out of the difficulty; for instance, it had been suggested that the payment of the bill should be left to posterity, in whose defence no person was interested. But there was one tax, or one source of revenue which had never failed, one with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was extremely well acquainted, and but that the right hon. Gentleman had recently acquired a contempt for ancient notions, he should have reminded him of the ancient adage, which he had repudiated—

> "Magnum vectigal est parsimonia,"

if he would excuse the language in which it was couched. The House was told that they could not go back upon their steps, because they had already voted a Resolution in Committee of Supply; but was the House of Commons such a miserable slave of form, that if they were really of opinion that they had made a mistake, they could not retrieve it because they had passed a Resolution? They had passed a good many Resolutions in the course of the last 10 days, but the Government had revoked them all. The Resolution in favour of the match tax, after having been carried on two Divisions by majorities of 2 to 1, had been withdrawn. Her Majesty's Government had found no difficulty whatever in going back on that occasion, and why should not the House of Commons be allowed an equal freedom of action? As a mere matter of form, there was not the slightest difficulty in the way of the course he proposed being adopted, because on more than one occasion—namely, in 1814, and again in 1856, after a similar Resolution had been carried, the House of Commons, when a different state of things arose, had withdrawn from it. And could anyone say that a different state of things did not exist to that under which the Estimates were introduced? The Estimates had been taken, in what was practically a state of war, or at all events of war panic. The hon. Member for South Durham (Mr. Pease), who always rose on critical occasions as the guardian angel of the Government, when it found itself in any difficulty, had voted with himself and others on the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella); but now, when it was possible to give effect to the spirit of that Motion, he shrank back and cried that it was too late. In his opinion, in voting the Estimates they had made a mistake; and in saying that, he was speaking not of the Government or of the House of Commons, but of the country, for at the time the Estimates were voted we did not know how much money we had at our disposal. The proposals of the Government could only be justified by a full Exchequer; whereas the very reverse was the case, and their conduct displayed that sort of recklessness which often characterized the conduct of persons on the verge of bankruptcy—they increased their expenditure in order to conceal the indigence of their circumstances. In order to keep up appearances the First Lord of the Admiralty had informed the House that the Government had determined to give up £1,200,000 of Imperial taxation to local bodies—a sort of exhibition of financial plethoria, which will delude hon. Members to believe that the Government were very flush of money. No wonder that a majority of the House had been induced under a mistaken belief as to the solvency of the Government to consent to these enormous Estimates! But if the House of Commons had known on the 1st of March, or in the middle of February, all they know now, would they have accepted these Estimates? He thought not. Therefore he said they had a right to re-consider this question under circumstances totally different from those in which they had formerly considered it, for he did not believe that the Government themselves thought, when they framed these Estimates, that on the 1st of April they would be so short of money. He did not believe that, deeply pledged as they were to the cause of public economy, they would have offered such Estimates to the House, if they had had any idea there would be a deficiency to meet; and it was only when the ugly rush was made for money at the close of the financial year, that they became aware of the difficulties of their financial position. The Government, therefore, as well as the House, were entitled to re-consider this matter, and no selfish *amour propre* should prevent them from doing so. He had no desire to blame the Government too much in this transaction, for no doubt they had framed their Estimates in the hot fit of the panic ague, and now they were asking the House to vote money in the cold fit of the same disorder; but what he blamed them for was that they were such bad physicians that they did not know the symptoms of the panic malady, for if they had, they would have known that it was intermittent and would soon change its character. The real question they had now to consider was, what was the foundation for these Estimates, and what was the justification that could be offered for them. Whatever the Chancellor of the Exchequer was or was not, he could never fail to be logical; he therefore felt he must lay some adequate basis for these enormous Estimates, and what was the foundation on which he rested them? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a most serious announcement; he said it was necessary to protect this country from invasion. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli) that there was no man in this country who ought to be so cautious in his statements as the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the announcement of the right hon. Gentleman that this country was or might be in danger of invasion was certainly, he (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) thought, one of the most serious statements that could be made by a Minister. Why, if the House could for a moment believe that the country was in danger of invasion, there would be no hesitation in voting Estimates 10 times larger than these if they were necessary to protect the country. But was this allegation well-founded? Who was going to invade this country? He need not, he supposed, contemplate an invasion from Asia or from Africa, and we certainly had, he trusted, secured peace with America; but then there was the old panic of that worn-out crater of an extinct volcano, that the country was to be invaded by France. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer thought so, it was to be hoped he would tell the House which of the two Governments of France was about to conduct that invasion. Was the invading force to come from the Baltic or the North Sea; if so, he should like to ask if it had been considered what sort of preparations were necessary to invade a country like this? Did not the right hon. Gentleman know that neither Prussia nor Russia had the mercantile marine requisite for such an enterprise? Where was the flotilla that would carry 50,000 men across the North Sea or the Baltic? When that force did embark what had we to meet them? He would assume the impossible hypothesis that we had no Fleet to interfere with such an armada, and that a landing was effected. Last year we had 80,000 Regular troops in this country. Were these troops, in the opinion of the Government, so degenerate that if 50,000 men were brought across the seas to these shores, 80,000 Regular English troops would not be equal to meet them? If so, where was the boasted pluck of the British Army? If the Government believed in an invasion, they were deeply responsible for the policy they had pursued. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) had taken credit for the fact that no material increase had been proposed in the Naval Estimates; and so it appeared that the Government had actually, with this dread of invasion, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer held up as a bugbear to the country, slightly diminished the expenditure for that branch of the service, and he believed it was a fact that there never was a time when fewer ships were being built in this country than at this moment. If a Government really believed in the possibility of invasion, their first policy should have been to have increased the Navy to the fullest extent. So far, therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had failed in making out any ground for these Estimates. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, attempted another justification by a reference to the stupendous circumstances that had occurred in Europe, which he alleged had taken him by surprise; but he (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) believed, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer was surprised, that he was the only intelligent man who had been taken by surprise in the matter. The Battle of Sadowa was fought in 1866; did the Chancellor of the Exchequer, then, not know that Prussia had a great Army, that France had a great Army, and that Prussia and France were waiting for the opportunity to fly at each other's throats? Did not the right hon. Gentleman know that Lord Clarendon had been occupied from time to time in endeavouring to induce those two great Powers to disarm, and had finally failed, long before the war broke out? A Government, whose Foreign Minister had been occupied in vain in averting such a disaster, had no right to be surprised at those two countries going to war. But if the Government had learned for the first time, that France and Prussia were great military Powers, what had been their policy? Why, merely to add 20,000 to the Army. Were they going to meet France and Prussia with 20,000 men? He agreed with the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire (Mr. Disraeli), and repeated by Lord Derby, that our expenditure must depend upon our policy; and what he complained of was that those who sat below the gangway were not told what the policy of the Government was. There was one policy which consisted in defence against invasion, and that was the policy to which, apparently, the Chancellor of the Exchequer adhered; so far as that policy was concerned, he firmly believed these enormous Estimates were utterly unnecessary. Another policy had been described by the hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell) as that of a great military statesman, who said that England must "take her position in the world," that was rather a vague, but, no doubt, very popular phrase. It was with reference to this "position" that he observed in *The Quarterly Review*, which represented the opinions of hon. Gentlemen opposite, a recommendation that England should be ready at any moment to place 100,000 men on the Continent. That was a definite policy which could be understood; but it was one to which he was entirely opposed; and the Government that followed it would, in his judgment, deserve serious condemnation. If, however, that were the policy of the Government, their Estimates and their preparations were totally inadequate to sustain it; thus, while our theory of foreign policy was adopted, the Government appeared to be halting between two opinions; for the security of a defensive policy they asked a great deal too much; while, if they wanted to carry out the policy of this great military statesmanship—if they were desirous of being able to throw 100,000 men on Europe at any moment, their preparations and Estimates were miserably, ridiculously, and contemptibly inadequate. It therefore happened that the policy and proposals of the Government failed equally to satisfy those who agreed with him and hon. Gentlemen on the other side. The hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), with sweet simplicity, and with that amiability which always characterized him, suggested that he (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) and his Friends might vote for his Amendment; but he should like to make a bargain with his hon. Friend before he did that, for if they voted with him on the subject of the income tax, he did not feel sure the hon. Member would vote with them on the subject of the Estimates; and, unless they had better security than they now possessed for a reduction of expenditure, he, for his part, would not take the course his hon. Friend had been good enough to suggest. The hon. Member very adroitly and properly declined to say what new taxes he would propose; but he did not promise to vote against the expenditure; on the contrary, he said—"If you promise to make this expenditure perpetual and permanent, I will support it; but, if it is only for this year, I think it is extravagant." [Mr. SMITH: No, no!] He should be sorry to misrepresent the hon. Member; but he certainly understood him to say that if the expenditure was to be for this year only, then he thought it extravagant; now, that was exactly what he (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) did not think; and it was because he hoped the expenditure, if it was to be incurred, was to be only for this year, that he thought, although it was wrong, it might be venial. The hon. Member for Northumberland (Mr. Liddell), more candid than the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), avowed what it was he desired—he sighed for the lost flesh-pots of Egypt; he regretted that we had "thrown away" taxes upon corn and sugar; but he (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) and his Friends were there to "throw away" such taxes and to prevent their re-imposition. They were placed to-night, as the Government had too often placed them during the last 18 months, in a very painful position. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite might well laugh. They knew better than anyone the annoyance of such a situation, for they were in that position themselves some years ago; and it seemed that it was becoming an inveterate habit of Governments to place their followers in unexpected situations, such as that in which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire had placed his party in respect to household suffrage. Five years ago, who would have dreamt that those hon. Gentlemen opposite who cheered him now, would now have become enthusiastic supporters of household suffrage? As little did he and his Friends dream, in 1868, that they would be called upon to support a Government which brought in such enormous military estimates? The two situations might very well be paired off one against the other—[Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!]—and he was glad the right hon. Gentleman assented to that view. The question was, what were they to do under circumstances he had ventured to describe as painful? He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Buckinghamshire and the Prime Minister ever met in casual conversation behind the Speaker's chair; but if they did he should think the interview would be much like one recorded in history, between the Duke of York and Charles II. The Duke bade the King take care, because his life was in danger on account of the Popish plot; and Charles II. made the celebrated reply—"James, they will never kill me to make you King." Little as he admired the Budget of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he heard the speech of the right hon. Member for North Northamptonshire (Mr. Hunt), and the agreeable prospect he held out of increased expenditure, he thought it was hardly worth while exchanging one Chancellor of the Exchequer for another. Another reason why he should not like to do it was, that the right hon. Gentleman opposite was an extremely consistent man, and if he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would certainly be true to the principles he had professed with regard to indirect taxation; whereas, with regard to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, the case was exactly the contrary. He had a mind singularly open to political correction, and he had no doubt that he would, one of these days, recant his present extravagant heresies. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had said the principles laid down by the Prime Minister on the Lancashire hustings were the cause of the present situation of affairs; and he (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) concurred with that remark in a totally opposite sense, for those principles brought together the most powerful party that had ever supported a Government in this country; and he must add that, as long as that Government had been faithful and loyal to their principles, it had received in return the faithful and loyal adherence of the party which had been returned to support them; and it was only when it thought fit to depart from them that it found itself in financial difficulty and Parliamentary embarrassment.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I have but one fault to find with the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt)—he thinks all the world is as clever as himself. Because he, being endowed with supernatural foresight and penetration, saw the whole course of that fearful drama which has been played out in Europe during the autumn and winter — saw with his prophetic eye before war was declared, the catastrophes of Metz, of Sedan, of Paris—saw the civil war which has followed, and all the rest of it, therefore he assumes, with his usual candour and good nature, that I, humble wretch as I am, ought to have foreseen these things too, and ought to have regulated my conduct and that of the Government, so far as I could influence it, by a degree of information which I assure him, in all humility, I did not possess. But I must remember I have serious business to talk about to-night, and that must be my excuse for passing by the rest of the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman. The Motion of the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) is so conceived, that it opens up a very wide field for our discussion; because he states merely that he does not approve the increase of the income tax to the extent contemplated by the Government: on that there are two observations to make. The first is the fact that the hon. Gentleman entirely renounces any claim to the support of those hon. Gentlemen, who, like the hon. and learned Member for Oxford and others, think that no increase whatever should be made in the taxation, so that the Motion openly carries on its face the assertion that some increases should be made. I beg it to be noted that, although the hon. Gentleman has expressed his dissent from the increase of the income tax to the extent proposed, he very dexterously, but fairly, so that I do not object to it, abstains from saying how the difference between the money that is raised and the money that is proposed to be raised is to be met with without the increase of the income tax. This is perfectly fair, because he combines as many differing and discordant opinions as possible in support of his Motion; the inconvenience is that he forces us to go over a good deal of ground, and to exhaust all the alternatives that can be conceived, if one is to give a complete answer to all that is said. In accordance with that, I will now endeavour to show to the House that the plan of the Government is better and more worthy of the acceptance of the House than any of them. This I shall not do at any length; I will merely indicate the task which the hon. Gentleman has set me, and I shall not think it necessary to go at any length into the proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Oxford, even though it be supported by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Henley), whom we are all so glad to see again in his place. The hon. and learned Member suggests that the House, which has already voted almost all the heaviest items of expenditure, should review the Estimates again; but, although on all-fours with him as to the necessity of scrutinizing the Estimates narrowly, yet surely to keep the question hanging before the country, would be so complete an inversion of our proceedings, as would cause much inconvenience, and therefore I will not seriously pursue this point any further. The principle on which we act in this matter, like most of the principles which guide our proceedings, is founded on good sense and great experience. [*Laughter.*] Well, all persons who watch the proceedings of this House will be struck with the singular good sense and justice with which they are framed, and when they do not work well, the fault is almost uniformly owing to something which no sagacity could have foreseen; and in accordance with the experience of our forefathers, as manifested in those rules, we ask for the expenditure first and the Ways and Means afterwards. We have the authority of the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt), however, that that principle ought to be inverted; for he says—"Settle the Ways and Means first, and the expenditure afterwards." [Mr. VERNON HARCOURT: I did not say that.] Well, that is the construction I put on his words, and also on his Motion. It certainly can never be contended that we are first to see what income we have got, and then to say what we are to spend; and that the expenditure which may really be required for the use of the people is to be put aside, because we cannot make provision for it without imposing new taxes. We ought, it is true, to frame our Estimates with every view to economy, and to cut them down to the wants of the nation; but we ought never to shrink from imposing the taxes required to raise the Revenue which is necessary. Another way which may be suggested, is that some other tax should be imposed in place of the income tax. On that subject I think I need not dilate; I have been very fairly and reasonably taunted for having spoken against this particular proposal; but the fact that this proposal is substituted for that which I submitted to the House 10 days ago, shows that it was not, in the opinion of Her Majessy's Government, the best proposal that could have been brought forward. We took this view of the case—We thought the defence of the country was a great and a worthy object, although we did not think, as is asserted by the hon. and learned Member for Oxford, that we were in any immediate danger of invasion. The hon. and learned Member puts those words in my mouth, though I never used them. Well, we thought, either rightly or wrongly, that it was the duty of this country to put itself in such a state that it could not be taken by surprise. The hon. and learned Gentleman said—"If there were any danger, we would vote Estimates to any extent you might think proper." Of course you would; there can be no doubt of it. The nature of this country has always been to oscillate between extreme confidence and extreme alarm. I can express it no better than in the words of Æneas—

> "Et me, quem dudum non ulla injecta movebant
> Tela, neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Graii,
> Nunc omnes terrent auræ, sonus excitat omnis
> Suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem."

[Mr. OSBORNE: Translate.] Those who, while objecting to the course proposed, say that when we are in danger they will vote Estimates, forget the great lesson taught by the late war in Europe, which has proved that when the country is in danger it is too late to do anything. I could not, like the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Oxford, foresee the war; but I can draw from it an inference which he appears unable to draw—namely, that patriotism, wealth, resolution, and population are of no use to a country when it is taken at a disadvantage, unprepared and unarmed, by a great and well-armed military Power. We thought this was a contingency to be guarded against, and we think so still; we therefore deemed it necessary to impose new taxes, and everybody will see that a considerable portion of the burden must be borne by the income tax; and as we held this to be not only a great and a necessary work, but a national work we should have been very glad, had it been in our power, to have suggested in the first place a tax the incidence of which would have been felt, in some degree, by the whole community, so that everybody might be conscious that he had a share in the national defence. We thought we should not go far wrong, however, if, when we were putting the weight on a small article, used by the whole of the community, at the same time we put a moderate impost on realized property. We failed, however, and were obliged, to my great regret, to withdraw those portions of the scheme which we meant to be balance wheels to the main work, and to leave the income tax alone. I, myself, may have been in fault in regard to the new taxes, and in the manner in which I express myself upon the subject; but we were met in a manner which showed that not only were those taxes not acceptable to the House, but that it would be absolutely impossible to propose any new taxes which would be acceptable. It may be said that what we did was all a mistake; but I say nothing of the kind. Then, besides the disinclination of the House to entertain new taxes, we had to contend with hon. Gentlemen who felt strongly the impropriety of any increase in the Estimates; and the two questions of expenditure and the means of providing for it, were mixed up together in a manner which rendered it impossible for us to do justice to either of them. You cannot at one time be considering how you shall meet the expenditure and how you shall incur it. We were satisfied that it would not be just to propose any new taxes instead of those that were withdrawn. More than that, I felt very strongly that we owe a duty to taxes just as we owe a duty to anything else. The reputation of a tax ought to be dear to a Chancellor of the Exchequer; and we felt that any tax which was thrown down for the House to deal with at this moment, would certainly not come out with such a reputation as would induce anyone to pick it up and put it in the same position again for many years to come. We therefore thought it right not to propose any new tax, and, adhering to our first opinion that the deficiency was to be met by taxation, we really had no choice but to fill up the void by increasing the income tax. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Northamptonshire (Mr. Hunt) referred to the taxes which it had been my good fortune to remit during the last few years, though he did not state the facts with perfect accuracy; for I wrote off £8,600,000 in taxes, and the proportion of indirect to direct taxation was as two to one. The taxes I took off were as follows:—£3,000,000 income tax; £1,000,000 tax for fire insurance; £400,000 assessed taxes; and £200,000, stamps; altogether, £4,600,000—thus, of the £8,600,000, £4,600,000 were remissions of direct taxation. I will now say a few words on the proposal to stop for a year the payment of the principal of Terminable Annuities. This is a subject of great intricacy, which I will endeavour shortly to make clear to the House. I was told that the Motion of the hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. W. M. Torrens) was the one from which we had most to dread on this occasion, and, therefore, it was with unmistakeable relief that I read the terms of the Motion, because it satisfies me that we have nothing to dread from it. I am sure that if the hon. Member's Notice of Motion had been lifted out of the urn before that of the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), it would have inflicted even less injury on the Government than is to be feared from the Motion now before the House. The hon. Member intends to move—

> "That, while means are available by suspending the conversion of Stock into Long Annuities to provide for transitional expenditure, it is not expedient that the whole of such outlay should be defrayed out of the Taxation of the year."

The only objection I have to that Motion is, that there are no such means as it refers to available, for the Motion assumes that a process is going on by which Stock is being converted into Long Annuities, and that it is desirable to suspend that process, in order to pay the money that is wanted for the requirements of the year; but the fact is, that there is no such process going on, and therefore the remedy proposed by the hon. Member could not possibly be applied. The conversion of Stock into Terminable Annuities is a process that takes place from time to time as there happens to be a quantity of Stock available, and as the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time thinks it is right to impose the burden of Terminable Annuities upon the public. Last year I converted about £7,000,000 of Savings Bank Stock in this way; but that transaction was completed in itself, and there is no such operation going on now; therefore, the hon. Member for Finsbury must fail in his Motion for the same reason that Archimedes failed to move the world—because he has no fulcrum. Then comes the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler), who has given Notice that he will move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to suspend the application of any moneys to the reduction of the National Debt under the Savings Bank Investment Acts, or otherwise, during the financial year ending the 31st of March 1872."

This is a course to which the objection I have urged against the Motion of the hon. Member for Finsbury does not apply. If it is right to be done, it can be done; but I submit to the House that it is not right to be done, and I will give my reasons. Every quarter an account of the income and expenditure in the previous four quarters is taken, and, if the income is found to be larger than the expenditure, one-fourth of the surplus is handed over to the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt, who choose the Debt they think it right to redeem, and apply the money for the redemption of such Debt, that being the legitimate discharge of their duties, as appertaining to their appointments. But the case is very different when the Commissioners come to deal with the moneys of savings banks, for then the trustees of those banks have no choice, but are compelled to pay over their deposits, after retaining a certain necessary reserve in order to carry on their business; and the duty of the Commissioners is to invest that money in Stock, and to pay back to the savings banks the money they require for the use of their depositors. Thus the Commissioners, in regard to these transactions, are not merely discharging their functions as Commissioners, but are acting as treasurers, trustees, or bankers—call them which you will—for the depositors whose money is intrusted to them. This comprises the whole of the duties of the Commissioners as regards savings banks, and there is nothing in it affecting payment of the National Debt; but when the Stock accumulates in the hands of the Commissioners, it has been the practice of Parliament from time to time to pass Acts enabling the Commissioners to exchange the security upon which the public is bound to pay them a perpetual annuity, for another security for which the public is only bound to pay them an annuity for a term of years, paying back portions of the capital as well as the interest upon the money. This practice commenced in 1863, has gone on uninterruptedly ever since, and the result now is, that the Commissioners are in receipt of Annuities from the Government on account of Stock to the amount of £2,966,000, and on account of the loan for fortifications, which was also made out of the money of the savings banks depositors, to the amount of £420,000—making a total of £3,386,000. Therefore, though they are Commissioners for the redemption of the National Debt, they really receive this money on behalf of the depositors, and I therefore maintain that as the contract substantially between the Government and the Commissioners is really that the Government borrow money of the savings banks and invest it, though the Commissioners have the power of varying the securities for these moneys, Parliament has never given them the power to take a less valuable security than the one originally given, and I most emphatically declare that Parliament is just as much bound to observe faith in these transactions with savings banks as though it were dealing with private individuals. If a private individual was to purchase a Terminable Annuity from Government, nobody would dream that Parliament could, without a gross breach of faith, bring in an Act of Parliament to postpone the payment of any instalment of that Annuity. I submit this view to the careful consideration of the House, because unless it is maintained I foresee most portentous mischief in the future. I agree that the savings banks could, if the worst came, fall back upon the credit of the Government and would not ultimately lose; but the contract with the Commissioners is, nevertheless, one on the faith of which people have advanced their money, and they have a right not only to be substantially guaranteed against loss, but also to have the terms of the contract scrupulously observed so far as they are concerned. It would be unfair if the Government, of its own authority, were to obtain a power to vary or alter it, to the prejudice of those whose money they hold. There cannot be a doubt that any change of this nature is prejudicial to the persons interested; for, first, it postpones the payment to which they are entitled, and then it tends to throw a discredit on the security which cannot be estimated in money. I hold that the Government is bound, if it wishes to maintain a character for fair dealing above all suspicion, to respect the transactions which it enters into with private parties in regard to Terminable Annuities; and it is not right to use the power given to it, for its own convenience, for converting the assets in the banker's books into Ways and Means for the expenditure of the year. Government, then, through the National Debt Commissioners, exercises the functions of a banker, and having large payments to make and receive, it must, if it means to keep itself secure from loss and discredit, conduct its dealings on purely business principles, and know exactly always what it has to receive and pay, and so long as that function is honestly carried on, there can be no possible objection to it; but if the public once knew that Parliament had empowered a needy Chancellor of the Exchequer to take their money and use it as Ways and Means, they would lose confidence in the Government, and they would say —"If it is to be in the power of Parliament or the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take our money, although we see the beginning, we do not know where the matter is to end, and we object to it altogether." Such a system as at present exists possesses advantages which ought to prevent its being lightly and rashly interfered with; it, for instance, the command of these resources should we be denied accommodation on reasonable terms, makes us independent of the tyranny practised in some needy countries by great capitalists, and enables us to undertake operations of very great magnitude without disturbing the money market, or inflicting trouble or annoyance upon any person. Why, at this moment we have passed a Bill commuting the pay of officers in the Army and Navy, and £600,000 will be required for this purpose in the current year, but if the fund we are now discussing is interfered with, it is very probable that the money either cannot be found, or must be obtained from some other source. Further, I think the House must be fully aware that nothing has assisted the Government more in settling the Irish Church question than the facility which this command of money by the National Debt Commissioners gave us, of enabling the Church in Ireland to anticipate the resources which are spread over a number of years, and cannot be got in at once. In conducting that operation, we have already advanced the Commissioners £1,500,000; in July next we shall have to advance them £1,000,000 more; and, after that, we expect to advance them £500,000 a-quarter. These advances have been counted on as a sort of undertaking, given by us under the faith of an Act of Parliament, which enables us to enter into such an arrangement; and to stop short now in measures of this kind, by passing the Motion under consideration, would be to cause an enormous amount of inconvenience, and a large expense would be thrown upon those persons who have a right to calculate that they will get the money at the low rate of interest at which we have agreed to lend it to them. If this money is withdrawn, we shall not have the money to meet our liabilities, and we shall, therefore, be compelled to sell Stock by forcing it upon the market, and thereby do a great deal of mischief. For these reasons, therefore, I submit to the House that, seeing that this money is really money for securing the dividends of savings banks, and that the reduction of the National Debt by its means is not the essence of the transaction, and seeing that, by the proposal now made, we should strike a severe blow at this convenient system, in conjunction with the objects of a Bill which I hope to introduce to the favourable consideration of the House, for extending the plan of commuting pensions of persons in the public service, I think it would require a much stronger emergency than the present case to justify us in interfering with a system which seems to me to be a prodigy of ingenuity, by which a large amount of Debt can be cleared off at a small expense to the country, and which possesses the additional merit of being carried out at a small expense. This is what I have to state to the House. If I have succeeded in showing the House that that alternative cannot be adopted, I think it is quite manifest that we cannot go back from the position we have occupied, and which we believe the House has already sanctioned. I say frankly, that the provision we have made for meeting this expenditure so sanctioned by the House, is not, in our opinion, the best that could have been made, but it is the best that the case admits of, and however little confidence the House may have in me, I trust it will not cause us to fail in our attempt to carry out the objects we have in view.

MR. BARING said, he should not have risen on the present occasion, did he not feel that they had reached a critical turning point in their financial progress. It was not because there was anything alarming in the amount of the present deficit, nor because he had any doubt as to the resources and the power of the country to meet its engagements, or to struggle with any future wants or exigencies, that he felt called upon to make the remarks he was about to lay before the House, but it was because they were called upon to consider their finances without a system and without a principle to guide them. They had had a Budget, including an attempt at direct taxation; but, had he not heard from the right hon. Gentleman that he was serious when he proposed his tax upon matches, he should have considered it an attempt to bring into ridicule every kind of indirect taxation, and to convince the House and the country that they had nothing to rely upon in future but the income tax. He was not surprised at this result, for he had always felt that the constant removal of every indirect tax—not its reduction, but its total removal — would ultimately draw this House and the country into a system of direct taxation. Such a result was inevitable, and no one could feel that more than the right hon. Gentleman himself, who, with all his ability, his talents, and his ingenuity, and after all the study he had given to this question, told them that the only indirect tax he could propose was the tax upon matches; and that being objected to, he had nothing left but to say to the House—"You must put 2*d.* more upon the income tax." The income tax was an easy screw for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to put on; it was a heavy one for the resources of the country; and it might be put on to such a degree, and at such times, as to create a great indisposition to meet it fairly. He recollected that, after the Peace of 1815, on an attempt being made to renew the property and income tax, that indignant meetings were held throughout the country, in disregard of the recommendations of Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh, and that, eventually, the income tax fell through. They might go on putting pennies in the pound on the income tax to meet the exigencies of the time, but they might go too far in that direction, and they might by so doing—to use a similitude —break the camel's back. He need not say a word against the income tax—all that could be said against it had been said by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, and by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He need not cite *Hansard*, because they learned that *Hansard* no longer represents the opinions of public men. The time may come when, without any further system to fly to, the income tax may fail you; and nothing, however, could be more sure than this—and the right hon. Gentleman himself must have seen the dangers which must be incurred by placing their sole reliance on the income tax. Let them recollect that it was a tax unjust and inquisitorial, which the more it was added to, the more it increased the depths of fraud. It was open to every possible objection, and yet it was the only tax which the Government imagined ought to be retained. Her Majesty's Government told them that they could not have recourse again to indirect taxation; well, perhaps it may be so; he had always feared that the anxiety of every successive Chancellor of the Exchequer for many years past to produce what is called a sensational Budget, thereby renouncing the old custom of preceding Chancellors of the Exchequer, whose maxim was *quieta non movere,* for the sake of snatching a little temporary popularity, would lead us to this pass. As long as the country was prosperous, as long as the Revenue of the country responded to this decrease of taxation, all went on smoothly; but when the inevitable time arrived, when some exigency required an increase of taxation, no means were left by which money could be raised without having recourse to the income tax. Hon. Members had laughed at the reflections that had been made when it was proposed to remove the shilling duty on corn; but that was a tax which pressed upon nobody, and by the removal of which nobody benefited, and with it was swept away £900,000 of Revenue, which had he now possessed, would have saved the right hon. Gentleman from the fatal explosion of his matches. There were those who said that by removing all indirect taxation they were carrying out the principles of free trade; but he denied that: on the contrary, he maintained that, by adopting that course, you had been shifting the burden of taxation from one class to another, and that you had succeeded in throwing the whole of that burden upon income and property. He was one of those who thought each man ought to bear his share of taxation; but he was not one of those who thought that you could tax income and property without taxing the poor man. Doubtless, in the first place, you might tax income and property; but it was from income and property that the poor man derived his employment, his wages, and his prosperity. The Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer told them they had no resource but the income tax. Let him ask, looking back to the past speeches of those two right hon. Gentlemen—was that the point to which they would wish to bring the finances of this country? Were they so unable among themselves to find any resource but the income tax? Armed even with the power of leading their own followers against their feelings, could they propose nothing? Were they only omnipotent for destruction? Were they powerless for construction? Could they only destroy a Church, and could not they propose and carry a Budget? The hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) said he did not wish a change of Government, nor did he (Mr. Baring); but his feelings—perhaps his party feelings—had been a little shaken by past events. He wished to have seen, and he thought he might have seen, a strong Government in this country. He dreaded a weak Government, but he dreaded more no Government at all; and when he found the right hon. Gentleman opposite proposing, bit by bit, a Budget which, bit by bit, he withdrew, and, throwing the reins upon the House, said—"Take me where you will; I'll follow you, wherever you please; you are the Chancellor of the Exchequer; the House of Commons must propose a Budget, and we are ready to take what money you will give us." He held that the greatest blame attached to a Government that assumed a position of complete submission such as that. A Government should prepare their finances, submit them to the House, but submit them with such a knowledge of the feelings of the House and the country as would render their acceptance reasonably probable. He did not wish to say anything more than that he believed that the Government might have met the deficiency, without either committing themselves to measures which, in the opinion of the House were not required, or imposing this additional tax. He did not profess to assume the duties of a Chancellor of the Exchequer; but he confessed that he did not believe it was an extraordinary difficulty he had to contend with, and that it would not have been very difficult for him to have met that little want. But he would go further, and would say that, anxious as he was for the reduction of the National Debt—and nobody was more anxious—he felt that there was a line that ought to be drawn between the wants of the present time and those of future generations. This we acknowledged in the case of the fortifications, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government himself introduced bonds that were payable in a certain number of years. Now, it was evident that if the abolition of purchase was adopted, it was for the benefit of the country at large, and, supposing that to be the fact, it was not for the benefit only of the present generation, and he thought it was a very fair question whether the burden ought to fall entirely on the current year. His objection, then, was this—that the Government had introduced a Budget which they must have known would fail. If they introduced it with perfect sincerity, it showed little capacity; or else it showed a wish to bring into ridicule the idea of anything like indirect taxation. It was mere trifling to regard this additional income tax as a temporary impost; but what would they do if danger menaced them or special measures of protection became necessary? He could not agree with the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt) that no danger menaced this country, because France was weak and America was not to be feared. But they had no ally now that they could rely upon; they had no treaties that they could depend on; and therefore they must depend upon themselves, and their only allies were gold and iron; and so long as they possessed them, with English courage and determination, he should not fear for his country. He did not believe they had fallen so low as some Gentlemen seemed to suppose; he believed they could maintain their own with honour yet; but he did not think that, because they could do that, that they ought to mismanage our finances, and declare to all the world that their only resource was the income tax. There was more in this proposal to-night than he thought struck everybody. It taught the lesson, that they would only tax incomes, and only go on in that path and they would effectually drive away capital. He begged to thank the House for listening to the remarks he had made; but he had ventured to do so, because he considered the conduct of Her Majesty's Government was deserving of the greatest blame.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. T. Baring) has informed us of events that have occurred in recent years, which have slackened his party zeal; and in the course of his remarks, he has used words which, coming from him, must necessarily be of interest to the House, but which were not necessary, as far as I am concerned, to carry to my mind the belief that he was speaking his conscientious convictions, and not acting simply as a Member of a party. I freely own the high character and great authority of the hon. Gentleman; but if I am less impressed than another by the weight of that character and authority, it is because during more than a quarter of a century of close connection with the financial and commercial legislation of the country, having touched it at every point, and been a party to supporting or resisting every important measure that has been adopted during the last five-and-twenty years, I have never once had the satisfaction—and a great satisfaction it would have been—of finding myself on a commercial or economical question of any sort on the same side or in the same Lobby with the hon. Gentleman. In truth, the indictment of the hon. Gentleman is not an indictment merely against the present measure and the present position of the Government; it is an indictment against the rules and principles which have directed the commercial and financial legislation of Parliament during the whole of that period, and to which the hon. Gentleman has been radically and inveterately opposed.

Mr. T. BARING: I think I was a supporter of Sir Robert Peel with the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman has not caught me. He was a supporter of Sir Robert Peel in 1842, along with me; and if he will use the calculating powers of which he must be a master, he will find the year 1842 is not within a quarter of a century of the present time. Was the hon. Gentleman a supporter of Sir Robert Peel in 1846? Well, then, the period between 1846 and 1871 is sufficient to show, as far as my humble powers of reckoning go, that I did not greatly exaggerate in the statement I made respecting the hon. Gentleman. To-night, the last of the remissions of indirect taxation has come in for the censure of the hon. Gentleman, and there is no man's censure more conscientious than his; but the sacrifice of the duty on corn has also provoked the displeasure of another hon. Gentleman, the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Liddell), who says how idle it was to waste the Revenue of the country by recklessly abandoning the duty that he describes as "the registration fee upon corn." How different, Sir, are the views taken by men, of the same facts and the same figures, according to the position from which they look at them. A few days ago, on my right hon. Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) attempting to raise a direct tax on successions of about ½ per cent, at which it now stands, to about 1 per cent, we were then appealed to by doleful descriptions of the condition of the widow and the orphan. The 1 per cent on realized property shocked the hon. Member; but the 4 per cent on an article of commerce, the food of the people, levied for the benefit of the Treasury only from imported corn, but adding 4 per cent to the price of the home-grown commodity, yielding no benefit to the Treasury at all, that, forsooth, is to be regarded as a registration fee. Sir, however conscientious such proposed legislation may be, I do not think, notwithstanding what has fallen from those two hon. Gentlemen, that we shall find any disposition in this House seriously to propose that the deficiency which now exists shall be met by a re-imposition of the indirect taxes which have been happily removed; but least of all, and under no circumstances, by the re-imposition of a tax which was strictly protective in its character, which affected the first necessary of life, and which, for every pound it brought into the Exchequer, caused another pound to be gratuitously added to the price of the home-grown commodity. Now, objections have been taken to the proposal of the Government, as it now stands, from grounds absolutely contradictory. The hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. G. B. Gregory) objected to the proposal, on the ground that the expenditure is strictly transitory, while the right hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Henley) — and he has been followed in it by the hon. Member who has just sat down—objected to our proposal on the ground that it is not transitory at all, but permanent. But I must say one word as to the right hon. Member for Oxfordshire, who founded his objection mainly upon the amount of the expenditure, for having been deprived, through circumstances we all regretted, of the most legitimate and natural opportunity of bearing his testimony against the amount of that expenditure, I cannot wonder, on the right hon. Gentlemen re-appearing here, he should avail himself of the first opportunity on which he thinks he is able to record his vote against it; and he is going to vote with the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), because he objects to the expenditure of the year. Is that the ground on which the hon. Member for Westminster votes? Is that the ground on which Gentlemen who now crowd the benches opposite vote? I know they will tell me they object to that portion of the expenditure which has reference to purchase in the Army. Well, that is about one-sixth part of the whole augmentation of expenditure; as to the other five-sixths, have they objected to that expenditure? Have they not urged it on? Have they not called for more? Have they not, even when they have objected to laying out the £600,000 upon the purchase question, taken care to claim the whole sum that is to be paid for the redemption of purchase, and to assert that it should be laid out on other kinds—and, as they say, more profitable kinds—of military expenditure? Yet now, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxfordshire, with perfect consistency, I admit, is going to vote for the Motion, because he objects to the expenditure, are they to follow him into the Lobby—we shall yet see how many of them will do it—when they know that they have been themselves the warmest, the more than cordial supporters of that expenditure? But there is yet one other point. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Northamptonshire (Mr. Hunt) commenced his speech with a somewhat heroic exordium, and said—"Great is the irony of events!" Great, Sir, is the irony of events; and the man who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, having a deficit to deal with of something over £2,000,000, proposed to meet that deficit in no other way than by the simple and sole resource of an income tax of 2*d.* in the pound, raising the tax to 6*d.*, stating, at the same time, that he did it because the expenditure to be met was of a transitory character, is now the man to denounce the Chancellor of the Exchequer who succeeds him, who also pleading expenditure of a transitional character, and also having a deficiency not very different in amount from his, though somewhat greater, also proposes like him, in what appears to be an inauspicious following of the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman, to meet the deficiency by no other financial measure than by an addition of 2*d.* in the pound to the income tax, raising it from the standard of 4*d.* to 6*d.*; and the right hon. Gentleman under those circumstances, nevertheless with perfect comfort to himself, is large and eloquent, and rises even to an unusual level of his rhetoric, for the purpose of condemning the proceeding of my right hon. Friend. Well, Sir, I will not enter into the details of the Budget of the right hon. Gentleman; but I do not think he will question the truth of what I say—when I say, that he likewise called upon us to give him a million of Exchequer Bonds, which were also granted him. But he will recollect that he claimed that million of Exchequer Bonds on the ground that he was unable to receive the whole of his income within the year, and that, in fact, he was proposing a sufficient amount of taxation to meet the entire deficit. Well, so it stands, that the right hon. Gentleman and the party opposite are gathered to-night for the purpose of condemning in us the very thing which only three years ago was their own measure—that is, resorting to the income tax alone—resorting to it to the extent of 2*d.* in the pound, and resorting to it for the purpose of defraying an expenditure which they declare to be transitional in character. Sir, I must say one word on the subject of indirect taxation before I quit the point, lest I should be supposed to have condemned, under all circumstances, a recourse to indirect taxation. On occasions of great emergency, when large demands are to be made on the people, I think you must have a partial resort to indirect taxation; and on occasions when demands less large are to be made on the people, if those demands have a character of apparent permanence, then also, I think, we ought to call in the aid of indirect taxation. Nay, even on the present occasion, my right hon. Friend has shown that the Government were not unwilling to avail themselves of that resource; and we do not hesitate to say, that no injustice is implied under the circumstances of the case on our part, shut out as we have been from prosecuting the original proposals of my right hon. Friend in asking the House to do what was done in 1868, without objection from any party, portion, or section of this House, and to meet a deficiency of the nature of that now before us by the same measure that was then adopted. Well, with regard to this expenditure, as I have said, the objections have been taken that it is, and that it is not, of a passing description. Now, I will venture to say, what can hardly be denied with respect to the proceedings of the present Government. We have, in the course of the not quite two years and a-half that we have held office, effected large reductions, and we have also proposed large augmentations of expenditure. With reference to speeches which are made in the name of public economy, I must say, for my own part, even when I cannot admit the propriety of their direct application, that they command to a great extent my sympathies. The sins and offences of the British Legislature have not been on the side of economy. If the Government is to be vitally assailed — if it is to be dimissed from office, I ask myself what is the meaning and intention of that dismissal with respect to the prospects of public economy? For my part, I can truly say that although I value as highly as most men the privileges of personal liberty, I prize most highly the honour enjoyed by my Colleagues and myself of serving the country in the situations which we hold. I think it an error on the part of public men who have chosen their positions, freely to speak of the sacrifices, if such they be, that those positions entail. I thought it always a point worthy of admiration in the character of Lord Palmerston, that in his habitual language he avowed the satisfaction with which he found himself entrusted with the duty of wielding power, according to the best of his convictions, for the benefit of his country. Therefore, Sir, I do not affect to court the adverse vote of the House of Commons which at any moment may put an end to the existence of the Ministry; but I will say, in passing, to my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt), after the description we heard from him to-night of the conduct of the Government, and of the manner in which the interests of the party had for 18 months been virtually betrayed, that I think he makes a great mistake if such be the case—if those interests have been so treated by the Government—if his description approached to justice—if it be not, on the contrary, an instance of extravagant injustice—he makes a very great mistake in not taking an early opportunity of putting an end to its existence. Whenever that existence is put an end to—though I do not say the operation will give me pleasure, nor affect to desire it—the pain of it to me will be greatly mitigated, if I believe that those who are to succeed us in office are duly consulting, as we have tried to the best of our ability to consult, the honour and safety of the country, and are likely to promote the interests of public economy. I will venture to say that we have effected great reductions, and we have proposed great augmentations; and the result is, that after £6,000,000 have been taken off the taxes of the country, even when you have voted, if you do vote, the £3,000,000 we now ask, after £10,000,000 have, in little more than two years, been taken off the public Debt, the result will be that now, with great public purposes in view of the most definite kind connected with the composition and constitution of the Army, our military Estimates which have caused so much indignation, do not quite reach the figure of those that we found in existence, and which had none of those special views and objects vouched for and warranted. But, as regards the economies that we have effected, and the augmentations for which we are also responsible, I will beg to be permitted respectfully to point out, that the character of those augmentations is, as we think, for the most part transitional, while the character of those economies is permanent. On a former evening I stated why, as far as I am able to judge, that expenditure must be called, to a great extent, transitional; but I will again take the opportunity of stating, what needs to be repeated in this House by those who entertain the opinion, in consequence of the incessant promulgation of the contrary opinion from other quarters, that I will not admit that, if this House does its duty, the abolition of purchase in the Army, and the gift of £320,000 a-year to the officers of the future, ought to entail upon the British public, either great or small, a charge additional to that which those officers now receive, in the shape of either pay or retirement. Therefore I do not admit the existence of that additional prospective charge. Now let us look at the character of the economies that have been made. We have been able to reduce the scale of naval expenditure, and, even in the recent circumstances of Europe, we have still left the public account largely the gainer in consequence of the changes that have been adopted. What is the nature of those changes? They are founded upon a cause of economy that has in it a permanent character, because they depend mainly upon the abandonment of a system, reasonable once, but now totally superannuated and unreasonable—namely, the practice, too long maintained, of keeping fleets and squadrons dotted over the whole surface of the globe. That system cannot, I trust, be defended or revived, and I look upon the abandonment of it as a source of permanent economy. With respect to the Army, the main economies which have been brought about were effected by the abandonment of another unfortunate and faulty practice—namely, that of employing the Army largely and very needlessly for the purposes of what were called "colonial garrisons," in Colonies not having the character of military positions. The abolition of that system of colonial garrisons is, I apprehend, a permanent source of economy. What is another cause of the expenditure of this year? It is the attempt to introduce with rapidity the system of short service into the Army, and I ask Gentlemen on either side of the House—"Do they, or do they not, believe that that system of short service will be a source of permanent economy?" Connected with that is the system of efficient Reserves; and these give the power of reducing, with entire security, the number of troops that may be thought necessary for the defence of the country. Without entering further into detail, I think I have shown under three great heads, that the economies to which we have endeavoured to lead Parliament are permanent and national in their character, and on other occasions it has been shown how small is the degree to which that permanency applies to the expenditure for which we now ask. With regard to the means proposed for that expenditure, the hon. Gentleman, who has just addressed the House (Mr. T. Baring) complains of the course of legislation that has recently prevailed in such a way that one would really think that the possessors of the higher and middle incomes of this country were ill-used as compared with the rest of the community. From the speech of the hon. Gentleman, one would suppose that the finances of the country had become less stable than they were "in the good old times," when, as he says, Chancellors of the Exchequer were content *quieta non movere*—"in the good old times" when the laws relating to the trade in corn were constructed against the interest of the consumer and in the supposed and fancied interest of the rich; when things necessary to the life of man were subject to severe taxation; when the commerce of the country was suffered to remain undeveloped through the pressure of taxation and the mischievous influence of Protection, so that our foreign trade scarcely amounted to one-sixth part of its present amount. After the labours, cares, and anxieties, the efforts and struggles by which, without assistance from the hon. Gentleman, for 25 years those results have been brought about, is he, at this day, to sigh for "the good old times" when Chancellors of the Exchequer were, in that state of things, content *quieta non movere?* The hon. Gentleman will always be respected in this House; but the respect he will enjoy will not be owing to the hopes he has given in matters of commercial and financial legislation, for they have on every occasion been in opposition to that course of change which has conferred such benefits upon the people generally. After all, the question that is before us to-night is not a very broad one, and if I have referred to the subject of expenditure, it is because, as my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has observed, we are under the necessity, from the nature of this discussion and the topics embraced in the speeches on both sides of the House, of mixing together, perhaps with so great advantage to the clearness of our debates, the two questions—first, whether money is to be spent; and, secondly, in what way the means of meeting the charge are to be found. The one question really before us at this moment is that of Terminable Annuities. I do not think that, as regards Estimates, anyone supposes that the House of Commons can with advantage look back, even if the Government were willing, upon the great and essential Votes that it has given. Let it be recollected that the receipt of those Votes—the having obtained those Votes, does not absolve the Government from considering how far the expenditure under them can be economized. It is necessary for the House of Commons to proceed from one twelve-month to another, and it is the duty of the Executive during the whole of the intervening time to watch the state of affairs, and to study how far it can properly and safely keep within the amount of authority that has been intrusted to it by the confidence of Parliament; but the House itself, after voting the scale of Army and Navy expenditure as far as we are concerned, and passing the Mutiny Bill upon that basis, ought not to suppose that advantage can arise from an entire reversal of those steps which have been adopted—on some points unanimously, on others carried against a very small minority of discontents. Then we come to this question—Shall we resort to the alternative of meeting the charge for the year or, as those who would make two bites of a cherry would say, two parts of the charge of the year, by suspending our system of the payment of Terminable Annuities? I have here to complain of divers Gentlemen, both in and out of the House, who have been referring to a declaration which they say was made by me—that the great beauty of this system of Terminable Annuities was that, in case of a deficiency, we might arrest the operation of the system. Now, I must say, that when an allegation of that kind is made against a man, whose guilt as to the amount of his speaking is great, it would be but an act of common charity to give some indication as to when the words were used and where they are recorded; for in my anxiety to discover this extaordinary declaration I have undergone a very considerable amount of one of the most purgatorial operations to which a man can be condemned—namely, the perusal of his own speeches, especially on a subject of finance; but not being able to discover it, I can confidently say that I never made any such declaration at all. What I might have said was that a great advantage of the system of Terminable Annuities, worked as it is now, is that when you have a legitimate and necessary occasion for borrowing money, provided it be not to a very large amount, you have, through the medium of that system, a means of borrowing with greater facility than was ever possessed before. That, however, is very different from what I am represented to have said; and I do not believe that you could arrange to interrupt the working of this system of Terminable Annuities, without being obliged to go through the Parliamentary operation of a loan, and that I hold to be its great merit. It is not well that this House should be able to borrow without the country knowing what is going on. The Fortifications Loan has been appealed to as a precedent; though, if the circumstances were equal, which they are not, that would be a precedent of doubtful value. But in the year of the Fortifications Loan, we had to provide £6,000,000 for the China War. Is there such a demand upon us now? The purpose for which the Fortifications Loan was made was one in regard to which it was not, as in the case with purchase in the Army, distributed over 20, 30, or 40 years, but it was supposed that the whole bulk of the charge would have to be met in three years. That precedent, therefore, is inapplicable to this case, and this year we are going to borrow £700,000 under the Fortifications Loan. The question is—in defending which, I hope we shall have the hearty assistance of the hon. Members—are we to invade a regular Parliamentary scheme, under which, from year to year, a considerable sum, between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000, and now nearly £3,000,000, is applicable to pay off the National Debt through the medium of Terminable Annuities. The hon. Gentleman is a friend of the old Chancellors of the Exchequer, whose maxim was *quieta non movere*, and I ask him to revere them for this point in their conduct—that under all difficulties and circumstances, when they had to impose taxes, they steadily maintained the system of paying off the Debt by Terminable Annuities. Are we, then, for a cause so trifling and insignificant as the present, to break down this great and ancestral system, which has existed for 100 years, and which even the hon. Member for Huntingdon was happy to support, when, in 1842, I had the satisfaction of voting with him in support of the measures of Sir Robert Peel. In 1842 we were paying, from a country less rich than now, more than £3,000,000 in Terminable Annuities, and at that time we had a deficiency much more formidable in reference to the power of the country than we have now. How was that deficiency met? Did Sir Robert Peel come down to the House and ask Parliament to break up that most sagacious and provident part of our financial arrangements in order to evade a temporary difficulty? No, Sir! He not only did not give up the Terminable Annuities, but he increased the taxes, and introduced a great financial innovation by proposing in time of peace an income tax which had always before been regarded as the tax reserved for a period of war. I hope the hon. Member for Huntingdon, when we come to a division, will recollect 1842, when he supported Sir Robert Peel, and did not, as on this occasion, clothe himself in the vestments of the tempter, and whisper in the ears of Parliament, that part of the difficulties could be obviated by stopping the Terminable Annuities, and that he will show, as had been said by the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Mr. Vernon Harcourt), that he will not fall into the quackery of attempting to meet the first difficulty which presents itself by a method which, if used at all, should be reserved for demands much more imperative and severe. If you determine to quit the course hitherto pursued, you will be establishing a precedent for every future Parliament, which we must expect will follow our example, and, in that case, how are we to provide for the steady maintenance of the system by which we have accomplished a reduction of the National Debt? Now, we never go on from year to year with a surplus of taxes, because the House invariably and justly requires that, whenever a surplus is shown on the Estimates of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, taxes should be repealed so as to come down very nearly to a level. The consequence of that system is, that deficiencies must occur from time to time. Whenever there is a diminution of the Revenue from a bad harvest, or whenever political exigencies require an increase of expenditure, there must be a past or a prospective—for it is not necessarily a past—deficiency. Is it to be supposed that we are to set what I will not hesitate to call the plain example of calling upon these Terminable Annuities to meet such a deficiency as that now before us? Are we to expect that other Parliaments will not follow our example in future; or how are you to provide for the steady maintenance of the system, by which it is that we really have accomplished by far the greatest part of the operations that have been effected for the reduction of the National Debt? We have two modes of reducing National Debt—one by the operation of Terminable Annuities, and the other by the application of surplus Revenue. The application of surplus Revenues has been considerable; but unfortunately it has been to a considerable extent counteracted by the necessity of meeting, or allowing for in some shape or other, the years of introspective deficiency which are never made the object of special Parliamentary provision by taxation. By your Terminable Annuities, the principle part of what you have done for the reduction of the Debt has been effected. Looking back over the half century since the close of the Great War of 1815, I ask the House, do you think, or do you not, that we have done much for the reduction of the National Debt? If you do not I admit that you are entitled to take an altered course of policy, and to find a Government that will consent to be the instrument of change. I admit that fully; but I do not think that that is the view or conviction of the House. I believe the view and conviction of the House is, that we have not done too much; but the question rather is, if there be any question at all, whether we have not done too little. If this is so, the question we have at issue to-night is not the question which the hon. Member for Westminster is urging upon us; but though he himself may be totally ignorant of its true bearing, it is whether we shall break down the most effective part of the system by pressing upon the National Debt. My right hon. Friend has shown, and I will not follow him in detail, the many difficulties that would attend any such operation; but this I must say, that before you determine to take out of the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer the command of bank funds with which he is now supplied, you ought to inquire how far that restriction of his means is likely to form a bar to important measures of public policy? I do not hesitate to say, that in passing the measure for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, it would have been totally impossible for us to make pecuniary arrangements even tolerably satisfactory, and to assist the disestablished Church, as we have assisted it—["Oh!"]—in economising its remaining means by lending upon the most favourable terms—and if the hon. Member who scoffs does not regard that as assistance, I must beg him to refresh his mind on subjects of political economy—had it not been for the fund which is possessed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is not one measure only that has been aided by the use of that fund. Here, also, is my right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council of Education, who was most anxious to give facilities to enable school boards to build school houses. You know that to be one of the greatest difficulties; everyone knows what high rates of interest are paid when it is necessary to raise large sums of money through local rates for local purposes. Well, my right hon. Friend came to the assistance of the school boards, and removed a great impediment out of their way, by providing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should lend them money, by which school houses should be erected, which money should afterwards be gradually repaid. Independently of this profitable use of the fund at the command of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that fund helps to reduce the National Debt; and therefore you would inflict the greatest inconvenience and mischief were you to divert that fund by making it available for meeting the deficiency shown in the Estimates by my right hon. Friend. The hon. Gentleman has aimed at us a deadly blow, no doubt; it is not necessary to consider whether he meant it as such or not; but it is so. He exercised his own discretion in doing it. I do not know much of the political handwriting of the hon. Gentleman; but I think, that in the Motion before the House, I recognize something of a political handwriting which is not altogether his, but which he has received from one of his political Friends. That is perfectly right; it is quite right that a party movement should be viewed as a party movement, and that there should be no disguise at all about it; and there is no disguise at all about it. The hon. Gentleman knows that the House has obtained from the Government every concession which it was possible to make. The Government has not exhibited any foolish self-love. We are quite aware of the severe suffering we shall have to undergo upon that score; but that is a proof that we have shown every disposition that we could show, without a sacrifice of honour, to meet the views and wishes of the House. It was said again and again by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Northamptonshire (Mr. Hunt) that it is not his duty to make any suggestion—that it was the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so long as he holds his office; when the Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his Budget, and it is disapproved, to produce another, and if that is disapproved to produce another, or as they call it in mathematics, *toties quoties.* When the right hon. Gentleman has become a little more conscious of the value of political economy and retrenchment, it may do him and the country good if, when he is Chancellor of the Exchequer again, some kind Friend sitting on the opposite bench will instruct him, by reading a passage from his speech to-day, and leave him to smart with a dart that will be winged with feathers drawn from his own breast. The right hon. Gentleman understands that perfectly; we all understand it. It is the duty of the Government to modify its financial proposals, and meet the views of the House within the limits that justice and reason prescribe; I say advisedly, it is the duty of the Government, and not the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Members of the Government have no desire and, I hope, show no disposition to separate themselves, in the slightest degree, from my right hon. Friend; but it is also the duty of the Government, when it has reached the bottom of what may be its shallow understanding and resources, to make that fact known. Well, we have no further plan. The judgment of the House is entirely free. The House is entitled unquestionably to vote expenditure; and to reject one by one the particular measures that are proposed for meeting it. We have laid before the House these means of action and those altered means of action which suggested themselves to our mind, and we must confess to you that our resources are exhausted; in doing that we leave cheerfully in your hands, and leave cheerfully to the judgment of the country, the fate both of the Budget and the Government.

Mr. DISRAELI: Sir, there is, happily at this moment, no controversy upon one point in respect to which both sides of the House entirely agree, and that is an extreme aversion—unless it be absolutely necessary—to an increase of 2*d.* in the income tax. The income tax is the most important of our fiscal resources; it is imposed with the greatest ease; and it produces, when necessary, a sum which it is difficult, unless we are acquainted with the facts, to believe. It has been looked upon in old days as peculiarly a war tax, and wisely. I do not say that I would approve, after all that has occurred, and after the time it has occupied in our fiscal system, of its entire obliteration from our ordinary finance; but, at the same time, I think it should be kept at as moderate an amount as possible, because, no doubt, it affords immense influence and power to this country, both with regard to foreign States, and its effect on the national credit. The fact that we can by a single tax, without distressing the community, on a great exigency produce £20,000,000 or £25,000,000 sterling—a sum which the most powerful States, were they engaged in war, would have to beg for at the different Exchanges and money markets of Europe—places this country at an immense advantage, gives us a position of power difficult to describe, and a line of defence scarcely less important than our Fleets and Armies. Well, then, it is natural under these circumstances that the House of Commons should be critical and jealous when an increase of such a tax is proposed. It ought not to be lightly proposed; it ought not to be proposed to attain a casual or a common result; it ought not to be the refuge of a distressed and disconcerted Minister; and it ought not to be proposed in every annual Budget, if we are to be influenced by those financial opinions which have hitherto obtained in this House, which have been expressed and professed by our most eminent statesmen, and which the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues, who frequently tell us they are authorities on this subject, have themselves never shrunk from—namely, that in a financial scheme where we find it necessary to have recourse to the income tax, it should not be the only means of Supply, and that a Budget should not consist entirely of direct taxes. If this, then, be the case—if the circumstances to which I refer are accurate, and hon. Members assent to them, is it at all surprising that the House should view with some caution and criticism the proposition of the Minister which has now been made; and is it not remarkable that, when a Motion is brought forward, about the meaning of which at least I thought there would be no mistake, and about which I shall by-and-by have something to say, the right hon. Gentleman opposite should become indignant—that he should absolutely reproach us for taking a course which has always been, and I trust always will be, pursued in this House, that when a Minister comes forward, and in his Budget proposes to increase the income tax, there should be a natural jealousy of the proposal; and when he proposes a Budget which consists solely of income tax, there should be some opposition not on this side only, but on all sides of the House. The case was so simple at the first blush, that I was curious to watch the course of the debate, and see what was the colour that would be thrown on it by Ministers, and how they would treat a question which in its character and features seemed so simple. Well, a Cabinet Minister rose up early in the debate—and I must say he was welcome—to give us some information with authority from the Treasury Bench. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Poor Law Board, for it was he, rose with the intention, no doubt, of making a great financial speech; but with a modesty, for which really there was no necessity, and a timidity, for which I did not give him credit, he suddenly seemed to change his intention. He threw over half his financial cargo, and, to my surprise, retained the half he ought to have thrown over; and, instead of giving us some information about the income tax, which both sides desired, he actually threw considerable light on the character of the Civil Service Estimates. Now, I was rather surprised at the information he gave us on that subject; for though this was not the occasion on which that highly interesting subject should necessarily be brought forward, he made some confessions which I heard not without admiration. He informed the House that the Civil Service Estimates have increased very much, but it was impossible to reduce them; that they were, in fact, of a character so reasonable and so necessary in their expenditure, that this country and the House could not wish that they should be reduced, even if it were possible, and he ended by saying that that possibility could not for a moment be contemplated. Sir, when I remember certain oratorical exhibitions in a distant part of the country, before the present Government was formed, and the staple of the most eloquent of one of those orations, which might be a model, like Demosthenes on the Crown, or Cicero *pro Milone*, my astonishment at the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was extreme, although I was glad to hear that the Civil Service Estimates were, to use an expressive word, "automatic"—that is to say, they were independent of Parliamentary support. Just as Her Majesty's Government, when their Budget is refused, and they cannot pass their measures, they become automatic—independent of Parliamentary support, like the Civil Service Estimates. Disappointed as I was, but still interested, I had hoped that the subject of the evening would have been treated, at least, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. To my surprise, however, that right hon. Gentleman opened upon a subject totally different from that which was before the House. We have a Motion before us by the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), which asks the House to declare its opinion that the whole of the deficiency that is requisite should not be supplied by the income tax. I think the natural inference from his speech, as well as from his Motion—if it were necessary to draw any inference from them—would be that the rest of it should be supplied by indirect taxation; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and addressed himself to a topic not before the House, and entered into a long argument, to prove that it would be most unwise to supply the deficiency by dealing with Terminable Annuities. Why, what had that to do with the Motion of the hon. Member for Westminster? [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: As much as indirect taxation.] I do not say that indirect taxation had anything to do with the Motion. I say that the Motion of my hon. Friend is neither more nor less than this—it calls upon the House to express its opinion that the whole deficiency should not be supplied by the imposition of the income tax. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer argued for half-an-hour upon a totally different question, and, in fact, succeeded in satisfying the House that it was by the aid of Terminable Annuities we were to abolish not only purchase in the Army, but the Irish Church. Well, Sir, at last Achilles leaves his tent, and I did then expect that we were to have an answer to the clear and calm argument which had been offered by the hon. Member for Westminster; but I was again deceived, for, on the contrary, we had a speech that referred very little to the income tax, though it made one reference to it which I will notice in a moment—which was rich in argument and illustration upon Terminable Annuities. But what is Hecuba to us? What are Terminable Annuities to the Representative of aggrieved Westminster, who does not want to supply the whole deficiency of a bankrupt Chancellor of the Exchequer by the imposition of an increased income tax? But, then, what does the right hon. Gentleman say upon this subject of the increased income tax? "I have you now," says he, "for that is the very thing that your Government did itself. You increased the income tax in 1868 by 2*d*." Well, Sir, there is no doubt that in 1868 we asked the House to consent to an increase of the income tax amounting to 2*d*.; but were the circumstances of the two years the same? Why, have I not stated that the income tax, among its various powerful and valued qualities, was most esteemed for this—that it was especially a war tax? In 1868 you raised it justly and properly; for having gone to war in 1868, what was more natural and proper than that we should attempt at that time to raise the necessary supplies by the increase of the income tax? There were some, even then, who thought that we ought to have proposed a loan; and if the war had continued it would have been necessary to have so done. But can it be believed that this is the identical case to which the right hon. Gentleman refers, and which he thinks a vindication of the rickety proposition of his Government — can it be believed that this increase of the income tax in 1868 should have been proposed by us to carry on a war, and with the entire concurrence of the House of Commons? I cannot conceive a precedent more unfit could have been selected by the right hon. Gentleman; and he stole even that observation upon the income tax from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who threw it at me two or three nights ago. I confess I was astonished at the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he did so; for remembering the purpose for which we proposed and carried the increased income tax—a great national object—I could not conceive it possible that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have connected the miserable perplexities with which he has to contend with what, after all, everyone acknowledges was a great feat of arms consummately achieved. It is very true there was no great slaughter, and I know the right hon. Gentleman does not approve of war without slaughter; but he will not deny this—that the troops who effected that signal operation were brought home without the cost of a single English life; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer is the last man who should dare to depreciate the importance of that expedition, because the House still remembers the gloomy vaticinations of disasters and discomfiture respecting the Abyssinian Expedition with which he favoured the House, and which he breathed over it, at its departure, with his blessing. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the First Minister has been extremely playful to-night in his analysis and *catalogue raisonné* of the motives which influence in their vote hon. Gentlemen who sit upon this side of the House. Why could not the right hon. Gentleman, instead of wearying the House with an unnecessary dissertation respecting Terminable Annuities, favour us with an analysis of the motives on this and other subjects of hon. Gentlemen who sit on his own side? Are their motives all the same; are they identical? Are the motives which influence those hon. Gentlemen to-night, the motives of men who have the same opinions upon finance, upon general policy, upon any of the themes which have formed portions of this debate? Why, we have heard discordant opinions upon all these subjects; and there is only one thing in which a majority, a vast majority, on this occasion as on every other when we had discussions on the Budget, agreed—and that is their unqualified repudiation of the principles of the financial policy of the right hon. Gentleman, and their appeals to him to change them as soon as possible. There is a question which, after listening to the extraordinary speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I cannot refrain from asking myself. I want to know why the right hon. Gentleman withdrew his Budget? He spoke the other night as well as to-night at considerable length, but he has never yet told us why his Budget has been withdrawn. Now that is the question I want to ask. He proposed an indirect tax, and, fortunate man, he carried it: a second division occurs, and he carries it again by a majority. That cannot be the reason why he gave it up. He proposed a tax on succession, and the opinion of the House was never taken with respect to it; that cannot be, therefore, the reason he withdrew his Budget. The whole affair, in fact, is involved in such mysterious obscurity that were it not for the ingenuous *naïveté* of the hon. Member for South Durham (Mr. Pease), who, I must say, generally manages to let the cat out of the bag, we should never had the slightest idea of this backstairs Resolution, which has defeated a Budget which had already received the support of the House of Commons in one of its preliminary stages, for the indirect tax proposed was agreed to, and upon the succession duty the sense of the House was never asked. But, more extraordinary still, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government tells us he is determined to appeal to the House as on a question of confidence on the Motion under discussion, although he and the Chancellor of the Exchequer united in telling us that nothing could be more intolerable than a Budget which should consist merely of a proposal for increasing the income tax. The right hon. Gentleman is ready to test the opinion of the House as a question of confidence in his Government, not upon the duty on matches, with regard to which he had the support of a majority, not upon the succession duty, on which its decision was never asked; but to show, I suppose, the strength of the Ministry, upon a tax which he and his Colleagues have told us they reprobate. Now, as this discussion has gone on, it has, like all other discussions, cleared up many points which were previously somewhat ambiguous. Hitherto, when we have discussed these matters, we have heard two opinions put forward on the other side of the House—I might say 20—but two which have perpetually confused us: at one time the Estimates have been described as transitional; while, at other times, statements have been made from which it was impossible not to infer that they were to be regarded as of a permanent character. But to-night both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Prime Minister have more than once admitted that the Estimates are to be looked upon as transitional; and the right hon. Gentleman when he made his admission, turned to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and said, "as has been rightly expressed by my right hon. Friend." We may from that, therefore, take the Estimates as intended to be transitional, and I propose for a moment to consider them in that light; and although the Prime Minister has taken a course to-night which, I confess, has astonished me, yet that circumstance shall not alter the course which I myself determined to adopt. When I entered the House I was told, to my surprise, that the hon. Member for Westminster was not about to proceed with his Motion. Being asked the reason why, I expressed a doubt as to its accuracy, and looked upon it as one of those rumours which have no foundation, and treated it as such; but, although there was no foundation for the rumour, it must have reached the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends, for they evidently prepared their speeches to meet a Motion of a different character. This debate, first of all, turned on a question which is not before the House; and, in the next place, they have converted into a Vote of Confidence the decision at which the House is asked to arrive with reference to raising the whole of the deficiency with which we have to deal, by means which they themselves have denounced. Now, I came down to the House quite in a different mood, and I was perfectly prepared, if I could obtain a clear admission from the right hon. Gentleman that these were transitional Estimates, to make any reasonable sacrifice to meet the demands of the Government. Let us then see if they really are transitional, and whether it is not possible to meet the difficulties of the case. I take it for granted that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government will not blow hot and cold on this subject, and that he will keep to his position that these are transitional Estimates. Well, then, we have a deficiency of £2,700,000, and it will not be denied, at the same time, that we shall be called upon next year for a sum of £1,200,000 for the Army Bill, and a further sum of £1,200,000 for another project which the Government have in view. Now, it is impossible that these can be transitional Estimates if we are to meet these two demands of £1,200,000 each. If the prospect were to brighten; if the Revenue were to increase, and if the Government were to be able to effect economy without impairing efficiency, it might be possible to meet these transitional Estimates; but they cannot, under the most favourable circumstances, if they are to encounter a demand for £2,400,000 in the following year. Therefore, I say if the right hon. Gentleman wishes us to consider these Estimates really as transitional Estimates, and to take a sanguine view of the state of the country, more sanguine than his own Chancellor of the Exchequer has taken, let him withdraw the two propositions which involve in the next year this demand for £1,200,000 each—that is to say, £2,400,000 for the abolition of purchase and for the loss of the house duty. Let him do that, and then I will admit that we may consider these as transitional Estimates, and then we shall be bound to meet the Chancellor of the Exchequer as far as we possibly can. I say, this is a fair offer to bring things to a wholesome state. I imagine the Chancellor of the Exchequer will then have a fair surplus, because he will save £600,000 on this year; and we would give him as much income tax as would meet his deficiency and leave a proper surplus. That is the position, I think, the question ought to occupy, and which the right hon. Gentleman ought to accept; and I cannot help thinking that these Budget debates, of which this is just the beginning, will end by a transaction of that character; and therefore I throw out this view for the reflection of the right hon. Gentleman; and if he will only consider it, instead of considering Terminable Annuities, and will come down to the House and make a conciliatory speech, we will give him fair and honourable support. Sir, I should terminate my observations here, but for some remarks which ought not to pass unnoticed. A habit has grown up on the Treasury Bench of intimating to the House and the country that the difficulties of a pecuniary character in which its occupants are involved, are due to our having excited the country and produced a demand for great expenditure. I want to know what is the authority of the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues for a statement of that kind. It cannot be that he has been forced into this expenditure by the Opposition. What is the use of having a majority of 120 if you are to be forced into expenditure by the minority? It cannot be that the Tory Press has produced this extreme feeling in the country, for there is only one Tory newspaper, and therefore he cannot pretend this. Who is it that takes any lead in our party who has, to use an expression that has twice caught my ear, "hounded on the country." I hardly presume to speak about myself. But only once in the course of the autumn did I open my lips, and that was at a pastoral meeting. Our Arcadian simplicity was disturbed by a worthy friend of mine, a man of war, who said the country was in a defenceless state, and who seemed to alarm my neighbours. The only observations I made were of an encouraging character; I expressed my conviction that there were sufficient means, if these were well managed, to meet the enemies that might threaten us. My right hon. Friend (Mr. Henley) also addressed his friends in a neighbouring county, and he took a similar but much more decided tone. My noble Friend the Earl of Derby had several opportunities of addressing his countrymen, and, though he did not throw cold water on the martial spirit of the martial race of Lancashire, he spoke with his usual prudence and good sense. Therefore, I want to know who it is that has hounded on the Government to this expenditure? You cannot say it is those who, by the confidence of their friends, take a lead in the conduct of their affairs as a party who have prevented you, with your majority at your back, acting on your own determinate judgment. You cannot impute the blame to the Press of the country, because it is a highly Liberal Press, and its editors are, I believe, your personal friends, to whom you impart most curious and delicate information. Is it to be endured that these statements are to be made night after night; that it is to be said we have hounded on the country, and that it is to be said it is in consequence of our rash and unprincipled conduct that we are involved in this difficult position? I gave, and I shall give, the Government credit for having acted from a sense of duty upon their determinate opinions. No doubt, when they were called upon for this great expenditure, there was disappointment and personal annoyance; but they overcame it by a sense of duty which I still hope may be a characteristic of English statesmen. There is something shabby now, after you have entrapped the House of Commons into this vast expenditure, with which you cannot cope—which you cannot control after the exposure of last week—in turning round and making these unauthorized statements and these attacks on your opponents. I rose to bring the issue to its true character before the division. The Motion of the hon. Member for Westminster is a clear and honourable Motion; it is that the deficiency of the amount mentioned should not be entirely supplied by the income tax. That is the question before us, and do not let us be led away by this hocus-pocus about Terminable Annuities. Let the House and the country clearly understand what is the issue before it; and whatever efforts are made by a Government, who are themselves pledged to oppose the principle of supplying all deficiency by income tax, to suppress our debate and division, let them understand this, because the country understands it, that this is not the last stand we will make against this Budget; but on every occasion, at every stage, and by every means, we will oppose a proposition that is most unsound and impolitic.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 335; Noes 250: Majority 85.

AYES.

Acland, T. D.
Adair, H. E.
Agar-Ellis, hon. L. G. F.
Allen, W. S.
Amcotts, Col. W. C.
Amory, J. H.
Anderson, G.
Anstruther, Sir R.
Antrobus, Sir E.
Armitstead, G.
Ayrton, rt. hon. A. S.
Aytoun, R. S.
Backhouse, E.
Bagwell, J.
Baines, E.
Baker, R. B. W.
Barclay, A. C.
Barry, A. H. S.
Bass, A.
Bass, M. T.
Baxter, W. E.
Bazley, Sir T.
Beaumont, Capt. F.
Beaumont, H. F.
Beaumont, S. A.
Beaumont, W. B.
Bentall, E. H.
Biddulph, M.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Bolckow, H. W. F.
Bonham-Carter, J.
Bouverie, rt. hon. E. P.
Bowmont, Marquess of
Bowring, E. A.
Brand, rt. hon. H.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, H. A.
Brassey, T.
Brewer, Dr.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Brinckman, Captain
Bristowe, S. B.
Brocklehurst, W. C.
Brogden, A.
Brown, A. H.
Browne, G. E.
Bruce, Lord C.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord E.
Bruce, rt. hon. H. A.
Bryan, G. L.
Buckley, N.
Bury, Viscount
Buxton, C.
Cadogan, hon. F. W.
Callan, P.
Campbell, H.
Candlish, J.
Cardwell, rt. hon. E.
Carington, hn. Capt. W.
Carnegie, hon. C.
Carter, Mr. Alderman
Cartwright, W. C.
Castlerosse, Viscount
Cavendish, Lord F. C.
Cavendish, Lord G.
Chadwick, D.
Chambers, M.
Chambers, T.
Cholmeley, Captain
Cholmeley, Sir M.
Clay, J.
Clifford, C. C.
Cogan, rt. hon. W. H. F.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Coleridge, Sir J. D.
Collier, Sir R. P.
Colman, J. J.
Corrigan, Sir D.
Cowen, J.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Cowper-Temple, right hon. W.
Craufurd, E. H. J.
Crawford, R. W.
Dalglish, R.
Dalrymple, D.
Dalway, M. R.
D'Arcy, M. P.
Davie, Sir H. R. F.
Davies, R.
Dease, E.
De La Poer, E.
Denman, hon. G.
Dent, J. D.
Dickinson, S. S.
Digby, K. T.
Dilke, Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dixon, G.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, J. G.
Downing, M'C.
Dowse, R.
Duff, M. E. G.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, F.
Edwardes, hon. Col. W.
Edwards, H.
Egerton, Capt. hon. F.
Ellice, E.
Enfield, Viscount
Ennis, J. J.
Erskine, Admiral J. E.
Esmonde, Sir J.
Ewing, H. E. C.
Eykyn, R.
FitzGerald, right hon. Lord O. A.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hn. C.W.W.
Fitzwilliam, hon. H. W.
Fletcher, I.
Fordyce, W. D.
Forster, C.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Foster, W. H.
Fortescue, rt. hon. C. P.
Fortescue, hon. D. F.
Fothergill, R.
Fowler, W.
French, rt. hon. Col.
Gavin, Major
Gilpin, C.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, W. H.
Goldsmid, Sir F.
Goldsmid, J.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Gower, Lord R.
Graham, W.
Gray, Sir J.
Gregory, W. H.
Greville, hon. Captain
Greville-Nugent, hon. G. F.
Grey, rt. hon. Sir G.
Grieve, J. J.
Grosvenor, Capt. R. W.
Grosvenor, hon. N.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Grove, T. F.
Hadfield, G.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Harcourt, W. G. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Harris, J. D.
Hartington, Marquess of
Haviland-Burke, E.
Headlam, rt. hon. T. E.
Henderson, J.
Henley, Lord
Henry, M.
Herbert, hon. A. E. W.
Herbert, H. A.
Heron, D. C.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hoare, Sir H. A.
Hodgkinson, G.
Hodgson, K. D.
Holland, S.
Holms, J.
Hoskyns, C. W.
Howard, hon. C. W. G.
Howard, J.
Hughes, T.
Hughes, W. B.
Hurst, R. H.
Hutt, rt. hon. Sir W.
Illingworth, A.
James, H.
Jardine, R.
Jessel, G.
Johnston, A.
Johnstone, Sir H.
Kay-Shuttleworth, U. J.
King, hon. P. J. L.
Kingscote, Colonel
Kinnaird, hon. A. F.
Knatchbull-Hugessen, E. H.
Lambert, N. G.
Lancaster, J.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Leatham, E. A.
Leeman, G.
Lefevre, G. J. S.
Lewis, H.
Lewis, J. D.
Lloyd, Sir T. D.
Loch, G.
Locke, J.
Lowe, rt. hon. R.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lush, Dr.
Lusk, A.
Lyttelton, hon. C. G.
MacEvoy, E.
Macfie, R. A.
Mackintosh, E. W.
M'Arthur, W.
M'Clean, J. R.
M'Clure, T.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, D.
M'Mahon, P.
Magniac, C.
Maguire, J. F.
Marling, S. S.
Martin, P. W.
Melly, G.
Merry, J.
Miall, E.
Milbank, F. A.
Miller, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
Monk, C. J.
Monsell, rt. hon. W.
Morgan, G. O.
Morley, S.
Morrison, W.
Mundella, A. J.
Muntz, P. H.
Murphy, N. D.
Nicol, J. D.
Norwood, C. M.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Conor, D. M.
O'Conor Don, The
Ogilvy, Sir J.
Onslow, G.
O'Reilly-Dease, M.
O'Reilly, M. W.
Otway, A. J.
Palmer, J. H.
Palmer, Sir R.
Parker, C. S.
Parry, L. Jones-
Pease, J. W.
Peel, A. W.
Peel, J.
Pelham, Lord
Philips, R. N.
Pim, J.
Platt, J.
Playfair, L.
Plimsoll, S.
Portman, hon. W. H. B.
Potter, E.
Potter, T. B.
Power, J. T.
Price, W. P.
Ramsden, Sir J. W.
Rathbone, W.
Reed, C.
Richard, H.
Richards, E. M.
Robertson, D.
Roden, W. S.
Rothschild, Brn. M. A. de
Rothschild, N. M. de
Russell, A.
Russell, F. W.
Russell, H.
Russell, Sir W.
Rylands, P.
St. Lawrence, Viscount
Salomons, Sir D.
Samuda, J. D. A.

Samuelson, B.
Sartoris, E. J.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Seymour, A.
Shaw, R.
Sheridan, H. B.
Sherlock, D.
Sherriff, A. C.
Simon, Mr. Serjeant
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Smith, E.
Smith, J. B.
Stacpoole, W.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stapleton, J.
Stepney, Colonel
Stevenson, J. C.
Stone, W. H.
Storks, rt. hon. Sir H. K.
Strutt, hon. H.
Stuart, Colonel
Sturt, Lt.-Colonel N.
Sykes, Colonel W. H.
Synan, E. J.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Taylor, P. A.
Tollemache, hon. F. J.
Torrens, R. R.
Tracy, hon. C. R. D. Hanbury-
Trevelyan, G. O.
Verney, Sir H.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, A. P.
Vivian, Capt. hn. J. C. W.
Vivian, H. H.
Waters, G.
Wedderburn, Sir D.
Weguelin, T. M.
Wells, W.
West, H. W.
Whalley, G. H.
Whatman, J.
Whitbread, S.
White, hon. Colonel C.
Whitwell, J.
Whitworth, T.
Williams, W.
Williamson, Sir H.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wingfield, Sir C.
Winterbotham, H. S. P.
Woods, H.
Young, A. W.
Young, G.

TELLERS.

Adam, W. P.
Glyn, hon. G. G.

NOES.

Adderley, rt. hon. Sir C.
Akroyd, E.
Allen, Major
Amphlett, R. P.
Annesley, hon. Col. H.
Anson, hon. A. H. A.
Arbuthnot, Major G.
Archdale, Captain M.
Arkwright, A. P.
Arkwright, R.
Assheton, R.
Baggallay, Sir R.
Bagge, Sir W.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Ball, J. T.
Baring, T.
Barrington, Viscount
Barttelot, Colonel
Bateson, Sir T.
Bathurst, A. A.
Beach, Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bentinck, G. C.
Benyon, R.
Beresford, Lt.-Col. M.
Bingham, Lord
Birley, H.
Booth, Sir R. G.
Bourke, hon. R.
Bright, R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brooks, W. C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruen, H.
Buckley, Sir E.
Burrell, Sir P.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Cartwright, F.
Cave, rt. hon. S.
Cawley, C. E.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaplin, H.
Charley, W. T.
Child, Sir S.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Clowes, S. W.
Cochrane, A. D. W. R. B.
Cole, Col. hon. H. A.
Conolly, T.
Corbett, Colonel
Corrance, F. S.
Corry, rt. hon. H. T. L.
Crichton, Viscount
Croft, Sir H. G. D.
Cubitt, G.
Dalrymple, C.
Damer, Capt. Dawson-
Davenport, W. B.
Dawson, R. P.
Denison, C. B.
Dick, F.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Dimsdale, R.
Disraeli, rt. hon. B.
Dowdeswell, W. E.
Duncombe, hon. Col.
Dyke, W. H.
Dyott, Colonel R.
Eastwick, E. B.
Eaton, H. W.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Egerton, hon. W.
Egerton, Sir P. G.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, G.
Elphinstone, Sir J. D. H.
Ewing, A. O.
Fawcett, H.
Feilden, H. M.
Fellowes, E.
Fielden, J.
Finch, G. H.
Forde, Colonel
Forester, rt. hon. Gen.
Fowler, R. N.
Galway, Viscount
Garlies, Lord
Goldney, G.
Gooch, Sir D.
Gordon, E. S.
Gore, J. R. O.
Gore, W. R. O.
Grant, Colonel hon. J.
Graves, S. R.
Gray, Lieut.-Colonel
Greaves, E.
Greene, E.
Gregory, G. B.
Guest, A. E.
Gurney, rt. hon. R.
Hambro, C.
Hamilton, I. T.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, Lord G.
Hamilton, Marquess of
Hardy, rt. hon. G.
Hardy, J.
Hardy, J. S.
Hay, Sir J. C. D.
Henley, rt. hon. J. W.
Henry, J. S.
Herbert, rt. hon. Gen. Sir P.
Hermon, E.
Hervey, Lord A. H. C.
Hesketh, Sir T. G.
Heygate, W. U.
Hick, J.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, A. S.
Hodgson, W. N.
Holford, J. P. G.
Holford, R. S.
Holmesdale, Viscount
Holt, J. M.
Hood, Cap. hn. A. W. A. N.
Hope, A. J. B. B.
Hornby, E. K.
Hunt, rt. hon. G. W.
Hutton, J.
Jackson, R. W.
Jenkinson, Sir G. S.
Jervis, Colonel
Johnston, W.
Jones, J.
Kavanagh, A. MacM.
Kekewich, S. T.
Kennaway, J. H.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Knox, hon. Colonel S.
Lacon, Sir E. H. K.
Laird, J.
Langton, W. G.
Laslett, W.
Learmonth, A.
Legh, Lt.-Col. G. C.
Legh, W. J.
Lennox, Lord G. G.
Lennox, Lord H. G.
Liddell, hon. H. G.
Lindsay, hon. Colonel C.
Lindsay, Colonel R. L.
Lopes, H. C.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, Colonel
Lowther, J.
Lowther, W.
Mahon, Viscount
Maitland, Sir A. C. R. G.
Manners, rt. hn. Lord J.
Manners, Lord G. J.
March, Earl of
Matthews, H.
Mellor, T. W.
Meyrick, T.
Milles, hon. G. W.
Mills, C. H.
Mitford, W. T.
Montagu, rt. hn. Lord R.
Morgan, C. O.
Morgan, hon. Major
Mowbray, rt. hon. J. R.
Neville-Grenville, R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Newry, Viscount
Noel, hon. G. J.
North, Colonel
O'Neill, hon. E.
Paget, R. H.
Pakington, rt. hn. Sir J.
Palk, Sir L.
Parker, Lt.-Col. W.
Patten, rt. hon. Col. W.
Peek, H. W.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Earl
Phipps, C. P.
Plunket, hon. D. R.
Powell, W.
Raikes, H. C.
Read, C. S.
Ridley, M. W.
Round, J.
Royston, Viscount
Sackville, S. G. S.
Salt, T.
Sandon, Viscount
Sclater-Booth, G.
Scott, Lord H. J. M. D.
Scourfield, J. H.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Shirley, S. E.
Simonds, W. B.
Smith, A.
Smith, F. C.
Smith, R.
Smith, S. G.
Somerset, Lord H. R. C.
Stanley, hon. F.
Starkie, J. P. C.
Steere, L.
Straight, D.
Sturt, H. G.

Sykes, C.
Talbot, hon. Captain
Talbot, J. G.
Taylor, rt. hon. Col.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tipping, W.
Tollemache, J.
Tomline, G.
Trevor, Lord A. E. Hill-
Turner, C.
Turnor, E.
Vance, J.
Vandeleur, Colonel
Verner, E. W.
Verner, Sir W.
Walker, Major G. G.
Walpole, hon. F.
Walpole, rt. hon. S. H.
Walsh, hon. A.
Waterhouse, S.
Welby, W. E.
Wethered, T. O.
Wharton, J. L.
Wheelhouse, W. S. J.
Williams, C. H.
Williams, Sir F. M.
Wilmot, H.
Winn, R.
Wise, H. C.
Wyndham, hon. P.
Wynn, C. W. W.
Yarmouth, Earl of

TELLERS.
Cross, R. A.
Smith, W. H.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for one year, commencing on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, for and in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act passed in the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, for granting to Her Majesty Duties on Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices, the following Duties (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of all such Property, Profits, and Gains, (except those chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,) the Duty of Sixpence;

And in respect of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act:

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value thereof;

In England, the Duty of Three Pence; and

In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of Two Pence Farthing;

Subject to the provisions contained in section three of the Act of twenty-sixth Victoria, chapter twenty-two, for the exemption of Persons whose whole Income from every source is under One Hundred Pounds a-year, and relief of those whose Income is under Two Hundred Pounds a-year."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Robert Fowler.*)

MR. GLADSTONE said, he could not accede to the Motion. This was the first time in his experience when such an opposition had been made to the first stage of the financial measure. It was absolutely necessary that the Government should endeavour to proceed with the Public Business; he therefore trusted the Committee would not sanction the Motion for reporting Progress, for the hon. Member, and those who shared his opinions, would have abundant opportunities of opposing the Government proposals at their subsequent stages.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for one year, commencing on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, for and in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act passed in the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, for granting to Her Majesty Duties on Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices, the following Duties (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of all such Property, Profits, and Gains (except those chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act), the Duty of Sixpence;

And in respect of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act:

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value thereof;

In England, the Duty of Three Pence; and

In Scotland and Ireland respectively, the Duty of Two Pence Farthing;

Subject to the provisions contained in section three of the Act of twenty-sixth Victoria, chapter twenty-two, for the exemption of persons whose whole Income from every source is under One Hundred Pounds a-year, and relief of those whose Income is under Two Hundred Pounds a-year.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

TREASURERS OF RATES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DONALD DALRYMPLE, Bill for the relief of Treasurers of Counties, Cities, and Boroughs appointed under the Act of the twelfth year of George the Second, chapter twenty-nine, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DONALD DALRYMPLE, Sir WILLIAM BAGGE, and Mr. DODDS.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 120.]

House adjourned at a quarter
before Two o'clock.

[INDEX.

INDEX

TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

VOLUME CCV.

SECOND VOLUME OF SESSION 1871.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1°, 2°, 3°, or 1ª, 2ª, 3ª, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—*1st. Div.*, *2nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

Some subjects of debate have been classified under the following "General Headings:"—ARMY — NAVY — INDIA — IRELAND — SCOTLAND — PARLIAMENT — POOR LAW—POST OFFICE—METROPOLIS—CHURCH OF ENGLAND—EDUCATION—CRIMINAL LAW—TAXATION, under WAYS AND MEANS.

ABYSSINIA—*Envoys of Prince Kassa*
Question, The Earl of Derby; Answer, Earl Granville *Mar* 31, 981

ACLAND, Mr. T. D., *Devonshire, N.*
Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, 1220
Volunteer Corps, 1238
Yeomanry Cavalry, 1222
Land Settlement, Res. 1716

ADDERLEY, Right Hon. Sir C. B., *Staffordshire, N.*
Parochial Councils, 2R. 862
Trades Unions, Comm. 811
West India Islands—Consolidation of Governorships, 987

Adulteration of Food, &c. Bill
(*Mr. Muntz, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Dixon*)
c. Read 2° * *Mar* 21 [Bill 41]

ADVOCATE, The Lord (Right Hon. G. YOUNG), *Wigton, &c.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 304, 306
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 430, 444
Scotland—Administration of Justice, 1927

Africa—The West Coast
Acquisition of Dutch Guinea, Questions, Mr. Magniac, Mr. Baillie Cochrane; Answers, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 27, 657
Colonial Steamer, The, Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen *April* 3, 1045

ALLEN, Major R. S., *Somersetshire, E.*
Queen's and East Indian Cadets, 461

ALLEN, Mr. W. S., *Newcastle-under-Lyne*
Army—Commissions to Passed Candidates, 1385

Anatomy Act (1832) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *April* 4 [Bill 110]
Read 2°* *April* 17
Committee*; Report *April* 20
Read 3°* *April* 21
l. Read 1ª* (*The Earl of Morley*) *April* 24
Read 2ª* *May* 1 (No. 74)

ANDERSON, Mr. G., *Glasgow*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 306, 307
Shute, Colonel, Retirement of, 892
Army Regulation, 2R. 148, 210
Epping Forest, Res. 1869
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 21, 820; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 978
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1446; Report, 1537

ANSON, Hon. Colonel A. H. A., *Bewdley*
Army—Officers of the Indian Army, 1688
Supercession of Colonels, 459
Army Regulation, 2R. 109, 114

ARBUTHNOT, Major G., *Hereford City*
Army—Artillery Retirement, 336
Non-Purchase Corps, 48
Army Regulation—Colonels of Artillery, 1689
Army Estimates—Land Forces, Report, 637

ARMY
Army Expenditure, Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *May* 1, 1935

Artillery
Breech-Loading Field Guns in the Prussian Army, Question, Colonel Sykes; Answer, Sir Henry Storks *Mar* 30, 891

Small Arms
Henry-Martini Rifle, Question, Mr. Muntz; Answer, Sir Henry Storks *Mar* 16, 49; Question, Colonel Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 27, 656
Muzzle-Loaders—Regiments in India, Question, Colonel North; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *April* 18, 1243

Artillery Officers, Education of, Question, Mr. Somerset Beaumont; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 27, 661
Artillery Retirement, Question, Major Arbuthnot; Answer, Captain Vivian *Mar* 21, 336

Chaplains in Camp, Question, Major Walker; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 24, 1581
Commissions to Passed Candidates, Question, Major Allen; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 20, 1385

Defences
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 27, To leave out from "That" and add "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to make additional provision for the defence of the Commercial Harbours of this Country, by building, without delay, gun vessels of a light draught, armed with heavy guns, which may, in case of emergency, be manned by any existing local or other force" (*Mr. Graves*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.:" after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn

[*cont.*

ARMY—*cont.*
Defences of the Firth of Forth, Observations, Mr. Macfie; debate thereon *April* 21, 1520
Gibraltar—Armament, Address for "a Return of the number of Guns mounted on the Fortress of Gibraltar" (*Mr. Arthur Guest*) *Mar* 28, 771; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

4th Dragoon Guards—Retirement of Colonel Shute, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 30, 892
Inventions and Patent Rights, The War Office, Question, Mr. Candlish; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 30, 888
Military Attachés, Question, Colonel White; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 16, 56
Military Labour—Employment of Soldiers in Trades, Question, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 20, 265

Militia
Assembly of Militia, Question, The Earl of Sandwich; Answer, Lord Northbrook *Mar* 31, 980
Irish Militia Regiments, Questions, The Earl of Limerick, The Marquess of Exeter; Answers, Lord Northbrook *Mar* 23, 452
Militia and Volunteer Artillery—Small Arms, Question, Mr. Ridley; Answer, Sir Henry Storks *May* 1, 1929
Militia Drill and Brigading, Question, Lord Garlies; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 30, 890
Royal Cornwall Rangers Militia — Colonel Edgcumbe, Question, Sir John Pakington; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 21, 1467
Small Pox—3rd Surrey Militia, Question, Mr. Peek; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 17, 173 —*Royal Sussex Militia*, Question, Major Dickson (for Major Walker); Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 21, 1465—*4th Middlesex Militia*, Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 27, 1769
Small Pox — Recruiting of the Metropolitan Regiments, Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 30, 891

Musketry Drill at Chatham, Question, Mr. Malcolm; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 27, 1769
Officers of the Commissariat, &c., Departments — The Control Warrant, Question, Viscount Mahon; Answer, Sir Henry Storks *April* 24, 1584
Ordnance Maps at Military Stations, Question, Mr. H. B. Sheridan; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 24, 573
Regular and Auxiliary Forces—Double Commissions, Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 20, 272
Report of the War Office Committee, Question, Mr. D. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 28, 767

Sandhurst and Woolwich
Cadets at Sandhurst, Question, Mr. Dickinson; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 21, 1469
The Queen's and East Indian Cadets, Question, Major Allen; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 22, 461
Examinations at Woolwich, Question, Mr. Neville-Grenville; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 28, 1848

[*cont.*

ARMY—*cont.*

Supersession of Colonels—Royal and Indian Army, Question, Colonel Anson; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 23, 459

Unattached Officers, Question, Colonel Taylor; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 4, 1147

Volunteers

Allowances to, in Camp, Question, Mr. Eastwick; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 18, 1241

Camp Equipments, Question, Colonel C. Lindsay; Answer, Sir Henry Storks *April* 28, 1849

Mutiny Act, Question, Colonel C. Lindsay; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 28, 1850

Volunteer Artillery—Arms, Question, Earl Vane; Answer, Lord Northbrook; short debate thereon *Mar* 24, 565; Question, Mr. Headlam; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 30, 888; Question, Mr. Ridley; Answer, Sir Henry Storks *May* 1, 1929

Volunteer Officers — Presentation at Court, Question, Mr. Charley; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 21, 1465

Volunteers and Yeomanry—Instruction of Officers, Question, Mr. Hambro; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 16, 52

Army—Martini-Henry Rifle

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 28, To leave out from "That" and add "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the merits of the Martini-Henry Rifle, particularly as to its lock arrangement and mode of stocking; and whether it is the most suitable rifle as compared with others now manufactured to arm our troops with" (*Colonel Bartlelot*), 1872; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, A. 137, N. 72; M. 65

Army—Military Education

Address for, "Returns of the number and statements of service of garrison instructors, and copies of instructions given to them for the execution of their duties by the Secretary of State for War, as well as copies of any instructions given by him or of communications made by the Royal Commission on the military education of officers of Her Majesty's army consequent on the Commissioners' report on that subject" (*Lord Strathnairn*) *Mar* 28, 752; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Army—Powder in Store

Address for Returns (*The Earl of Carnarvon*) *Mar* 17, 152; after debate, Motion amended, and agreed to (*Parl. P.* No. 71)

Army Regulation Bill — Miscellaneous Questions

Abolition of Purchase—Compensation—Select Committee, Question, Mr. Gathorne Hardy; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 31, 987

Army Promotion, Selection, and Examination, Observations, Mr. Stapleton; debate thereon *Mar* 20, 288

[*cont.*

Army Regulation Bill—cont.

Colonels on Half-Pay — The Reserve Fund, Question, Lord Garlies; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 27, 658

Colonels Promoted to Staff Employment, Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 20, 1384

Compensation to Clerks of Lieutenancy, Question, Mr. W. Egerton; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 23, 457

Compensation to General Officers, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 24, 1581

District Colonels of Artillery, Question, Major Arbuthnot; Answer, Captain Vivian *April* 25, 1689

Exchanges—The Queen's Regulations, Question, Mr. O'Reilly; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 27, 657; Question, Mr. Stapleton; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 31, 984

Household Troops, Question, Major Gavin; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 24, 571

Indian Artillery and Engineers, Question, Sir Charles Wingfield; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 30, 893

Inspectors of the Reserve Forces, Question, Mr. H. R. Brand; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 27, 1777

Mutiny Act—The Volunteers, Question, Colonel C. Lindsay; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 28, 1850

Non-Purchase Corps, Promotion in, Question, Major Arbuthnot; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 16, 48

Officers in the Reserve Forces, Question, Mr. O'Neill; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 28, 770

Promotion and Retirement—Estimate of Cost, Question, Lord Elcho; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 3, 1044

Promotion of Officers, Questions, Sir Tollemache Sinclair; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 27, 660

The Militia—The County Rates, Question, Mr. Stacpoole; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *April* 21, 1466

Transfers of Line Officers to Militia, Question, Colonel C. Lindsay; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 17, 172

Transfers of Militia Officers to Line, Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 23, 462

Volunteers and Yeomanry—Instruction of Officers, Question, Mr. Hambro; Answer, Mr. Cardwell *Mar* 16, 52

Army Regulation Bill [Bill 39]

(*Mr. Secretary Cardwell, Sir Henry Knight Storks, Captain Vivian, The Judge Advocate*)

c. Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [6th March], "That the Bill be now read 2°;" and which Amendment was,

To leave out from "That" and add "in the opinion of this House, the expenditure necessary for the national defences and the other demands on the Exchequer do not at present justify any Vote of Public Money for the extinction of Purchase in the Army" (*Colonel Loyd Lindsay*)

3 X 2 [*cont.*

Army Regulation Bill—cont.
  Question again proposed, "That the words, &c." *Mar* 16, 57
  After long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Colonel North*); Question put; A. 187, N. 284; M. 97
  Question again proposed; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Robert Fowler*); Question put; A. 147, N. 256; M. 109
  Question again proposed; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir James Elphinstone*); Question put, and agreed to
  Moved, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock" (*Mr. Russell Gurney*); Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*); A. 104, N. 238; M. 134
  Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock;" Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir John Hay*); A. 101, N. 220; M. 119
  Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Earl Percy*); A. 92, N. 208; M. 116
  Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock;" Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Lord Garlies*); A. 80, N. 190; M. 110
  Question again proposed, "That the Debate be adjourned till this day, at Two of the clock;" Motion withdrawn; Debate adjourned
  Debate resumed *Mar* 17, 203; after long debate, Question put, and agreed to; main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

Army—Prospective Strength of the Army
  Address for a Return of the Normal Peace Establishment, exclusive of Colonial Corps and Native Indian Troops, contemplated by the Government scheme when after twelve years the Reserves will be full (*Mr. Dickinson*) *Mar* 28, 771; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Army Regulation Bill
  Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 23, To leave out from "That" and add "this House, whilst approving the abolition of Purchase in the Army, is of opinion that the Army may be put in a state of efficiency without increasing the ordinary Military Estimates of last year" (*Mr. Mundella*), 463; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" A. 294, N. 91; M. 203

Army Re-organization — The Complete Scheme
  Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 17, To leave out from "That" and add "in the opinion of this House, it would be inexpedient to vote any sum of money towards the defrayment of the proposed increase of expense of the Military System of this Kingdom until a scheme having for its object the efficient re-organisation of our Regular and Auxiliary Forces has been introduced by Her Majesty's Government" (*Lord Garlies*), 1196; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Army Re-organization—The Reserve Forces
  Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 17, To leave out from "That" and add "in the opinion of this House, no scheme of Army reorganisation is satisfactory which does not form the reserves for the defence of this Country by men passed through the ranks of the regular Army" (*Captain Beaumont*), 1180; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Army—Reserve Forces—The Lords Lieutenant
  Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the law respecting the control of the Reserve Forces in the several counties of Great Britain" (*The Lord Vivian*) *Mar* 28, 734; after debate, on Question? resolved in the negative

Army Retirement
  Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 20, To leave out from "That" and add "in order to check the creation of vested interests which would have to be considered in arranging a sound and equitable system of retirement, no appointment should in future be made to the paid colonelcy of a regiment which did not involve the active command of the regiment" (*Mr. Trevelyan*), 274; after short debate, Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" A. 204, N. 111; M. 93

Assheton, Mr. R., *Clitheroe*
  Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1171

Attorney General, The (Sir R. P. Collier), *Plymouth*
  Bribery at Norwich, 463
  Corrupt Practices Act, 457
  County Court Judges, 169
  Declaration of Paris, Res. 1491
  Epping Forest—Verderers' Court, 458
  Jury System, 1383
  Land Settlement, Res. 1715
  Middlesex Registry of Deeds—The Registrar, 886
  Munitions of War, Res. 797
  Parliament—Private Bill Legislation, Motion for a Select Committee, 613
  Public Prosecutors, 2R. 1758
  Torpey, Martha, Case of, 1024

Ayrton, Right Hon. A. S. (Chief Commissioner of Works), *Tower Hamlets*
  Army—Promotion by Selection, 307
  Art and Science Museum, East London, 46
  Berwick-on-Tweed, Nationality of, 891
  Metropolis—Questions, &c.
    Buildings for Learned Societies, Piccadilly, 51
    Hamilton Gardens, 1145
    Hyde Park, 671;—Volunteer Drill in, 768;—Albert Memorial, 1768
    Kensington Gardens, 1771, 1772, 1773
    Museum of Practical Geology, 1145
    St. James's Park, 1689

[*cont.*

AYRTON, Right Hon. A. S.—*cont.*
Metropolis — Communication between St. James's and Westminster, Motion for an Address, 608
Ordnance Survey—North Wales, 1584
Supply—Civil Services, 1037
Law Charges, 309
Miscellaneous Expenses, 316, 317

AYTOUN, Mr. R. Sinclair, *Kirkcaldy, &c.*
Scotland—Defences of the Firth of Forth, 1525
Ways and Means, Comm. 1803; Res. 1980

BAINES, Mr. E., *Leeds*
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 380

BAKER, Mr. R. B. Wingfield, *Essex, S.*
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1169
Tenant Farmers—Property Tax, 1048
Local Taxation—Sewers, 1778

BALL, Right Hon. J. T., *Dublin University*
Torpey, Martha, Case of, 1022

Bank Holidays Bill
(*Sir John Lubbock, Sir David Salomons, Mr. Barnett, Mr. Rathbone*)
c. Read 2° * *Mar* 15 [Bill 50]
Committee *; Report *Mar* 24
Re-comm. *; Report *Mar* 29 [Bill 88]
Order for 3° read *Mar* 31, 1041; after short debate, Order discharged; Bill re-committed; Committee; Report; Read 3°
Bills of Exchange, Question, Mr. Watkin Williams; Answer, Mr. Baxter *April* 18, 1242
l. Read 1ª * (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) *April* 20 (No. 70)

Bankruptcy Disqualification Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *Mar* 31 (No. 65)
Bill read 2ª, after short debate *April* 24, 1575
Committee * *April* 27 (No. 79)
Report * *May* 1 (No. 83)

Bankruptcy (Ireland) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, The Marquess of Hartington*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 4 [Bill 109]

BARCLAY, Mr. A. C., *Taunton*
India—Madras Medical Fund, 987

BARING, Mr. T., *Huntingdon*
Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 2006, 2011

BARNETT, Mr. H., *Woodstock*
Army Estimates—Yeomanry Cavalry, 1223
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1444

BARTTELOT, Colonel W. B., *Sussex, W.*
Army Reserve Force, 1239
Army—Martini-Henry Rifle, 656; Motion for a Committee, 1872
Army Estimates—Land Forces, 532
Militia Pay and Allowances, 1219
Volunteer Corps, 1233
Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal), 2R. 1052
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. Amendt. 1172
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1547

BASS, Mr. M. T., *Derby Bo.*
Army—Promotion by Retirement, 294
Army—Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1892, 1894
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 443
Prussia—Treaty of Prague, 458
Railway Accident—Alleged Collision at Burton-on-Trent, 462
Railway Companies, 2R. 17, 34, 39

Bath City Prison Bill
(*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 3 [Bill 100]
Read 2° * *April* 17
Committee *; Report *April* 24
Considered * *April* 26
Read 3° * *April* 27
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl of Morley*) *April* 28 (No. 80)

BATHURST, Mr. A. A., *Cirencester*
Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, 1218
Volunteer Corps, 1238

BAXTER, Mr. W. E. (Secretary to the Treasury), *Montrose, &c.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 305
Bills of Exchange, &c. 2R. 1240, 1243; Comm. 1845
Civil Service — Pensions' Commutation Act (1869), 265
Greece—Guaranteed Loan, 659
Metropolis—Thames Embankment, 1047
Navy—Deptford Dockyard, Res. 682, 683
New Forest, The, 1243;—Felling Timber, 1583, 1933
Supply—Civil Service, 308, 1030, 1034
Criminal Prosecutions (Ireland), 310
Law Charges, 309
Miscellaneous Expenses, 318, 320
Relief of Paris, 322
Tea and Coffee, Damaged, Sale of, 1043
Terminable Annuities, 984
Valuation (Ireland), Motion for a Committee, 1719
Writers in the Customs, 658

BEACH, Sir M. E. HICKS-, *Gloucestershire, E.*
Army Regulation, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 150
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1157

[*cont.*

BEACH, Sir M. E. HICKS—*cont.*
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1543
Poor Law—Vagrant Wards, 1384, 1385
Rating and Local Government, Leave, Motion for Adjournment, 1141
Trades Unions, Consid. 1173

BEACH, Mr. W. W. B., *Hampshire, N.*
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1442

BEAUMONT, Capt. F. E. B., *Durham, S.*
Army — Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1909
Army Re-organization, Res. 1180, 1193, 1196
Army Estimates—Pay and Allowances, 535

BEAUMONT, Mr. Somerset A., *Wakefield*
Army—Artillery Officers, Education of, 661
Conference of London, Res. 916
Mines Regulation, 1770

Benefices Resignation Bill
(*The Lord Bishop of Winchester*)
l. Report *Mar* 21, 331 (Nos. 43-52)
Read 3^{a} * *Mar* 23
c. Read 1^{o} * *April* 17 [Bill 111]

BENTINCK, Mr. G. A. F. CAVENDISH- *Whitehaven*
Army Regulation, 2R. 150
Declaration of Paris, Res. 1469, 1505
Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal), 2R. 1057
Hackney Carriage Regulations, Res. 1721
Parliament—Business of the House, Committee on, 685, 688
Order in Debate, Explanation, 176, 178
Supply—Civil Services, 1035

BENTINCK Mr. G. W. P., *Norfolk, W.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 299
Army Regulation, 2R. 147
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 671
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 368
London Republicans, 574
Railway Companies, 2R. 37
Supply—Civil Services, 1031, 1035, 1037, 1038
National Gallery, 311, 315

BERESFORD, Colonel F. M., *Southwark*
Africa—West Coast of, 1045
Army—Militia Officers, 462
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1232
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1108
Match Tax, 1931
West, Thomas, Case of, 1932

Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes Bill (*Mr. Baxter, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)
c. Ordered; read 1^{o} * *Mar* 29 [Bill 91]
Bill read 2^{o}, after short debate *April* 17, 1240
Committee *April* 27, 1844

[*cont.*

Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes Bill—cont.
Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have the power to introduce provisions into the Bill making the law uniform as to the days upon which bills falling due upon Holidays shall be payable" (*Mr. Watkin Williams*); after short debate, Question put, and negatived; Report

BIRLEY, Mr. H., *Manchester*
Education—New Code, 334
Munitions of War, Res. 799
Parochial Councils, 2R. 842

Board of Trade Returns
Question, Mr. Eaton; Answer, Mr. A. Peel *April* 4, 1145

BONHAM-CARTER, Mr. J., *Winchester*
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1157

BOURKE, Hon. R., *Lynn Regis*
Customs and Inland Revenue, 1689
Customs and Inland Revenue Duties Act Amendment, 2R. 405
Declaration of Paris, Res. 1483

BOUVERIE, Right Hon. E. P., *Kilmarnock, &c.*
Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal), 2R. 1056
Navy—Robinson, Sir S., Motion for a Committee, 1302, 1307, 1308, 1323
Parliament—Public Business, Committee on, 1390
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 817; *cl.* 19, 819

BOWRING, Mr. E. A., *Exeter*
China—Hong Kong, 459
Education—The Census—Returns of Children, 335
Navy Estimates—Victuals and Clothing (Seamen and Marines), 1840
Parliament—Business of the House, Committee on, 688
Sunday Trading, 2R. 1742
Supply—Civil Services, 308, 1034
National Gallery, 310
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1439

BRADY, Mr. J., *Leitrim Co.*
Sabbath Observance Act, 461

BRAND, Mr. H. R., *Hertfordshire*
Army—Reserve Forces, Inspectors of, 1777
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1366

BRASSEY, Mr. T., *Hastings*
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 668
Navy—Controllership of the, Res. 1810, 1822

BREWER, Dr. W., *Colchester*
Army Estimates — Medical Establishments, 1200
Metropolis—Chelsea Embankment, 1773

Bright, Mr. Jacob, *Manchester*
- Army Estimates, Res. 495
- National Expenditure, Res. 1631
- Small Pox (Metropolis)—Returns of Vaccination, 1928

Brise, Colonel S. B. Ruggles-, *Essex, E.*
- Post Office—Telegraph System in Essex, 892

Bristowe, Mr. S. B., *Newark*
- Public Prosecutors, 2R. 1762

Brogden, Mr. A., *Wednesbury*
- Metropolis—Hyde Park, 671

Brooks, Mr. W. C., *Cheshire, E.*
- Ways and Means, Comm. 1806

Brown, Mr. A. H., *Wenlock*
- Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1375

Bruce, Right Hon. H. A. (Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Renfrewshire*
- Cab Regulations, 268
- County Justices Qualification Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 808
- Court of Chancery—Committal of Persons of Unsound Mind, 1044
- Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen), Consid. 1179
- Education—Census, The, 1930
- "Epaminondas," Case of the, 769
- Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1062, 1099, 1100, 1102, 1109, 1112
- Historic Monuments, Destruction of, 48
- Imprisonment of a Child at Tamworth, 1388, 1389
- Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1172
- Judicature Commission, 49
- Licensing—Popular Demonstrations, 1780
- Match Makers' Procession, 1774, 1777
- Metropolis Water, 2R. 1463
- Mines Regulation, 1770
- Murphy, Mr., Case of, 1779, 1850
- Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), 2R. 1041; Comm. 1457
- Public Prosecutors, 2R. 1765
- Sabbath Observance Act, 461
- Salmon Fisheries, 2R. 805
- Scotland — Cambusnethan Roman Catholic School, 885
    - Pedlars' Certificates, 1778
    - Superannuation Fund—Greenock Police, 887
- Small Pox (Metropolis)—Returns of Vaccination, 1929
- Sunday Trading, 2R. 1739
- Tables of Lessons, 1391
- Trades Unions, Comm. 638; Instruction, 808, 814; *cl.* 2, 816; *cl.* 5, 817, 818; *cl.* 15, 819; *cl.* 19, *ib.*; *cl.* 21, 820, 821; *cl.* 25, Amendt. 821; *cl.* 3, 977; Amendt. 978, 979; Consid. 1173
- Vaccination Act—Penalties, 1935

Bruce, Sir H. H., *Coleraine*
- Ireland—Poor Law—Irish Poor Removal, 454

Bruen, Mr. H., *Carlow Co.*
- Ireland—Labourers' Residences, Res. 588

Buckhurst, Lord
- Emanuel Charity, Westminster, 1561

Buckley, Mr. N., *Staleybridge*
- South Yorkshire Coal Owners' Railway, 1851

Burke, Mr. E. Haviland-, *Christchurch*
- India—Nawab Nazim, 1048

Bury, Viscount, *Berwick-on-Tweed*
- Army—Promotion by Selection, 294
- Army Regulation, 2R. 57
- Army Estimates — Medical Establishments, 1206, 1207
    - Volunteer Corps, 1225
- Harbours of Refuge—Motion for an Address, 373
- Ways and Means, Comm. 1804

Buxton, Mr. C., *Surrey, E.*
- Army—Small Pox and the Militia, 891
- Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1235
- Parochial Councils, 2R. 858
- Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1458
- Ways and Means, Comm. 1808

Cadogan, Earl
- Metropolis—Wellington Monument, 450, 452

Cadogan, Hon. F. W., *Cricklade*
- France—British Subjects in Paris, 336
- France and Germany—Compensation to British Subjects, 570

Cairns, Lord
- Benefices Regulation, Report, *cl.* 7, Amendt. 331
- Emanuel Charity, Westminster, 1550
- Incorporation of Trustees Presbyterian Church (Ireland), 2R. 327, 330
- Justices Procedure (England), 2R. 260
- Lunacy Regulation (Ireland), 2R. 450
- Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society (Ireland), 2R. 330

Cambridge, Duke of (Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief)
- Army—Military Education—Address for Returns, 760

Cameron, Mr. D., *Invernessshire*
- Cab Regulations, 268

Campbell, Mr. H., *Stirling, &c.*
- Post Office—Salaries, Telegraph Service, 1046

Camperdown, Earl of (Lord of the Admiralty)
- Armour Clad Vessels—Coast and Harbour Defences, Motion for a Return, 881

Canada—Dominion of
British North America (Public Works), Moved, "That it is desirable, in order to put an end to misunderstanding, to define clearly the responsibility attaching to such undertakings as Railways and Public Works in British North America" (*Mr. Whatman*) *April* 18, 1244; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Candlish, Mr. J., *Sunderland*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 297
Army Estimates, Res. 502
Army Estimates — Medical Establishments, 1207
Militia Pay and Allowances, 1219
Harbours of Refuge—Motion for an Address, 370
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 729
Victuals and Clothing (Seamen and Marines), 1842
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1461
Supply—Civil Services, 1028, 1035
Compensation to Sufferers by Fire at Pera, 320
Miscellaneous Expenses, 318
Terminable Annuities, 983
Trades Unions, Comm. 977
War and Disputed Inventions Office, 888
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1438

Cardwell, Right Hon. E. (Secretary of State for War), *Oxford City*
Army—Questions, &c.
Artillery and Engineers, Indian, 893
Artillery Officers, Education of, 661
Artillery Volunteers, Breech-Loaders for, 889
Cadets at Sandhurst, 1469
Chaplains in Camp, 1581
Chatham, Musketry Drill at, 1769
Colonels on Half-Pay, 658
Colonels promoted to Staff Employment, 1384
Commissions in the Yeomanry, &c., 272
Commissions to passed Candidates, 1385
Compensation to General Officers, 1581
Cornwall Rangers Militia, 1467
Employment of Soldiers in Trades, 266
Examinations at Woolwich, 1848
Exchanges, 657, 984
Expenditure, 1935
Household Troops, 671
Martini-Henry Rifle, 656
Militia Drill, 890
Militia Officers, 462
Non-Purchase Corps, 48
Ordnance Maps, 573
Promotion and Retirement, 1045
Promotion by Selection, 295, 296, 297, 299
Purchase, Abolition of, 988
Queen's and East Indian Cadets, 461
Reserve Forces, Inspectors of, 1778
Reserve Forces, Officers in the, 770
Shute, Colonel, Retirement of, 892
Small Pox—3rd Surrey Militia, 173;—Sussex Militia, 1465
Supercession of Colonels, 459
Transfers from the Line to the Militia, 173
Unattached Officers, 1147

[cont.

Cardwell, Right Hon. E. —*cont.*
Volunteer Officers, 1465
Volunteers and Yeomanry, 53
Volunteers—Military Camp, 1242
Volunteers—Mutiny Act, 1850
War Office Committee Report, 768
Army — Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1900
Army Re-organization, Res. 1191
Army Retirement, Res. 280, 287
Army, Strength of the, Motion for a Return, 771
Army Regulation, 2R. 118, 123, 149, 243, 259, 660, 1466
Army Estimates, Res. 509, 514
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 1238, 1239
Land Forces, 526, 532; Report, 628, 631
Martial Law, 1200
Medical Establishments, 1207
Militia Pay and Allowances, 1209, 1210, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1218, 1221
Pay and Allowances, 533, 538
Volunteer Corps, 1226, 1237, 1238
Yeomanry Cavalry, 1224, 1225
Gibraltar Armament, Motion for a Return, 775, 776, 777
Lieutenancy, Clerks of, 457
Small Pox at Hounslow, 1769
Supply, 1871
War and Disputed Inventions Office, 888

Carnarvon, Earl of
Army—Powder in Store, Address for Returns, 152
China—Missions in, 1911
China — Tien-tsin Massacre, Address for Papers, 545, 564
Emanuel College, Westminster, 1567
Greece—Murder of British Subjects by Brigands, 263
Habitual Criminals Act, 1678
Prison Ministers, 2R. 165

Carnegie, Hon. C., *Forfarshire*
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1370
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 408, 414, 445

Carter, Mr. R. M., *Leeds*
Education—Balance Sheets of Schools, 570
Foreign Cattle, Importation of, 1467

Cattle Disease
Importation of Foreign Cattle—The Orders in Council, Question, Mr. Carter; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *April* 21, 1467
Metropolis — Waterside Cattle Market, Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *April* 27, 1779
Supply of Fresh Meat—Order in Council, Question, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 24, 572

Cave, Right Hon. S., *New Shoreham*
Declaration of Paris, Res. 1489
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 363
Munitions of War, Res. 795

[cont.

Cave, Right Hon. S.—*cont.*
  Parliament—Private Bill Legislation, Court of Hustings (London) Abolition, Motion for a Select Committee, 617
  Railway Companies, 2R. 31
  Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 816, 818

Cavendish, Lord F. C., *Yorkshire, W.R., N. Div.*
  Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1984

Cavendish, Lord G. H., *Derbyshire, N.*
  Ways and Means, Comm. 1795

Cawley, Mr. C. E., *Salford*
  Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 817

Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G., *Essex, W.*
  Army—Promotion by Selection, 296
  Milk, Adulteration of, 460
  Poor Law—Milk Supplies to Unions, 268

Chambers, Mr. M., *Devonport*
  Army—Promotion by Selection, 301
  Army Estimates — Medical Establishments, 1206
  Navy—Controllership of the, Res. 1814
  Post Office—Mails between Bristol and Cornwall, 604
  Torpey, Martha, Case of, 1020

Chambers, Mr. T., *Marylebone*
  Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1110
  Torpey, Martha, Case of, 1024
  Vaccination Act—Penalties, 1935

Chancellor, The **Lord** (Lord **Hatherley**)
  Bankruptcy Disqualification, 2R. 1575
  County Property, 2R. 167
  Epping Forest, 1768
  Incorporation of Trustees Presbyterian Church (Ireland), 2R. 329
  Justices Procedure (England), 2R. 261
  Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society (Ireland), 2R. 331
  Promissory Oaths, 2R. 1579
  Public Parks, &c. (Land), 2R. 877
  Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 741

Chancellor of the **Exchequer** (Right Hon. R. **Lowe**), *London University*
  Army—Officers of the Indian Army, 1688
    Promotion by Selection, 303
  Charity Commission, The, Res. 1511
  Civil Service Examination—Passed Candidates, 51
  Currency—Half-Crown Pieces, 267
  Custom House, Clerks in the, 1931
  Customs and Inland Revenue, 1690
  Customs and Inland Revenue Duties Act Amendment, 2R. 404
  Epping Forest, Res. 1864, 1865
  Harbours of Refuge—Motion for an Address, 400, 402, 403

[*cont.*

Chancellor of the **Exchequer**—*cont.*
  Income Tax—Deductions from Dividends, 1849
    Exemption of Endowed Charities from, 1937
  Inhabited House Duty (Metropolis), 273, 1049
  Inland Bills of Exchange, 655
  Ireland—Silver Coin, 888
  Match Tax, 1685, 1686, 1952
  National Expenditure, Res. 1609, 1640, 1642, 1652
  Parliament—Business of the House, Committee on, 687
  Pensions Commutation, Res. 1256
  Purchase System—High Political Offices, 267
  Supply—Civil Services, 1032
    Compensation to Sufferers by Fire at Pera, 320
    Miscellaneous Expenses, 317, 320
    National Gallery, 310
  Tenant Farmers—Property Tax, 1048
  Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1391, 1452, 1454; Report, 1530
  Ways and Means, Comm. 1792; Res. 1997, 2028
  Wine Measure—Bottles, 989
  Wines in Bond, 46, 455, 456

Charity Commission—Exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax
  Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 21, To leave out from "That" and add "discontinuing the Exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax is the only method of carrying out the decision of this House against the payment of the expenses of the Charity Commission out of public funds" (*Mr. Andrew Johnston*), 1505; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
  Another Amendt. proposed, to leave out from "That" and add "discontinuing the exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax is a suitable method of carrying out the decision of this House against the payment of the expenses of the Charity Commission out of public funds;" Question, "That the words, &c." put, and negatived; words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to
  Question, Mr. Cubitt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May* 1, 1936

Charity Commissioners Bill
  (*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 3 [Bill 99]

Charley, Mr. W. T., *Salford*
  Army—Volunteer Officers, 1465
  Lottery Act, The, 1383

Charters (Colleges) Bill (*Mr. William Edward Forster, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 31 [Bill 97]
  Read 2° * *April* 17
  Committee *; Report *April* 20
  Read 3° * *April* 21
l. Read 1ª * (*The Lord Privy Seal*) *April* 24
  Bill read 2ª, after short debate *May* 1, 1924
  (No. 73)

Chelmsford, Lord
Post Office (Ipswich), Motion for a Paper, 1678

China
Hong Kong Gambling Houses, Question, Mr. Bowring; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen *Mar* 22, 459
Missionaries in China, Question, The Earl of Carnarvon; Answer, Earl Granville *May* 1, 1911; Questions, Mr. Magniac, Mr. Macfie; Answers, Viscount Enfield *May* 1, 1934
The Tien-Tsin Massacre—Treaty of 1858, Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Copies or Extracts of Correspondence relative to the revision of the Treaty of 1858 with China" (*The Earl of Carnarvon*) *Mar* 24, 545; after debate, Motion agreed to [*Parl P.* [248]

Citation Amendment (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Miller, Mr. Armitstead*)
c. Committee*; Report *Mar* 28 [Bills 1-89]
Re-comm.* *April* 18
Committee*; Report; Considered *April* 21
Read 3°* *April* 24
l. Read 1ª* (*The Earl of Airlie*) *April* 25 (No. 76)

Civil Service Examination—Passed Candidates
Question, Mr. Cubitt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 16, 51

Civil Service—Pensions' Commutation Act (1869)
Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Baxter *Mar* 20, 265
Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to extend the provisions of 'The Pensions Commutation Act, 1869,' to all the Departments of the Civil Service" (*Mr. Monk*) *April* 18, 1253; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Clanricarde, Marquess of
Ireland—Westmeath Committee, 263
Prison Ministers, 2R. 166

Clay, Mr. J., *Kingston-on-Hull*
Ways and Means, Report, 1535

Cleveland, Duke of
Prison Ministers, 2R. 166

Coal Supply—Report of the Royal Commission
Question, Mr. B. Samuelson; Answer, Mr. Hussey Vivian *Mar* 28, 766

Cochrane, Mr. A. D. W. R. Baillie, *Isle of Wight*
Colonial Governors' Pensions, 1513, 1514; Motion for a Committee, 1515, 1519
France and Prussia—Conditions of Peace, Res. 989, 1005, 1013
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 422
Match Makers' Procession, 1684, 1774, 1777
West Coast of Africa—Dutch Guinea, 657

Colebrooke, Sir T. E., *Lanarkshire, S.*
Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, 1213

Coleridge, Sir J. D., *see* Solicitor General, The

Collier, Sir R. P., *see* Attorney General, The

Collins, Mr. T., *Boston*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 300, 305
Conference of London, Res. 972
Game Laws (Scotland) Amendment, 2R. 1380
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 444
Metropolis Water, 2R. 1463
Parliament—Business of the House, Committee on, 688
Parochial Councils, 2R. 875
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1547
Sunday Trading, 2R. 1741
Trades Unions, Comm. 977
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1437
Ways and Means, Comm. 1806

Colonial Governors' Pensions Act
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 21, To leave out from "That" and add "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working of the Colonial Governors' Pensions Act" (*Mr. Baillie Cochrane*), 1515; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Colonies—Religious Equality—Legislative Council of Barbadoes
Question, Mr. Crum-Ewing; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen *Mar* 30, 889

Commercial Harbours, Defence of
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 27, To leave out from "That" and add "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to make additional provision for the defence of the Commercial Harbours of this Country, by building, without delay, gun vessels of a light draught, armed with heavy guns, which may, in case of emergency, be manned by any existing local or other force" (*Mr. Graves*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Consolidated Fund (£462,580 9s. 11d.) Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baxter*)
c. Resolution in Committee* *Mar* 21
Bill ordered; read 1°* *Mar* 22
Read 2°* *Mar* 23
Committee*; Report *Mar* 24
Read 3°* *Mar* 27
l. Read 1ª* (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) *Mar* 27
Read 2ª*; Committee negatived *Mar* 28
Read 3ª* *Mar* 29
Royal Assent *Mar* 30 [34 *Vict.* c. 6]

Consolidated Fund (£5,411,900) Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baxter*)
c. Resolution in Committee * *Mar* 23
Bill ordered ; read 1° * *Mar* 24
Read 2° * *Mar* 27
Committee * ; Report *Mar* 28
Read 3° * *Mar* 29
l. Read 1ª * (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) *Mar* 29
Read 2ª * ; Committee negatived ; Read 3ª *Mar* 30
Royal Assent *Mar* 31 [34 *Vict.* c. 7]

Conventual and Monastic Institutions
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 17, To leave out from "That" and add "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the existence, number, increase, and regulation of Conventual and Monastic Institutions in Great Britain ; into the income, property, and estates acquired, received, held, or possessed by or for such institutions, or by or for members thereof ; and, further into the Laws affecting such institutions ; and, whether adequate legal securities or means exist for ensuring the personal freedom of the inmates thereof" (*Mr. Newdegate*), 179 ; Question proposed, "That the words, &c. ;" after debate, A. 196, N. 79 ; M. 117
Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the state of the Law respecting Conventual and Monastic Institutions or Societies in Great Britain, and into the terms upon which income, property, and estates belonging to such Institutions or Societies, or to members thereof, are respectively received, held, or possessed" (*Mr. Villiers*) *Mar* 17, 259

Corbett, Colonel E., *Shropshire, S.*
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 442

Coroners Bill
(*Mr. Goldney, Mr. Walter, Mr. Thomas Chambers*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Mar* 29 [Bill 20]

Corrance, Mr. F. S., *Suffolk, E.*
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1376
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1547
Ways and Means, Report, 1536

Corrigan, Sir D. J., *Dublin City*
Sunday Trading, 2R. 1736

Corry, Right Hon. H. T. L., *Tyrone Co.*
Naval Scientific Committee, Res. 1829
Navy—Ships of War, Committee on Designs of, 1049
Navy—Controllership of the, Res. 1820
Navy Estimates—Victuals and Clothing (Seamen and Marines), 1835, 1838, 1839, 1842

County Court Judges
Question, Mr. G. B. Gregory ; Answer, The Attorney General *Mar* 17, 168

County Justices Qualification Amendment Bill (*Sir Roundell Palmer, Sir George Grey, Mr. Spencer Walpole, Mr. George Gregory*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Mar* 17 [Bill 77]
Read 2° * *Mar* 23
Committee ; Report *Mar* 28, 806
Considered * *Mar* 30
Read 3° * *Mar* 31
l. Read 1ª * (*The Lord Chancellor*) *April* 20 (No. 67)

County Property Bill
(*The Duke of Richmond*)
l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" *Mar* 17, 167 ; after short debate, 2R. put off
Read 2ª * *Mar* 30 (No. 35)
Committee * *April* 20
Report * *April* 21
Read 3ª * *April* 27
Royal Assent *May* 25 [34 *Vict.* c. 14]

Court of Chancery—Committal of Persons of Unsound Mind
Question, Mr. J. Lowther ; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 3, 1044

Court of Chancery Funds Bill
(*Mr. Baxter, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. William Henry Gladstone*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *April* 4 [Bill 107]

Cowper, Earl
Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 750

Cowper-Temple, Right Hon. W. F., *Hampshire, S.*
Epping Forest, Res. 1852, 1865, 1870
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1169
Parochial Councils, 2R. 842

Craufurd, Mr. E. H. J., *Ayr, &c.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 299, 306
County Justices Qualification Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 806, 808
Education (Scotland), 1937
Game Laws (Scotland) Amendment, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1380
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 418
Metropolis Water, 2R. 1464

Crawford, Mr. R. W., *London*
Bills of Exchange, &c. 2R. 1240
Income Tax—Deductions from Dividends, 1849
National Expenditure, Res. 1639
Parliament—Private Bill Legislation, Court of Hustings (London) Abolition, Motion for a Select Committee, 616
Supply—Miscellaneous Expenses, 319
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1423, 1453

CRIMINAL LAW
Case of Martha Torpey, Observations, Mr. Osborne Morgan; debate thereon *Mar* 31, 1013
Fenianism — Fenian Convicts — William Mackay, Question, Earl Grey; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley *May* 1, 1925
Habitual Criminals Act (1869)—*Supervision of Criminals*, Observations, Question, The Earl of Carnarvon; Reply, The Earl of Morley; debate thereon *April* 25, 1678
Imprisonment of a Child at Tamworth, Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 20, 1387
The Licensing Bill, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 27, 1779
The Match Makers' Demonstration, Questions, Mr. Baillie Cochrane, Mr. Samuda, Mr. Eykyn; Answers, Mr. Bruce *April* 27, 1774
Law of Public Processions and Demonstrations, Questions, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Baillie Cochrane; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *April* 25, 1684
Seditious Language — London Republicans, Question, Mr. G. Bentinck; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 24, 574
Vaccination Act—Penalties, Question, Mr. T. Chambers; Answer, Mr. Bruce *May* 1, 1935

Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen) Bill
(*Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Shaw Lefevre*)
c. Report* *Mar* 30 [Bills 28-95]
Considered *April* 4, 1175
Read 3° * *April* 17
[See also *Trades Unions Bill*]

CROSS, Mr. R. Assheton, *Lancashire, S.W.*
Bills of Exchange, &c. Comm. 1845
Dogs, 2R. 1846
France—Precautions against Pestilence, 172
National Expenditure, Res. 1641
Parochial Councils, 2R. 847
Supply—Civil Services, 1033, 1038
Trades Unions, Comm. 976, 977

CUBITT, Mr. G., *Surrey, W.*
Civil Service Examination—Passed Candidates, 51
Exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax, 1936
Middlesex Registry of Deeds—The Registrar, 886
Speer, Captain Wilfred, Murder of, 458

Currency—Half-Crown Pieces
Question, Sir David Salomons; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 20, 266

Customs and Inland Revenue Duties Act (1869) Amendment Bill [Bill 69]
(*Mr. Bourke, Mr. Cross, Mr. Beckett Denison*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 21, 403; after short debate, 2R. deferred

Customs House—Reduction of Clerks—Redundant List
Question, Sir Henry Hoare; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May* 1, 1931

Customs—Leave of Absence and Sick-leave
Question, Mr. Macfie; Answer, Mr. Baxter *Mar* 27, 658

DALGLISH, Mr. R., *Glasgow*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 300
Bank Holidays, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1041, 1042

DALHOUSIE, Earl of
Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 747

DALRYMPLE, Mr. C., *Buteshire*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 305
Conference of London, Res. 962
Education—New Code, 984

DALRYMPLE, Mr. D., *Bath*
Army—War Office Committee Report, 767
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1373
Parochial Councils, 2R. 846
Post Office—Parcel Post to India, &c. 766
Ways and Means, Report, 1534

DAMER, Hon. Captain L. S. W. DAWSON-, *Portarlington*
Historic Monuments, Destruction of, 48

DAVENPORT, Mr. W. BROMLEY-, *Warwickshire, N.*
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1369
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1542

DAVIES, Mr. R., *Anglesey Co.*
Education—Infant School Grants, 267

DAVISON, Right Hon. J. R. (Judge Advocate General), *Durham*
Mutiny, Comm. 876

Debtors (Ireland) Bill (*The Solicitor General for Ireland, The Marquess of Hartington*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 4 [Bill 108]

DELAHUNTY, Mr. J., *Waterford City*
Ireland—Waterford Industrial School, 985

DE LA WARR, Earl
Prison Ministers, 2R. 164

DENISON, Right Hon. J. E. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

DENISON, Mr. C. BECKETT-, *Yorkshire, W.R., E. Div.*
Metropolis—Hamilton Gardens, 1145
Railway Companies, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 39

Denman, Lord
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 2R. 653

Denman, Hon. G., *Tiverton*
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1236

Dent, Mr. J. D., *Scarborough*
Land Settlement, Res. 1711

Derby, Earl of
Abyssinia—Envoys of Prince Kassa, 981

Dickinson, Mr. S. S., *Stroud*
Army—Cadets at Sandhurst, 1469
  Reserve Force, 1238
Army, Strength of the—Motion for a Return, 771
Army Estimates — Medical Establishments, 1207
  Militia Pay and Allowances, 1218
  Volunteer Corps, 1238
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1364
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 3, 977

Dickson, Major A. G., *Dover*
Army—Sussex Militia, 1465
Army Re-organization, Res. 1195

Dilke, Sir C. W., *Chelsea, &c.*
Army Estimates—Pay and Allowances, Amendt. 535
Conference of London, Res. 894, 973
Match Makers' Procession, 1684
Supply—Miscellaneous Expenses, Amendt. 320
Treaty of Paris—The Conference, 53
Ways and Means, Report, 1528

Dillwyn, Mr. L. L., *Swansea*
Dogs, 2R. 1846
Sunday Trading, 2R. 1742
Supply—Civil Services, 1028

Disraeli, Right Hon. B., *Buckinghamshire*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 301
Army Regulation, 2R. 148, 234
Budget—Notice, 1685
Declaration of Paris, Res. 1496
National Expenditure, Res. 1649
Ways and Means, Comm. 1784; Res. 2025
Ways and Means—Tax on Matches, 1685, 1686

Dixon, Mr. G., *Birmingham*
Army Estimates, Res. 492
Ireland—Board of Education, 661
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1461
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1445; Report, Motion for Adjournment, 1530

Dodds, Mr. J., *Stockton*
Education—New Code, 335
Salmon Fisheries, 2R. 801

Dodson, Mr. J. G. (Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker), *Sussex, E.*
Parliament—Private Bill Legislation, Court of Hustings (London) Abolition, Motion for a Select Committee, 614
Railway Companies, 2R. 21
Supply—Civil Services, 1032
Trades Unions, Comm. 977

Dogs Bill
(*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 21 [Bill 114]
Bill read 2°, after short debate *April* 27, 1846

Downing, Mr. M'Carthy, *Cork Co.*
Ireland—Galley Head, 337
  Labourers' Residences, Res. 595
  Sea Fisheries, 1690
Poor Law—Small Pox, 1146
Public Prosecutors, 2R. 1761

Dowse, Mr. R. (Solicitor General for Ireland), *Londonderry Bo.*
Trial by Jury (Ireland), 2R. 1346

Duff, Mr. M. E. Grant (Under Secretary of State for India), *Elgin, &c.*
India—Questions, &c.
  Indian Civil Engineering College, 171
  Indian Mutiny Medals, 1936
  Lahore and Peshawur Railway, 169
  Looshais, The, 658, 659
  Madras Medical Fund, 987
  Nawab Nazim, 1049
  Railway Gauge, 1047
  Railways, 573
  Recruits for, 1383;—Cost of, 1583
  Regiments with Muzzle-Loaders, 1243

Dufferin, Lord (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster)
Armour-clad Vessels—Coast and Harbour Defences, Motion for a Return, 882

Dyott, Colonel R., *Lichfield*
Army Regulation, 2R. 218

Eastwick, Mr. E. B., *Penryn, &c.*
Army—Volunteers, 1241
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 677
Khiva—Concentration of Russian Troops, 1241
Parliamentary Papers (House of Commons), Res. 325
Persia—British Officers, 1387
Post Office—Mails between Bristol and Cornwall, 606

Eaton, Mr. H. W., *Coventry*
Board of Trade Returns, 1145

Ecclesiastical Dilapidations Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Archbishop of York*)
l. Committee * *April* 28 (No. 81)

Ecclesiastical Titles Act Repeal Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Select Committee nominated ; List of the Committee *April* 28, 1910 [Bill 27]

Education
The New Code (1871)
Questions, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Spencer Walpole ; Answers, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 20, 269 ; Question, Mr. Birley ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 21, 334 ; Question, Mr. Liddell ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 23, 463
Article 19—*Capitation Grant for Infants*, Question, Mr. Davis ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 20, 267 ; Question, Mr. C. Dalrymple ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 31, 985
Article 32 (*a*) 2—*Attendance Averages*, Question, Mr. Dodds ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 21, 335 ; Question, Mr. Raikes ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *April* 20, 1387
Article 90—*Pupil Teachers*, Questions, Lord John Manners, Mr. B. Samuelson, Mr. St. Aubyn ; Answers, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 23, 456
Elementary Education Act
Balance Sheets of Elementary Schools, Question, Mr. Carter ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 24, 570
Building Grants, Question, Mr. Simonds ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *April* 24, 1582
Building Grants, Wales, Question, Mr. Raikes ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 24, 568
Chairmen of School Boards, Question, Mr. Watkin Williams ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 16, 54
New Schools, Question, Mr. Beresford Hope ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *April* 21, 1466
The Census—London School Board, Question, Mr. W. H. Smith ; Answer, Mr. Bruce *May* 1, 1930
The Census—Returns of Children, Question, Mr. Bowring ; Answer, Mr. Winterbotham *Mar* 21, 335

Education (*Scotland*) *Bill*
Question, Mr. Craufurd ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 1, 1937

EGERTON, Hon. A. F., *Lancashire, S.E.*
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1235
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1452

EGERTON, Hon. Wilbraham, *Cheshire, Mid.*
Lieutenancy, Clerks of, 457

ELCHO, Lord, *Haddingtonshire*
Army—Questions, &c.
Expenditure, 1935
Promotion and Retirement, 1044
Promotion by Selection, 294, 299, 301, 306
Reserve Force, 1238, 1239
Army—Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1877, 1883, 1887, 1897
Army Regulation, 2R. 150

[*cont.*

ELCHO, Lord—*cont.*
Army Estimates, Land Forces, 532 ; Report, Amendt. 619, 625, 630, 631, 634
Militia Pay and Allowances, 1212
Pay and Allowances, 534
Volunteer Corps, 1227, 1236
Yeomanry Cavalry, 1222, 1225
Metropolis—Kensington Gardens, 1771, 1772
Supply—Miscellaneous Expenses, 320
Trades Unions, Comm. 812, 813, 814

Elections—Corrupt Practices Acts—Legislation
Question, Mr. James ; Answer, The Attorney General *Mar* 23, 457

Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal) Bill
(*Mr. William Edward Forster, Mr. Secretary Bruce, The Marquess of Hartington*)
c. Bill read 2°, after debate *April* 3, 1050 [Bill 45]
Committee * ; Report *April* 4 [Bill 103]

ELLICE, Mr. E., *St. Andrews, &c.*
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 438, 443

ELLIOT, Mr. G., *Durham, N.*
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, Amendt. 817 ; *cl.* 15, Amendt. 819

ELPHINSTONE, Sir J. D. H., *Portsmouth*
Army Regulation, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 149
Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal), 2R. 1061
Naval Scientific Committee, Res. 1822
Navy—Deptford Dockyard, 339 ; Res. 680
Harbours and Coast Defences, 1045
Navy Estimates—Scientific Departments, 1843
Victuals and Clothing (Seamen and Marines), Motion for Adjournment, 1839, 1842
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1455
Wine Measure—Bottles, 988

Emanuel Charity, Westminster—The Endowed Schools Commissioners
Observations, Earl Granville ; Reply, The Marquess of Salisbury ; debate thereon *April* 24, 1549

Emigration—The Circular Despatch
Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens ; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen *Mar* 20, 272

ENFIELD, Viscount (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), *Middlesex*
China—Missionaries in, 1934, 1935
Conference of London, Res. 965
France—British Subjects in Paris, 336
Military Attaché at Paris, 770, 771
Pestilence, Precautions against, 172

[*cont.*

ENFIELD, Viscount—*cont.*
France and Germany—Capture of British Ships, 338, 569
Compensation to British Subjects, 571
Greece—Financial Commission, 50
Italy—Disturbances in Rome, 171
Khiva—Concentration of Russian Troops, 1241
Military Attachés, 56
Peace Negotiations at Brussels, 1146
Persia—British Officers, 1387
Prussia—British Representative at Berlin, 1386
Treaty of Prague, 459
Queen's Messengers, 52
Spain and Mexico, 1386
Spain—"Tornado," The, 659
Speer, Captain Wilfred, Murder of, 458
United States—British Claims, 1773
West Coast of Africa—Dutch Guinea, 657

Epping Forest
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 28, To leave out from "That" and add "it is expedient that measures be adopted, in accordance with the humble Address presented to Her Majesty in February 1870, for preserving as an open space accessible to Her Majesty's subjects for purposes of health and recreation, those parts of Epping Forest which have not been enclosed with the assent of the Crown or by legal authority" (*Mr. Cowper-Temple*), 1852; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, A. 96, N. 197; M. 101; words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Epping Forest—Verderers' Court
Question, Mr. Peek; Answer, The Attorney General *Mar* 23, 458
Election of a Verderer, Question, Viscount Midleton; Answer, The Lord Chancellor *April* 27, 1767

ERSKINE, Vice-Admiral J. E., *Stirlingshire*
Navy—Robinson, Sir S., Motion for a Committee, 1331

EWING, Mr. A. Orr, *Dumbarton*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 304
Hypothec Abolition Scotland, 2R. 420, 424
Trades Unions, Comm. 809, 811, 812

EWING, Mr. H. E. CRUM- *Paisley*
Colonies—Religious Equality, 889

EXCHEQUER, CHANCELLOR of the, *see* CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER

Exciseable Liquors (Licensing) Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Winterbotham*)
c. Considered in Committee *April* 3, 1062
Resolutions reported; Bill ordered; read 1º * *April* 4 [Bill 104]

EXETER, Marquess of
Irish Militia Regiments, 453

EXETER, Bishop of
Emanuel Charity, Westminster, 1570

EYKYN, Mr. R., *Windsor*
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1110
Inhabited House Duty, 1933
Match Makers' Procession, 1774

Fairs Bill (*The Earl of Morley*)
l. Read 1ª * *Mar* 16 (No. 44)
Read 2ª * *Mar* 30
Committee *; Report *April* 25
Read 3ª * *April* 27
Royal Assent *May* 25 [34 *Vict* c. 12]

FAWCETT, Mr. H., *Brighton*
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1148, 1172
National Expenditure, Res. 1644
New Forest—Felling Timber, 1583, 1933
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1428
Ways and Means, Comm. 1797

Fenianism — Fenian Convicts — William Mackay
Question, Earl Grey; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley *May* 1, 1925

FIELDEN, Mr. J., *Yorkshire, W.R., E. Div.*
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1538

FLETCHER, Mr. J., *Cockermouth*
Metropolis—Museum of Practical Geology, 1145, 1153

Food Adulteration—Sale of Damaged Tea and Coffee
Question, Sir James Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Baxter *April* 3, 1043

FORDYCE, Mr. W. D., *Aberdeenshire, E.*
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 426

FORESTER, Right Hon. Major General G. C. W., *Wenlock*
India—"Political Plea" in Indian Affairs, 1687

FORSTER, Mr. C., *Walsall*
Army Regulation, 2R. 151
Trades Unions, Comm. 811

FORSTER, Right Hon. W. E. (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Bradford*
Cattle Disease (Metropolis)—Waterside Cattle Market, 1779
Education—Questions, &c.
Balance Sheets of Schools, 570
Building Grants, 1582
Education Act—Chairmen of School Boards, 54
Infant School Grants, 267
New Code, 270, 271, 334, 335, 456, 457, 463, 985, 1387
New Schools, 1466

[*cont.*

FORSTER, Right Hon. W. E.—*cont.*
Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal), 2R. 1053
Foreign Cattle, Importation of, 1468
Meat Supply—Order in Council, 572

FORTESCUE, Hon. Dudley F., *Andover*
Ireland—Silver Coin, 888

FORTESCUE, Right Hon. Chichester S. (President of the Board of Trade), *Louth Co.*
Harbours of Refuge—Motion for an Address, 359, 386, 388
Ireland—Galley Head, 338
Merchant Shipping, 988, 1469
Metropolis—Street Tramways, 1930
Railway Companies, 2R. 26
South Yorkshire Coal Owners' Railway, 1852
Wales—Education, Building Grants, 569

FOTHERGILL, Mr. R., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Inland Bills of Exchange, 655
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1547

FOWLER, Mr. R. N., *Penryn, &c.*
Army Regulation, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 149
Bank Holidays, Comm. *cl.* 3, 1042
Conference of London, Res. 929
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1104
Land Settlement, Res. 1695
Post Office—Mails between Bristol and Cornwall, 603, 605
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1433
Ways and Means, Comm. Motion for reporting Progress, 2039
West African Settlements, Consid. 406

France—The Civil War
British Subjects in Paris, Question, Mr. Cadogan; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 21, 336
Military Attaché at Paris—Resignation of General Claremont, Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 28, 770
Precautions against Pestilence, Question, Mr. Assheton Cross; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 17, 172
State of Paris, Question, Mr. Goldsmid; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 20, 273; Question, The Duke of Richmond; Answer, Earl Granville *Mar* 23, 448

France and Germany—The War
Capture of British Ships, Question, Mr. White; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 24, 569
Compensation to British Subjects, Question, Mr. Cadogan; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 24, 570
English Ships sunk by the Prussians, Question, Mr. Goldsmid; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 21, 338
The Peace Negotiations at Brussels, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Viscount Enfield *April* 4, 1146

France and Prussia—The Conditions of Peace
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 31, To leave out from "That" and add "this House having learnt the conditions of Peace imposed by Prussia on France, trusts that Her Majesty's Government will, in the interest of the future tranquillity of Europe, use their good offices, before the negotiations of Peace are finally closed, to obtain from the Imperial Government some mitigation of the severity of these conditions" (*Mr. Baillie Cochrane*), 989; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn
[See titles *Treaty of Paris,* 1856
Neutrality Laws — Declaration of Paris, 1856]

FRENCH, Right Hon. Colonel F., *Roscommon Co.*
British North America (Public Works), Res. 1249
Ireland—Labourers' Residences, Res. 594
Trial by Jury (Ireland), 2R. 1346
Valuation (Ireland), Motion for a Committee, 1720

Game Laws Abolition Bill
(*Mr. Taylor, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. M'Combie*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *April* 19, 1349
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Hardcastle*); after debate, Question put, "That 'now,' &c.;" A. 49, N. 172; M. 123; words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; Bill put off for six months [Bill 51]

Game Laws (Scotland) Amendment (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. M'Lagan, Sir Alexander Maitland, Mr. Orr Ewing*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *April* 19, 1380; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Craufurd*); A. 106, N. 37; M. 69; Debate adjourned [Bill 21]

GARLIES, Lord, *Wigtonshire*
Army—Colonels on Half Pay, 658
Militia Drill, 890
Promotion by Selection, 299
Army Re-organization, Amendt. 1196
Army Estimates, Res. 515
Army Estimates—Militia Pay, &c. 1218
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 417
Ways and Means, Comm. 1802; Res. 1949

Gas Works Clauses Act (1847) Amendment Bill (*Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Arthur Peel*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Mar* 16 [Bill 76]
Bill withdrawn* *April* 19

Gas Works Clauses Act (1847) Amendment (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Arthur Peel, Mr. Chichester Fortescue*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *April* 19 [Bill 113]

Gavin, Major G., *Limerick City*
Army—Household Troops, 671

Gilpin, Colonel R. T., *Bedfordshire*
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1424
Ways and Means, Comm. 1802

Gilpin, Mr. C., *Northampton Bo.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 301
Conference of London, Res. 938, 941
National Expenditure, Res. 1621

Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E. (First Lord of the Treasury), *Greenwich*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 297, 298, 305
Army Regulation, 2R. 147, 149, 151, 245
Army Estimates, Res. 482
Charity Commission, Res. 1513, 1514
Conference of London, Res. 945, 946, 949, 972, 973
Customs and Inland Revenue Duties Act Amendment, 2R. 406
Declaration of Paris, Res. 1499
Education (Scotland), 1937
Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal), 2R. 1059
Epping Forest, Res. 1867, 1868, 1870
France—Paris, State of, 273
France and Prussia—Conditions of Peace, Res. 1002, 1005
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 365, 385, 389, 390, 397
India—"Political Plea" in Indian Affairs, 1687
Ireland—Civil Service, 893
 Westmeath, &c. (Unlawful Combinations), 1242, 1580
Land Settlement, Res. 1717
London Republicans, 574
Match Makers' Procession, 1684, 1685
Metropolis—Kensington Gardens, 1771
National Expenditure, Res. 1642, 1659
Navy—Robinson, Sir S., Motion for a Committee, 1314, 1320, 1323, 1332
Parliament—Motion for Adjournment, 1050
 Postponement of Notices of Motion, 178
 Public Business, Committee on, 1390
Parochial Councils, 2R. 866
Post Office—Sunday Labour, Res. Amendt. 1272, 1278
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1459
Rating and Local Government, Leave, 1143
Supply—Civil Services, 1038
 Relief of Paris, 322
Treaty of Paris—The Conference, 53
Ways and Means, Comm. 1780, 1809; Res. 2011, 2039

Goldney, Mr. G., *Chippenham*
National Expenditure, Res. 1623
Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1979

Goldsmid, Sir F. H., *Reading*
Charity Commission, The, Res. 1511, 1513

Goldsmid, Mr. J., *Rochester*
Conference of London, Res. 931
English Ships Sunk by the Prussians, 338
France—Paris, State of, 273
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1170
Sunday Trading, 2R. 1740

Gordon, Right Hon. E. S., *Glasgow, &c. Universities*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 304
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 435

Gore, Mr. W. R. Ormsby- *Leitrim Co.*
Income Tax—Deductions from Dividends, 1848
Ireland—Railway System, 1686

Goschen, Right Hon. G. J. (First Lord of the Admiralty), *London*
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 674
Local Government and Taxation, 1147, 1778
Naval Scientific Committee, Res. 1827
Navy—Questions, &c.
 Coastguard, 1467
 Deptford Dockyard, 339
 Dockyard Contracts, 55
 Estimates, 662
 Harbours and Coast Defences, 1045
 Keyham Factory, 272
 "Megæra," The, 50, 55, 175, 339
 Ships' Books and Accounts, 1465
 Ships of the "Blanche" Class, 986
 Ships of War, Committee on Designs of, 1049
 Working Ships Guns—Moncrieff's Plan, 176
Navy—Controllership of the, Res. 1816
Navy—Robinson, Sir S., Motion for a Committee, 1292, 1295
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 689, 709, 715, 725, 732
 Scientific Departments, 1843, 1844
 Victuals and Clothing (Seamen and Marines), 1837, 1841
Rating and Local Government, Leave, 1115

Gourley, Mr. E. T., *Sunderland*
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 676
France and Germany—Peace Negotiations at Brussels, 1146

Gower, Hon. E. F. Leveson, *Bodmin*
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1161

Granville, Earl (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs)
Abyssinia—Envoys of Prince Kassa, 981
China—Missions in, 1911
China—Tien-tsin Massacre, Address for Papers, 553, 564
Emanuel Charity, Westminster, 1549, 1575
France—State of Paris, 448
Greece—Murder of British Subjects by Brigands, 263
Ireland—Westmeath Committee, 264;—Unlawful Combinations, 1549

GRANVILLE, Earl—cont.
  Post Office (Ipswich), Motion for a Paper, 1678
  Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 743, 746
  United States—Fishery Question, 1382
    Recognition of the Southern Confederacy, 332
    San Juan Island, 1924

GRAVES, Mr. S. R., *Liverpool*
  Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 663, 680
  National Expenditure, Res. 1626
  Navy Estimates, 662
    Men and Boys, 731

Greece
  Guaranteed Loan of 1832-3, Question, Mr. Mills; Answer, Mr. Baxter *Mar* 27, 659
  Murder of British Subjects by Brigands—Mr. F. Noel, Question, The Earl of Rosebery; Answer, Earl Granville; short debate thereon *Mar* 20, 262
    (*P.P.*—Further Correspondence [249, 307]
  Report of Financial Commission, 1857-8-9, Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 16, 50

GREENE, Mr. E., *Bury St. Edmunds*
  Conventual and Monastic Institutions, Motion for a Committee, 196, 202
  Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1374

GREGORY, Mr. G. B., *Sussex, E.*
  Army—Promotion by Selection, 293
  Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1225
  County Court Judges, 168
  County Justices Qualification Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 807
  Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1379
  Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 426
  Land Settlement, Res. 1710
  Trial by Jury (Ireland), 2R. 1348
  Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1983

GREGORY, Mr. W. H., *Galway Co.*
  Ireland—Labourers' Residences, Res. 575
  Supply—National Gallery, 311

GREY, Earl
  China—Tien-tsin Massacre, Address for Papers, 560
  Fenian Convicts, Release of, 1925
  Habitual Criminals Act, 1683
  Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 739
  Volunteer Artillery—Arms, 568

GREY, Right Hon. Sir G., *Morpeth*
  Parliament—Business of the House, Committee on, 687
  Parochial Councils, 2R. 848

GRIEVE, Mr. J. J., *Greenock*
  Scotland — Superannuation Fund, Greenock Police, 887
  Spain—"Tornado," The, 659

GROSVENOR, Hon. Captain R. W., *Westminster*
  Army Regulation, 2R. 230

GUEST, Mr. A. E., *Poole*
  Gibraltar—Armament, Motion for a Return, 771, 776, 781
  Navy—Dockyard Contracts, 55

GURNEY, Right Hon. Russell, *Southampton*
  Army Regulation, 2R. 149; Motion for Adjournment, *ib.*, 151
  Public Prosecutors, 2R. 1744

Habitual Criminals Act (1869)—*Supervision of Criminals*
  Observations, Question, The Earl of Carnarvon; Reply, The Earl of Morley; debate thereon *April* 25, 1678

Hackney Carriage Regulations (*Metropolis*)
  Resolution (*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck*) *April* 25, 1721 [House counted out]

HALIFAX, Viscount (Lord Privy Seal)
  China—Tien-tsin Massacre, Address for Papers, 564
  Emanuel Charity, Westminster, 1557
  Prison Ministers, 2R. 167

HAMBRO, Mr. C. J. T., *Weymouth, &c.*
  Army—Volunteers and Yeomanry, 52
  Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1237
  New Forest, The, 1933

HAMILTON, Lord C. J., *Lynn Regis*
  Army Regulation, 2R. 103
  Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 340, 397, 400

HAMILTON, Lord G. F., *Middlesex*
  Army—Colonels Promoted to Staff Employment, 1384
  Small Pox at Hounslow, 1769

Harbours of Refuge
  Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to direct that the recommendations of the Harbours of Refuge Commissioners of 1858 be carried into effect so far as relates to the construction of a Harbour of Refuge at Filey in Yorkshire" (*Lord Claud John Hamilton*) *Mar* 21, 340; after long debate, A. 89, N. 124; M. 35

HARCOURT, Mr. W. Vernon, *Oxford City*
  Epping Forest, Res. 1867
  Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1989, 1999

HARDCASTLE, Mr. J. A., *Bury St. Edmunds*
  Game Laws Abolition, 2R. Amendt. 1364
  Metropolis — Hyde Park, Albert Memorial, 1768

Hardinge, Viscount
Army—Military Education, Address for Returns, 764
Volunteer Artillery, Arms, 566

Hardy, Right Hon. Gathorne, *Oxford University*
Army—Abolition of Purchase, 987
Ireland—Westmeath, &c. (Unlawful Combinations), 1242
Parochial Councils, 2R. 852, 862
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. 2R. 325
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1461
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 818

Harrowby, Earl of
Emanuel Charity, Westminster, 1569
Public Parks, &c. (Land), 2R. 877

Hartington, Right Hon. Marquess of (Chief Secretary for Ireland), *New Radnor*
Glebe Land (Ireland) Act, 1241
Ireland—Questions, &c.
  Board of Education, 662
  Clothworkers' Company, 888
  Education—National School Teachers, 600
  Licensing, 47
  Poor Law—Irish Poor Removal, 454
  Prisons, 1929
  Railway System, 1686
  Sea Fisheries, 1690
  Waterford Industrial School, 985
Ireland—Labourers' Residences, Res. 590
Lottery Act, The, 1383
Post Office—Country Postmasterships, 269
Trial by Jury (Ireland), 2R. 1349

Hatherley, Lord (see Chancellor, The Lord)

Hay, Rear-Admiral Sir J. C. D., *Stamford*
Army—Compensation to General Officers, 1581
  Promotion by Selection, 294
Army Regulation, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 150, 203
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 673
Gibraltar—Armament, Motion for a Return, 771, 779
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 371
Naval Scientific Committee, Res. 1827
Navy—Cheyne, Commander, Case of, 1830
  Ships' Books and Accounts, 1465
Navy—Deptford Dockyard, Res. 684
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 709, 713
  Scientific Departments, 1843
  Victuals and Clothing (Seamen and Marines), 1840, 1843
Supply—Compensation to Sufferers by Fire at Pera, 320
  Miscellaneous Expenses, 318
  Relief of Paris, 321, 322
United States—British Claims, 1773

Headlam, Right Hon. T. E., *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*
Army—Breech-Loaders for Artillery Volunteers, 888
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 672
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 367
Railway Companies, 2R. 38

Henley, Right Hon. J. W., *Oxfordshire*
Public Prosecutors, 2R. 1763
Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1986

Herbert, Right Hon. Major-General Sir Percy E., *Shropshire, S.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 299
Army Retirement, Res. 288
Army Estimates, Res. 470, 511, 512
National Expenditure, Res. 1619

Herbert, Hon. Auberon E. W. M., *Nottingham Bo.*
Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen), Consid. Amendt. 1175
Trades Unions, Comm. 811, 818 ; *cl.* 25, 821 ; *cl.* 3, 978
Ways and Means, Comm. 1807

Herbert, Mr. H. A., *Kerry Co.*
Army — Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1910

Hermon, Mr. E., *Preston*
Army Regulation, 2R. 215
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 730
Salmon Fisheries, 2R. 805
Scotland—Defences of the Firth of Forth, 1527
Supply—Civil Services, 1028, 1030, 1035
  Miscellaneous Expenses, 317
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1432
Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1974

Heygate, Sir F. W., *Londonderry Co.*
Ireland—National School Teachers, 602
Ireland—Labourers' Residences, Res. 583
Valuation (Ireland), Motion for a Committee, 1720
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1423

Hibbert, Mr. J. T., (Secretary to the Poor Law Commissioners), *Oldham*
Poor Law—Vagrant Wards, 1384, 1385

Hick, Mr. J., *Bolton*
Army — Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1880, 1887

Hill, Mr. A. Staveley, *Coventry*
Public Prosecutors, 2R. 1760

Historic Monuments, Destruction of
Question, Captain Dawson-Damer ; Answer, Mr. Bruce *Mar* 16, 48

Hoare, Sir H. A., *Chelsea, &c.*
Army Estimates, Res. 514
Conference of London, Res. 975
County Justices Qualification Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 808
Custom House, Clerks in the, 1931
Epping Forest, Res. 1870
France and Prussia—Conditions of Peace, Res. 1000, 1010
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1375
Metropolis—Street Tramways, 1930
Trades Unions, Comm. 811
Ways and Means, Report, 1535

Hodgson, Mr. Kirkman D., *Bristol*
British North America—Public Works, Res. 1252

Holland, Mr. S., *Merionethshire*
Post Office—Telegraph Service at Port Madoc, 174

Holms, Mr. J., *Hackney*
Army Estimates, Res. 504
Epping Forest, Res. 1858
National Expenditure, Res. 1606
Ways and Means, Report, 1537

Holt, Mr. J. M., *Lancashire, N.E.*
Murphy, The Lecturer, 1779

Hope, Mr. A. J. Beresford, *Cambridge University*
Education—New Schools, 1466
Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal), 2R. 1055
Epping Forest, Res. 1861
Land Settlement, Res. 1702
Parochial Councils, 2R. Amendt. 832, 875
Private Chapels, Consid. *cl.* 1, 1333

Hoskyns, Mr. C. Wren-, *Hereford City*
Land Settlement, Res. 1690, 1716

Houghton, Lord
United States—Recognition of the Southern Confederacy, 332

Hughes, Mr. T., *Frome*
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1163
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1461
Sunday Trading, 2R. 1723, 1727, 1743
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 2, 815, 818

Hunt, Right Hon. G. W., *Northamptonshire, N.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 298, 307
Game Laws (Scotland) Amendment, 2R. 1380
Supply—Civil Service Estimates, 308
National Gallery, 315
Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1963

Hutt, Right Hon. Sir W., *Gateshead*
Private Chapels, Consid. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1332, 1333

Hypothec Abolition (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Carnegie, Mr. Fordyce, Mr. Craufurd*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 22, 408 [Bill 9]
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Sir Graham Montgomery*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Ellice*); after further debate, Question put, and negatived; Question put, "That 'now,' &c.;" A. 105, N. 186; M. 81; words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; Bill put off for six months
Division List, Ayes and Noes, 445

Illingworth, Mr. A., *Knaresborough*
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 426
Parochial Councils, 2R. 861
Sunday Trading, 2R. 1742
Supply—National Gallery, 315
Ways and Means, Comm. 1799

Inclosure Law Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Secretary Bruce*)
c. Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [23rd February], "That the Bill be now read 2°;" Question again proposed; Debate resumed *April* 4, 1148
After long debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 32]
Moved, "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee" (*Colonel Barttelot*); after further short debate, Bill committed to a Select Committee; List of the Committee, 1173

Income Tax Assessment Bill
(*Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)
c. Committee*; Report *Mar* 15 [Bill 64]
Read 3°* *Mar* 16
l. Read 1ª* (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) *Mar* 17
Read 2ª* *Mar* 23 (No. 48)
Committee*; Report *Mar* 24
Read 3ª* *Mar* 27
Royal Assent *Mar* 30 [34 *Vict.* c. 5]

Incorporation of Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland Bill
(*The Lord Cairns*)
l. Bill read 2ª, after short debate *Mar* 21, 327 (No. 41)
Referred to Select Committee *April* 24; List of the Committee, 1580

India
Army
Cost of European Recruits, Question, Colonel Sykes; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *April* 20, 1382; *April* 24, 1582
Indian Mutiny Medals—The 81st Regiment, Question, Mr. Kinnaird; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *May* 1, 1936
Officers of the Indian Army—Retirement, Question, Colonel Anson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April* 25, 1688

[*cont.*

India—cont.
College of Civil Engineers, Cooper's Hill, Question, Mr. Plunket; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *Mar* 17, 171
Looshais, The, Question, Mr. Magniac; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *Mar* 27, 658
Madras Medical Fund, Annuity Branch, Question, Mr. Barclay; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *Mar* 31, 987
Nawab Nazim of Bengal, The, Question, Mr. Haviland-Burke; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *April* 3, 1048
"Political Plea" in Indian Affairs, Question, Major General Forester; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *April* 25, 1687
Railways, Question, Mr. Waterhouse; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *Mar* 24, 573;—*Lahore and Peshawur Railway,* Question, Mr. Ridley; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *Mar* 17, 169;—*Railway Gauge,* Question, Mr. Kinnaird; Answer, Mr. Grant Duff *April* 3, 1047

Inland Bills of Exchange—Adhesive Stamps
Question, Mr. Fothergill; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 27, 655

Ireland
Civil Service Departments, Question, Mr. Plunket; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 30, 893
County and Convict Prisons, Question, The O'Conor Don; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 1, 1929

Education
National School Teachers, Observations, Mr. Raikes; Reply, The Marquess of Hartington; short debate thereon *Mar* 24, 596
The Board of Education—Monastic and Conventual Schools, Question, Mr. Dixon; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar* 27, 661

Fenianism — Fenian Convicts — William Mackay, Question, Earl Grey; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley *May* 1, 1925
Glebe Land (Ireland) Act, Question, Mr. Stacpoole; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *April* 18, 1241
Irish Land Bill, 1870 — *The Clothworkers' Company,* Question, Mr. Maguire; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar* 30, 887
Irish Militia Regiments, Questions, The Earl of Limerick, The Marquess of Exeter; Answers, Lord Northbrook *Mar* 23, 452
Licensing Bill (Ireland)—Excessive Drinking in Public Houses, Question, Mr. Pim; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar* 16, 47
Poor Law—Irish Poor Removal, Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar* 23, 454
Poor Law—Law of Rating, Select Committee nominated; List of the Committee *April* 26, 1767
Railway System—Legislation, Question, Mr. William Ormsby Gore; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *April* 25, 1686
Sea Fisheries, Question, Mr. M'Carthy Downing; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *April* 25, 1690

[*cont.*

Ireland—*cont.*
Silver Coin, Question, Mr. Dudley Fortescue; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 30, 888
Waterford Industrial School, Question, Mr. Delahunty; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar* 31, 985
Wrecks on Galley Head, Question, Mr. M'Carthy Downing; Answer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue *Mar* 21, 337

Ireland—Department of General Valuation
Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Constitution and Management of the Department of the General Valuation of Ireland, the cost of the Townland and Tenement Valuation, and all matters connected with the Annual Revision thereof" (*The O'Conor Don*) *April* 25, 1718; after short debate, Question put, and negatived

Ireland—Labourers' Residences
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 24, To leave out from "That" and add "in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that measures should be taken, in the present Session of Parliament, to improve the condition of agricultural labourers' habitations in Ireland" (*Mr. William Henry Gregory*), 575; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Ireland—Westmeath, &c. (Unlawful Combinations)—See title *Westmeath, &c.*

Italy—Disturbances in the Church of the Gesu, Rome
Question, Mr. Synan; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 17, 171

Jackson, Mr. R. Ward, *Hartlepool*
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 377, 391

James, Mr. H., *Taunton*
Corrupt Practices Act, 457
Munitions of War, Res. 786
Parliament—Private Bill Legislation—Court of Hustings (London) Abolition, Motion for a Select Committee, 616
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 817

Jenkinson, Sir G. S., *Wiltshire, N.*
Game Laws (Scotland) Amendment, 2R. 1380

Jervis, Colonel H. J. W., *Harwich*
Army—Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1898, 1904
Army Regulation, 2R. 88

Jessel, Mr. G., *Dover*
Land Settlement, Res. 1706
Parliament—Private Bill Legislation—Court of Hustings (London) Abolition, Motion for a Select Committee, 618
Torpey, Martha, Case of, 1018

JOHNSTON, Mr. A., *Essex, S.*
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1232
Charity Commission, The, Res. 1505
Epping Forest, Res. 1860

JOHNSTONE, Sir H., *Scarborough*
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 353

Judgments (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord O'Hagan*)
l. Presented; read 1ª* *Mar* 27 (No. 59)
Read 2ª* *Mar* 31

Judicature Commission Report
Question, Sir Thomas Lloyd; Answer, Mr. Bruce *Mar* 16, 49

Jury System—Legislation
Question, Mr. Lopes; Answer, The Attorney General *April* 20, 1383

Justices Procedure (England) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Cairns*)
l. Bill read 2ª, after short debate *Mar* 20, 260 (No. 31)
Committee*; Report *Mar* 31

KAVANAGH, Mr. A. M., *Carlow Co.*
Navy—"Megæra," The, 49, 174
Post Office—Country Postmasterships, 269

KENNAWAY, Mr. J. H., *Devonshire, E.*
Munitions of War, Res. 794
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 815, 816

KIMBERLEY, Earl of (Secretary of State for the Colonies)
Fenian Convicts, Release of, 1925
Habitual Criminals Act, 1683
Ireland—Westmeath, &c. (Unlawful Combinations), 1548, 1549
Prison Ministers, 2R. 166
Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 748
University Tests, 2R. 40

KING, Hon. P. J. Locke, *Surrey, E.*
Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal), 2R. 1053
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1455

KINNAIRD, Lord
Post Office (Ipswich), Motion for a Paper, 1677

KINNAIRD, Hon. A. F., *Perth*
Epping Forest, Res. 1869
Game Laws (Scotland), 2R. 1380
India—Indian Mutiny Medals, 1936
  Railway Gauge, 1047

KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN, Mr. E. H. (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), *Sandwich*
Africa—West Coast of, 1046
British North America—Public Works, Res. 1249
China—Hong Kong, 459
Colonial Governors' Pensions, Motion for a Committee, 1518
Colonies—Religious Equality, 889
Emigration, 273
Parochial Councils, 2R. 863
Supply—Miscellaneous Expenses, 320
  Report, 406
West Indies—Consolidation of Governorships, 987
  Nevis, 986

KNOX, Hon. Colonel W. Stuart, *Dungannon*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 295, 298
Army Retirement, Res. 286

LAIRD, Mr. J., *Birkenhead*
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 677
Navy—Ships of the "Blanche" Class, 986
Spain and Mexico, 1386

LAMBERT, Mr. N. G., *Buckinghamshire*
Trial by Jury (Ireland), 2R. 1335, 1349

Landrights and Deeds (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Gordon, Mr. Charles Dalrymple*)
c. Ordered; read 1º* *Mar* 21 [Bill 84]

Land Settlement
Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, the present Law of Land Settlement is opposed to public policy, by diminishing the investment of capital in the soil and preventing the freedom of sale and purchase" (*Mr. Wren-Hoskyns*) *April* 25, 1690; after debate, A. 49, N. 79; M. 30

LANGTON, Mr. W. H. P. GORE-, *Somersetshire, W.*
Post Office—Telegraphic Communication, 1686

LANSDOWNE, Marquess of (Lord of the Treasury)
Metropolis—Wellington Monument, 451
Post Office (Ipswich), Motion for a Paper, 1677, 1678

LAUDERDALE, Earl of
Armour Clad Vessels—Coast and Harbour Defences, Motion for a Return, 878, 882, 884
United States—San Juan Island, 1921, 1924

LAWRENCE, Alderman Sir J. C., *Lambeth*
Tea and Coffee, Damaged, Sale of, 1043
Ways and Means, Report, 1536
Wines in Bond, 46, 454, 455

LAWRENCE, Mr. Alderman W., *London*
Bills of Exchange, &c. 2R. 1240
Epping Forest, Res. 1863
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), 1105, 1113
Meat Supply—Order in Council, 572
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1435

LAWSON, Sir W., *Carlisle*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 301
Army Estimates—Land Forces, 527
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1093
Licensing—Popular Demonstrations, 1779

LEA, Mr. T., *Kidderminster*
Army—Commissions, 272
Army Estimates—Pay and Allowances, Amendt. 533, 535

LEATHAM, Mr. E. A., *Huddersfield*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 300
Army Estimates—Land Forces, Amendt. 517

LEEMAN, Mr. G., *York*
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 440
Public Prosecutors, 2R. 1764
Railway Companies, 2R. Amendt. 14, 17, 19
Trades Unions, Comm. 811

LEFEVRE, Mr. J. G. Shaw (Secretary to the Admiralty), *Reading*
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1153, 1164
Metropolis Water, 2R. 1464
Navy—Cheyne, Commander, Case of, 1832
Navy Estimates—Victuals and Clothing, 1842

LENNOX, Lord H. G. C. G., *Chichester*
Navy—Robinson, Sir S., Motion for a Committee, 1280, 1292, 1331
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 731
  Victuals and Clothing (Seamen and Marines), 1842

LEWIS, Mr. Harvey, *Marylebone*
Metropolis—Chelsea Embankment, 1773
  Hyde Park, Volunteer Drill in, 768
Metropolis Water, 2R. 1463

LEWIS, Mr. J. D., *Devonport*
Navy—Keyham Factory, 272
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. Amendt. 1455
Winchester College, Fellowships at, 1389

Licensing Bill—Popular Demonstrations
Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 27, 1779

LIDDELL, Hon. H. G., *Northumberland, S.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 295
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1257
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 676
County Justices Qualification Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 807
Education—New Code, 463
Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal), 2R. 1050
National Expenditure, Res. 1635
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 727
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1547
Ways and Means, Comm. 1799; Res. 1943

LIFFORD, Viscount
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 2R. 652

LIMERICK, Earl of
Irish Militia Regiments, 452

LINDSAY, Hon. Colonel C. H., *Abingdon*
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1227
Army—Mutiny Act, 1850
  Transfers from the Line to the Militia, 172
  Volunteers, Equipments for, 1849

LINDSAY, Colonel R. J. Loyd, *Berkshire*
Army Regulation, 2R. 258
National Expenditure, Res. 1672

LLOYD, Sir T. D., *Cardigan, &c.*
Judicature Commission, 49

Local Government Supplemental Bill
(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Secretary Bruce*)
c. Committee*; Report *Mar* 20 [Bill 63]
Considered*; read 3º *Mar* 23
l. Read 1ª* (*The Earl of Morley*) *Mar* 24
Read 2ª* *April* 25 (No. 58)
Committee*; Report *April* 27
Read 3ª* *April* 28
Royal Assent *May* 25 [34 *Vict.* i.]

Local Government Supplemental (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Winterbotham, Mr. Secretary Bruce*)
c. Ordered; read 1º* *April* 21 [Bill 115]
Read 2º* *April* 27

Local Taxation Bill
(*Mr. Goschen, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. William Edward Forster*)
c. Ordered; read 1º* *April* 4 [Bill 105]
Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Goschen *April* 4, 1147; Question, Mr. Wingfield Baker; Answer, Mr. Goschen *April* 27, 1778

LOCH, Mr. G., *Wick, &c.*
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1379

LOCKE, Mr. J., *Southwark*
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1098, 1100, 1102

Lodgers' Goods Protection Bill
(*Mr. H. B. Sheridan, Mr. Holms, Mr. Brogden, Mr. W. M. Torrens*)
c. Read 2º,* and referred to a Select Committee *Mar* 21 [Bill 54]

LONDON, Bishop of
Benefices Resignation, Report, *cl.* 7, 332

Lopes, Sir M., *Devonshire, S.*
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1543

Lopes, Mr. H. C., *Launceston*
Jury System, 1383
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 817
Ways and Means, Report, 1534

Lottery Act—Illegal Lotteries
Question, Mr. Charley; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *April* 20, 1383

Lowe, Right Hon. R. (see Chancellor of the Exchequer)

Lowther, Mr. J., *York City*
Court of Chancery—Committal of Persons of Unsound Mind, 1044
Munitions of War, Res. 781, 800
Parliament — Postponement of Notices of Motion, 179

Lubbock, Sir J., *Maidstone*
Bills of Exchange, &c. 2R. 1240; Comm. 1845
Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1976

Lunacy Regulation (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord O'Hagan*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *Mar* 17 (No. 47)
Bill read 2ª, after short debate *Mar* 23, 448
Committee * *Mar* 28
Report * *Mar* 30
Read 3ª * *Mar* 31
c. Read 1° * *April* 4 [Bill 102]
Read 2° * *April* 17
Committee *; Report *April* 27
Considered * *May* 1

Lunatics (Scotland) Bill (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Adam*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 27 [Bill 117]

Lusk, Mr. Alderman A., *Finsbury*
Army Estimates — Medical Establishments, 1207
Militia Pay and Allowances, 1220
Bills of Exchange, &c. 2R. 1240
Navy Estimates—Victuals and Clothing, 1841
Pensions Commutation, Res. 1256
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1462
Supply—Civil Services, 1029, 1037
Criminal Prosecutions (Ireland), 310
Law Charges, 309
Miscellaneous Expenses, 316
National Gallery, 315
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1447

Lyttelton, Lord
Emanuel Charity, Westminster, 1563
Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 739

McArthur, Mr. W., *Lambeth*
West African Settlements, Consid. 406

McCombie, Mr. W., *Aberdeenshire, W.*
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 423

Macfie, Mr. R. A., *Leith, &c.*
China—Missionaries in, 1934
Commercial Harbours, Defence of, Res. 677
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 730, 734
Scotland—Defences of the Firth of Forth, 1520
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1440
Workshop Regulation Act Amendment, 173
Writers in the Customs, 658

McLagan, Mr. P., *Linlithgowshire*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 306
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1451

McLaren, Mr. D., *Edinburgh*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 304
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1099, 1102, 1103
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 442
Post Office—Sunday Labour, Res. 1278
Scotland—Administration of Justice, 1926
Defences of the Firth of Forth, 1527
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 21, 821
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1443

McMahon, Mr. P., *New Ross*
Ireland—Labourers' Residences, Res. 593
Sunday Trading, 2R. 1737

Magniac, Mr. C., *St. Ives*
China—Missionaries in, 1934
India—Looshais, The, 658, 659
Ways and Means — Financial Statement, 1422
Ways and Means, Comm. 1803
West Coast of Africa—Dutch Guinea, 657

Maguire, Mr. J. F., *Cork City*
Ireland—Clothworkers' Company, 887
Ireland—Labourers' Residences, Res. 588
Trial by Jury (Ireland), 2R. Amendt. 1338

Mahon, Viscount, *Suffolk, E.*
Army—Commissariat Officers, 1584
Navy—Coastguard, 1467

Malcolm, Mr. J. W., *Boston*
Army—Chatham, Musketry Drill at, 1769
Army—Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1894

Manners, Lord G. J., *Cambridgeshire*
Army Regulation, 2R. 96

Manners, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R., *Leicestershire, N.*
Conference of London, Res. 941, 945, 946
Education—New Code, 456
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 443
Metropolis—Buildings for Learned Societies, Piccadilly, 51

Marine Mutiny Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Shaw Lefevre*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Mar* 28
Read 2° * *Mar* 29
Committee * ; Report *Mar* 31
Read 3° * *April* 3
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl of Camperdown*) *April* 20
Read 2ª * ; Committee negatived ; read 3ª *April* 21
Royal Assent *April* 24 [34 *Vict*. c. 10]

Marriage Law (Ireland) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, The Marquess of Hartington*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Mar* 29 [Bill 93]
Read 2° * *April* 17

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill (*The Lord Penzance*)
l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" *Mar* 27, 639
Amendt. to leave out ("now") and insert ("this day six months") (*The Duke of Northumberland*), 649 ; after short debate, on Question, that ("now") &c. ; Cont. 71, Not-Cont. 97 ; M. 26 ; resolved in the negative ; Bill to be read 2ª on this day six months
Division List, Cont. and Not-Cont., 653

Matches Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baxter*)
c. Considered in Committee *April* 20
Resolution reported ; Bill ordered, after short debate ; read 1° * *April* 21 [Bill 116]
Bill withdrawn * *April* 26

MAXWELL, Mr. W. H., *Kirkcudbrightshire*
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 429

Meat Supply from Abroad—The Order in Council
Question, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence ; Answer, Mr. W. E. Forster *Mar* 24, 572

Medical Act (1858) Amendment (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Brady, Mr. Haviland-Burke, Mr. Murphy*)
c. Read 1° * *Mar* 15 [Bill 73]

MELLY, Mr. G., *Stoke-upon-Trent*
Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen), Consid. Amendt. 1178
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 3, 978

Merchant Shipping Act
Case of the "Epaminondas," Question, Mr. Plimsoll ; Answer, Mr. Bruce *Mar* 28, 768

Merchant Shipping Bill
Question, Mr. Rathbone ; Answer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue *Mar* 31, 988 ; Question, Sir John Pakington ; Answer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue *April* 21, 1469

METROPOLIS
Art and Science Museum (*East London*), Question, Mr. Reed ; Answer, Mr. Ayrton *Mar* 16, 46
Cab Regulations, Question, Mr. Cameron ; Answer, Mr. Bruce *Mar* 20, 268
Hackney Carriage Regulations, Resolution (*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck*) *April* 25, 1721 ; [House counted out]
Museum of Practical Geology, Question, Mr. Fletcher ; Answer, Mr. Ayrton *April* 4, 1145
New Buildings for Learned Societies, Piccadilly, Question, Lord John Manners ; Answer, Mr. Ayrton *Mar* 16, 51
Small Pox—Returns of Vaccination, Question, Mr. Jacob Bright ; Answer, Mr. Bruce *May* 1, 1928
Street Tramways, Question, Sir Henry Hoare ; Answer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue *May* 1, 1930

The Parks
Hyde Park—Hamilton Gardens, Question, Mr. Denison ; Answer, Mr. Ayrton *April* 4, 1145 —*Access from Brompton*, Question, Mr. Brogden ; Answer, Mr. Ayrton *Mar* 24, 571 —*Volunteer Drill in*, Question, Mr. Harvey Lewis ; Answer, Mr. Ayrton *Mar* 28, 768
Kensington Gardens—The Albert Memorial, Question, Mr. Hardcastle ; Answer, Mr. Ayrton *April* 27, 1768—*Albert Memorial and Albert Hall*, Questions, Lord Elcho ; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Ayrton *April* 27, 1771
St. James's Park, The Ornamental Water, Question, Mr. Monk ; Answer, Mr. Ayrton *April* 25, 1689

Thames Embankment—Crown Land, Question, Mr. W. H. Smith ; Answer, Mr. Baxter *April* 3, 1047—*Chelsea Embankment, Use of Granite*, Question, Mr. Harvey Lewis ; Answer, Dr. Brewer *April* 27, 1773
Wellington Monument, Question postponed, Earl Cadogan *Mar* 23, 450

Metropolis — Communication between St. James's and Westminster
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 24, To leave out from "That" and add "an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to direct that the road by the East end of Saint James's Park may be opened for carriage traffic from Marlborough House Gate to Storey's Gate" (*Viscount Royston*), 606 ; Question proposed, "That the words, &c. ;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Metropolis Water Bill [Bill 40]
(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Secretary Bruce*)
c. Order for 2R. read *April* 20, 1465 ; after short debate, 2R. deferred

Metropolitan Commons Supplemental Bill
(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Secretary Bruce*)
c. Committee * ; Report *May* 1 [Bill 62]

Metropolitan Poor Act (1867) Amendment Bill (*Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 27 [Bill 119]
Read 2° * *May* 1

MIDLETON, Viscount
Epping Forest, 1767

MILLS, Mr. C. H., *Kent, W.*
Greece—Guaranteed Loan, 659

Mines Regulation Bill
Question, Mr. Wentworth Beaumont; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 27, 1770

MONK, Mr. C. J., *Gloucester*
Civil Service — Pensions Commutation Act, 265
Greece—Financial Commission, 50
Metropolis—St. James's Park, 1689
Pensions Commutation, Res. 1253, 1259
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1459
Private Chapels, Consid. *cl.* 1, 1333; *add. cl.* 1334
Supply—Compensation to Sufferers by Fire at Pera, 321
Miscellaneous Expenses, 317; Amendt. 319
Tables of Lessons, 1391

MONSELL, Right Hon. W. (Postmaster General), *Limerick Co.*
Post Office—Questions, &c.
Essex, Telegraph System in, 892
Mails between Bristol and Cornwall, 604
Money Orders, 890
New Postage and Money Order Schemes, 170
Parcel Post to India, &c. 766
Port Madoc, Telegraph Service at, 174
Salaries, Telegraph Service, 1047
Telegraphic Communication, 1687

MONTGOMERY, Sir G. G., *Peeblesshire*
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. Amendt. 413, 414

MORGAN, Mr. G. Osborne, *Denbighshire*
Torpey, Martha, Case of, 1013
Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1950

MORLEY, Earl of
Criminal Law Amendment (Violence, Threats, &c.), 2R. 1911
Habitual Criminals Act, 1681
Prison Ministers, 2R. 163, 165, 166; Comm. *cl.* 4, Proviso, 332
Trades Unions, 2R. 1911

MORLEY, Mr. S., *Bristol*
Bills of Exchange, &c. 2R. 1240; Comm. 1845
Income Tax and Inhabited House Duty (Metropolis), 1049
Trades Unions, Comm. 812; Consid. 1174

MOUNT EDGCUMBE, Earl of
Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 750

MOWBRAY, Right Hon. J. R., *Oxford University*
Mutiny, Comm. 875
Parochial Councils, 2R. 865

MUNDELLA, Mr. A. J., *Sheffield*
Army—Promotion by Selection, Motion for Adjournment, 296
Army Estimates, Res. 463, 484, 512
Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen), Consid. 1178
Inhabited House Duty, 273
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1461
Trades Unions, Comm. 979
Ways and Means, Report, 1533

MUNTZ, Mr. P. H., *Birmingham*
Army—Martini-Henri Rifle, 49; Motion for a Committee, 1907
Army Estimates—Land Forces, Report, 632
Bills of Exchange, &c. 2R. 1240
Conference of London, Res. 927
Navy Estimates—Scientific Departments, 1844
Sunday Trading, 1738

Murphy—Assault on Mr., at Whitehaven
Question, Mr. Holt; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 27, 1779; Question, Mr. Whalley; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 28, 1850

Mutiny Bill (*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Secretary Cardwell, The Judge Advocate*)
c. Ordered * *Mar* 24
Read 1° * *Mar* 27
Read 2° * *Mar* 28
Committee; Report, after debate *Mar* 29, 875
Read 3° * *Mar* 30
l. Read 1a * (*The Lord Northbrook*) *Mar* 31
Read 2a *; Committee negatived *April* 20
Read 3a * *April* 21
Royal Assent *April* 24 [34 *Vict.* c. 9]

National Expenditure
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 24, To leave out from "That" and add "in the opinion of this House, the additional taxation proposed by Her Majesty's Government will entail burdens upon the people which are not justified by existing circumstances" (*Mr. James White*), 1585; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 257, N. 230; M. 27
Division List, Ayes and Noes, 1673

NAVY
Case of Thomas West, Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, Sir Henry Storks *May* 1, 1932
Cheyne, Case of Commander, Observations, Sir John Hay; Reply, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre; short debate thereon *April* 27, 1830
Coast Guard — Retired Officers, Question, Viscount Mahon; Answer, Mr. Goschen *April* 21, 1467
Committee on Designs of Ships of War, Question, Mr. Corry; Answer, Mr. Goschen *April* 3, 1049

[*cont.*

NAVY—*cont.*

Dockyard Coal Contracts, Question, Mr. A. Guest; Answer, Mr. Goschen *Mar* 16, 55
H.M.S. "Megœra," Question, Mr. Kavanagh; Answer, Mr. Goschen *Mar* 16, 49; Question, Mr. F. Walpole; Answer, Mr. Goschen, 54; Question, Mr. Kavanagh; Answer, Mr. Goschen *Mar* 17, 174; Question, Mr. F. Walpole; Answer, Mr. Goschen *Mar* 21, 339
Keyham Factory — Pay of the Workmen, Question, Mr. J. D. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Goschen *Mar* 20, 272
Ships' Books and Accounts, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Goschen *April* 21, 1465
Ships Guns, Working of, Moncrieff's Plan, Question, Major Walker; Answer, Mr. Goschen *Mar* 17, 176
Ships of the "Blanche" Class, Question, Mr. Laird; Answer, Mr. Goschen *Mar* 31, 986

Navy—Armour-Clad Vessels—Coast and Harbour Defences

Motion for Return of the number of Armour-clad Vessels at present available for Coast and Harbour Defence not drawing more than sixteen feet water, and capable of resisting shot from the present guns of twelve and eighteen tons at 500 yards, direct fire, right angle (*The Earl of Lauderdale*) *Mar* 30, 878; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Question, Sir James Elphinstone; Answer, Mr. Goschen *April* 3, 1045

Navy—Controllership of the Navy

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 27, To leave out from "That" and add "it is expedient that the Controller of the Navy should be relieved of a portion of his responsibilities by giving more independent authority to the local officers of the Dockyards" (*Mr. Brassey*), 1810; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Navy—Deptford Dockyard

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 27, To leave out from "That" and add "the transfer of the Dockyard at Deptford to the Corporation of London should be postponed till the circumstances of the sale be considered by a Committee of this House" (*Sir James Elphinstone*), 680; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, A. 141, N. 64, M. 77
Questions, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir James Elphinstone; Answers, Mr. Goschen *Mar* 21, 339

Navy — Scientific Committee on Shipbuilding

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 27, To leave out from "That" and add "in the opinion of this House, a small Committee, composed of scientific and naval men, be appointed permanently, to investigate the designs of all ironclad and other vessels proposed to be built for the service of the Royal Navy, and to report to the Board of Admiralty as to their stability, and fitness in other respects, to fulfil the purposes for which they are intended" (*Sir James Elphinstone*), 1822; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Navy—Sir Spencer Robinson

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the circumstances which led to the dismissal of Vice Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson from the post of Third Lord of the Admiralty by the Prime Minister" (*Lord Henry Lennox*) *April* 18, 1280; after long debate, A. 104, N. 153; M. 49

Neutrality Laws—Declaration of Paris, 1856

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *April* 21, To leave out from "That" and add "the maintenance of British maritime rights being essential to the power, prosperity, and independence of the Empire, this House is of opinion that Her Majesty's Government should forthwith withdraw from the articles of 'The Declaration of Paris, 1856,' which are numbered respectively 1 and 2, and which are expressed in the terms following:—1. Privateering is and remains abolished; 2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war" (*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck*), 1468; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Neutrality Laws—Munitions of War

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to endeavour to arrive, in conjunction with Foreign Powers, at a settlement of the question of the export of arms and munitions of war from neutral to belligerent States" (*Mr. James Lowther*) *Mar* 28, 781; after debate, Motion withdrawn

NEVILLE-GRENVILLE, Mr. R., *Somersetshire, Mid.*

Army—Examinations at Woolwich, 1848
Volunteer Corps, 1233
Army Estimates—Yeomanry Cavalry, 1224
Game Laws (Scotland) Amendment, 2R. 1380
Post Office—New Postage and Money Order Schemes, 170
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1427
Ways and Means, Comm. 1802

NEWDEGATE, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.*

Army—Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1908, 1910
Army Regulation, 2R. 149, 150
Army Estimates—Land Forces, 527
Conventual and Monastic Institutions, Motion for a Committee, 179, 197
Elections (Parliamentary and Municipal), 2R. 1057
Parochial Councils, 2R. 849
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1543
Rating and Local Government, Leave, 1141

[*cont.*

New Forest Bill
(*Mr. Baxter, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Mar* 21 [Bill 81]
Question, Sir Harry Verney ; Answer, Mr. Baxter *April* 18, 1243
New Forest—Felling Timber, Question, Mr. Fawcett ; Answer, Mr. Baxter *April* 24, 1583
New Forest Bill, Question, Mr. Hambro ; Answer, Mr. Baxter ; short debate thereon *May* 1, 1933

New Peer
Mar 31—The Right Hon. Sir William Henry Lytton Earle Bulwer, G.C.B., created Baron Dalling and Bulwer of Dalling in the county of Norfolk

Sat First
Mar 23—The Lord Walsingham, after the death of his Father
Mar 30—The Lord Ker (The Marquess of Lothian), after the death of his Brother

New Writs Issued
Mar 23—*For* Tamworth, *v.* Right Hon. Sir William Henry Lytton Earle Bulwer, now Baron Dalling and Bulwer
Mar 31—*For* Norfolk (Southern Division), *v.* Edward Howes, esquire, deceased
April 21—*For* Durham City, *v.* Right Hon. John Robert Davison, deceased

New Members Sworn
Mar 30—John Peel, esquire, *Tamworth*
April 20—Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, baronet, *Norfolk (Southern Division)*
May 1—John Lloyd Wharton, esquire, *Durham City*

NICOL, Mr. J. C. Dyce, *Kincardineshire*
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 425
Scotland—Pedlars' Certificates, 1778
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1425

NORTH, Colonel J. S., *Oxfordshire*
Army—Medical Establishments, 1206, 1207
Muzzle-Loaders, 1243
Promotion by Selection, 297, 298
Army Re-organization, Res. 1187, 1192
Army Regulation, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 147
Army Estimates—Pay and Allowances, 534

NORTHBROOK, Lord (Under Secretary of State for War)
Army—Militia, Assembly of the, 980
Army—Military Education—Address for Returns, 759
Army—Powder in Store, Address for Returns, 158
Irish Militia Regiments, 453
Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 737
Volunteer Artillery—Arms, 565, 567, 568

NORTHUMBERLAND, Duke of
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 2R. Amendt. 649
Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 751

Norwich Voters Disfranchisement
Question, Mr. C. S. Read ; Answer, The Attorney General *Mar* 23, 463

NORWOOD, Mr. C. M., *Kingston-upon-Hull*
Munitions of War, Res. 800

O'CONOR DON, The, *Roscommon Co.*
Ireland—Prisons, 1929
Valuation (Ireland), Motion for a Committee, 1718, 1721

O'HAGAN, Lord
Lunacy Regulation (Ireland), 2R. 448

O'NEILL, Hon. E., *Antrim Co.*
Army—Officers in the Reserve Forces, 770

Ordnance Maps—Nationality of Berwick-on-Tweed
Question, Mr. Stapleton ; Answer, Mr. Ayrton *Mar* 30, 891

Ordnance Survey—North Wales
Question, Mr. Williams Wynn ; Answer, Mr. Ayrton *April* 24, 1583

O'REILLY, Mr. M. W., *Longford Co.*
Army—Exchanges, 657
Conventual and Monastic Institutions, Motion for a Committee, 183
Ireland—Labourers' Residences, Res. 589
Scotland — Cambusnethan Roman Catholic School, 885

OSBORNE, Mr. R. B., *Waterford City*
Army Regulation, 2R. 71
Conference of London, Res. 973
Ways and Means, Comm. 1799 ; Res. 2000

OTWAY, Mr. A. J., *Chatham*
Conference of London, Res. Motion for Adjournment, 972

Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Supplemental Bill
(*Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Arthur Peel*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Mar* 20 [Bill 79]
Read 2° * *Mar* 23
Committee * ; Report *Mar* 24
Read 3° * *Mar* 27
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl of Morley*) *Mar* 28
Read 2ª * *April* 25 (No. 62)
Committee * ; Report *April* 27
Read 3ª * *April* 28
Royal Assent *May* 25 [34 *Vict.* cii.]

PAKINGTON, Right Hon. Sir J. S., *Droitwich*
  Army—Cornwall Rangers Militia, 1467
  Army Retirement, Res. 283, 284
  Army Regulation, 2R. 126, 150
  Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, 1208, 1209, 1212, 1214
  Gibraltar—Armament, Motion for a Return, 777, 778
  Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 384, 388, 390, 391, 403
  Merchant Shipping, 1469
  Parliament—Business of the House, Committee on, 688
  Public Prosecutors, 2R. 1752
  Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1454

PALK, Sir L., *Devonshire, S.*
  County Justices Qualification Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 808

PALMER, Sir R., *Richmond*
  County Justices Qualification Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 806
  Declaration of Paris, Res. 1486
  Land Settlement, Res. 1712
  Munitions of War, Res. 790

PALMER, Mr. J. Hinde, *Lincoln City*
  County Justices Qualification Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 807
  Railway Companies, 2R. 25
  Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 818; Consid. Amendt. 1174

PARKER, Mr. C. S., *Perthshire*
  Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 440

Parliament
 LORDS—
  Easter Recess—House adjourned on Friday, *March* 31, to Thursday, *April* 20
  The Chairman of Committees—Lord Redesdale thanks the House on taking the Chair *April* 20, 1381

 Private Bills
  Ordered, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Thursday the 15th day of June next; [and other Orders] *April* 28, 1847

 COMMONS—
  Committee on Business of the House, Observation, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; short debate thereon *Mar* 27, 685

 Business of the House
  Returns ordered, "in tabular form, showing the number of Notices discussed on going into Committee of Supply (excluding Fridays), with the number of pages of 'Hansard' occupied each evening in the discussion of these Notices, for the Sessions of 1868-9 and 1870;"

[cont.

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*
  "And, of the number of Morning Sittings held before the 1st day of July in each year, showing the number of hours occupied in each Sitting before 7 P.M., and the number of pages of 'Hansard' occupied in discussion in each Sitting before 7 P.M., in the Sessions 1868-9 and 1870" (*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck*) *April* 3, 1143
  Committee on Public Business, Question, Mr. Bouverie; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *April* 20, 1390
  Easter Recess—House adjourned from Tuesday *April* 4 to Monday *April* 17
  Order in Debate—Personal Explanation, Observations, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Reply, Mr. A. Peel *Mar* 17, 176
  Postponement of Notices of Motion, Observations, Mr. Gladstone; Reply, Mr. J. Lowther *Mar* 17, 178
  Parliamentary Papers (*House of Commons*), Moved, "That when Papers are presented by Command, or in pursuance of an Order of this House, or in answer to an Address, the same shall be laid upon the Table in such a form as to ensure a speedy delivery thereof to Members" (*Mr. Eastwick*) *Mar* 20, 325; Motion agreed to

Parliament — Private Bill Legislation— Court of Hustings (London) Abolition Bill
  Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 24, To leave out from "That" and add "it be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders to consider and report whether any further Standing Orders are necessary to protect the public against abuse of the Private Bill system" (*Mr. William Henry Smith*) *Mar* 24, 609; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Parochial Councils Bill
  (*Viscount Sandon, Mr. Cowper-Temple*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 29, 822 [Bill 10]
  Amendt. to leave out from "That" and add "it is inexpedient to hamper the free development of co-operation between the clergy and the laity according to the local circumstances of different parishes by uniform and unelastic legislative provisions" (*Mr. Beresford Hope*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn; main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°, and committed for this day six months

PATTEN, Right Hon. Colonel J. W., *Lancashire, N.*
  Supply—Miscellaneous Expenses, 317

Pauper Inmates Discharge and Regulation Bill [H.L.] (*The Earl of Kimberley*)
c. Bill read 2°, after short debate *Mar* 20, 323
  Committee * R.P. *April* 17 [Bill 70]
  Committee *April* 21, 1538

[cont.

Pauper Inmates Discharge and Regulation Bill—cont.
On Question, "That the Preamble be postponed;" Moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. Joshua Fielden*); after short debate, A. 11, N. 79; M. 68

PEASE, Mr. J. W., *Durham, S.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 297
Army Estimates, Res. 476
Conventual and Monastic Institutions, Motion for a Committee, 201
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 356
Ways and Means, Comm. 1805; Res. 1947

PEEK, Mr. H. W., *Surrey, Mid.*
Army—Small Pox—3rd Surrey Militia, 173
Epping Forest—Verderers' Court, 458
West Indies—Nevis, 985

PEEL, Right Hon. Sir R., *Tamworth*
Conference of London, Res. 952
France—Military Attaché at Paris, 770
Imprisonment of a Child at Tamworth, 1387, 1389

PEEL, Mr. A. W. (Secretary to the Board of Trade), *Warwick Bo.*
Parliament—Order of Debate, 177
Railway Accident—Alleged Collision at Burton-on-Trent, 462

PELL, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*
Board of Trade Returns, 1145
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 429
Land Settlement, Res. 1714
Rating and Local Government, Leave, 1143

PEMBERTON, Mr. E. L., *Kent, E.*
Conventual and Monastic Institutions, Motion for a Committee, 200

Pensions Commutation Act, 1869
Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Baxter *Mar* 20, 265
Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to extend the provisions of 'The Pensions Commutation Act, 1869,' to all the Departments of the Civil Service" (*Mr. Monk*) *April* 18, 1253; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

PENZANCE, Lord
County Property, 2R. 168
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 2R. 639

PERCY, Earl, *Northumberland, N.*
Army Regulation, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 151

Persia—Employment of British Officers
Question, Mr. Eastwick; Answer, Viscount Enfield *April* 20, 1387

Pier and Harbour Orders Confirmation Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Peel, Mr. Chichester Fortescue*)
c. Considered in Committee; Bill ordered; read 1° * *April* 3 [Bill 101]
Read 2° * *April* 24

Pilotage Bill
(*Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Arthur Peel*)
c. Considered in Committee; Bill ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 21 [Bill 82]

PIM, Mr. J., *Dublin City*
Licensing (Ireland), 47

PLAYFAIR, Dr. Lyon, *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
Metropolis Water, 2R. 1463
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1448

PLIMSOLL, Mr. S., *Derby Bo.*
"Epaminondas," Case of the, 768

PLUNKET, Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
India—Civil Engineering College, 171
Ireland—Civil Service, 893

POOR LAW
Law of Rating (Ireland), Select Committee nominated; List of the Committee *April* 26, 1767
Milk Supplies to Unions, Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answer, Mr. Stansfeld *Mar* 20, 268; *Mar* 23, 460
The Small-Pox—Irish Poor Removal, Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar* 23, 454; Question, Mr. M'Carthy Downing; Answer, Mr. Stansfeld *April* 4, 1146
Vagrant Wards, Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Hibbert *April* 20, 1384
See titles IRELAND—SCOTLAND

Poor Law (Loans) Bill
(*Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. Cowper-Temple, Mr. Candlish*)
c. Committee *; Report *Mar* 15 [Bill 68]
Considered * *Mar* 16
Read 3° * *Mar* 17
l. Read 1ª * (*The Viscount Eversley*) *Mar* 20
Read 2ª * *Mar* 28 (No. 50)
Committee *; Report *Mar* 30
Read 3ª * *Mar* 31
Royal Assent *April* 24 [34 *Vict.* c. 11]

Poor Removal (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Downing, Sir Hervey Bruce, Colonel Knox, Mr. Maguire*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 23 [Bill 87]

POST OFFICE
Country Postmasterships, Question, Mr. Kavanagh; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar* 20, 269
Mails between Bristol and Cornwall, Question, Observations, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Reply, Mr. Monsell; short debate thereon *Mar* 24, 603
New Postage and Money Order Schemes, Question, Mr. Neville-Grenville; Answer, Mr. Monsell *Mar* 17, 170; Question, Mr. Stacpoole; Answer, Mr. Monsell *Mar* 30, 890
Parcel Post to India and the Colonies, Question, Mr. D. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. Monsell *Mar* 28, 766
Telegraph Service at Port Madoc, Question, Mr. Holland; Answer, Mr. Monsell *Mar* 17, 174
Telegraph Service—Salaries, Question, Mr. Campbell; Answer, Mr. Monsell *April* 3, 1046
Telegraph System in Essex, Question, Colonel Brise; Answer, Mr. Monsell *Mar* 30, 892
Telegraphic Communication, Bridgwater, &c., Question, Mr. Gore-Langton; Answer, Mr. Monsell *April* 25, 1686

Post Office (Ipswich)
Moved, "That there be laid before this House the Reports laid before the Postmaster General on the state of the Post Office at Ipswich, with the Correspondence relating thereto" (*The Lord Kinnaird*) *April* 25, 1677; after short debate, Motion agreed to (*P.P.* 151)

Post Office—Sunday Labour
Moved, "That the employment by the State of upwards of twenty thousand persons in the department of the Post Office on the Sabbath Day, is not justified by any public necessity; and that, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the exemption from Sunday labour enjoyed by the Letter-carriers of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast, and one hundred and fourteen other Post Towns, should be extended to all Letter-carriers and Rural Messengers throughout the United Kingdom" (*Mr. Charles Reed*) *April* 18, 1259; after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Then it was moved, "That this House deems it desirable to reduce, by all prudent means, the Sunday labour now performed by public servants; and that it is expedient that an official inquiry should be instituted, with a view to ascertaining how far it may be practicable to effect a further reduction of the labour now performed on Sunday by the Letter-carriers and Rural Messengers in the service of the Postmaster General" (*Mr. Gladstone*); after further short debate, Resolution agreed to

POTTER, Mr. E., *Carlisle*
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 21, Amendt. 820; *cl.* 3, 979

Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Report * *Mar* 16 (No. 29)
Read 3ª * *Mar* 17
c. Read 1º * *Mar* 20 [Bill 78]
Bill read 2° *Mar* 31, 1041
Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 20, 1391
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *April* 20, 1455
Amendt. to leave out from "That" and add "in the opinion of this House, no change in the Law with regard to the reading of Holy Scripture in the Church of England is desirable which withholds from the officiating clergyman the power of reading such portions of the Old and New Testament at Morning and Evening Prayer as to him may seem most suitable" (*Mr. J. D. Lewis*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 195, N. 41; M. 154; main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P.

PRICE, Mr. W. P., *Gloucester City*
Railway Companies, 2R. 38, 39

Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society of Ireland Regulation Bill
(*The Lord Cairns*)
l. Bill read 2ª, after short debate *Mar* 21, 330 (No. 42)
Referred to a Select Committee *April* 24; List of the Committee, 1580

Prison Ministers Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Morley*)
l. Bill read 2ª, after short debate *Mar* 17, 163
Committee *Mar* 21, 332 (Nos. 37-53)
Report * *Mar* 23
Read 3ª * *Mar* 24
c. Read 1º * *Mar* 28 [Bill 90]

Private Chapels Bill
(*Mr. Salt, Mr. Dimsdale, Mr. Morrison*)
c. Considered *April* 18, 1332 [Bills 37-112]

Promissory Oaths Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *Mar* 30 (No. 64)
Bill read 2ª, after short debate *April* 24, 1579

Protection of Life and Property in certain Parts of Ireland Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Kimberley*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *April* 27 (No. 77)

Prussia
British Representative at Berlin, Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Viscount Enfield *April* 20, 1386
Treaty of Prague, Question, Mr. M. T. Bass; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 23, 458

Public Health (Scotland) Act (1867) Amendment Bill
(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Bruce*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 29 [Bill 92]
Read 2° * *April* 21

Public Parks, &c. (Land) Bill
(*Sir William Hutt, Sir Stafford Northcote*)
c. Committee *; Report *Mar* 15 [Bill 25]
Read 3° * *Mar* 20
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl of Harrowby*) *Mar* 21
Bill read 2ª, after short debate *Mar* 30, 877
Committee *; Report *Mar* 31 (No. 55)
Read 3ª * *April* 25
Royal Assent *May* 25 [34 *Vict.* c. 13]

Public Prosecutors Bill
(*Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. Eykyn, Mr. Vernon Harcourt, Mr. Rathbone*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *April* 26, 1744
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. West*); after debate, Question put, "That 'now,' &c.;" A. 129, N. 89; M. 40; main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 35]

Public Schools Act, 1864—*Fellowships at Winchester College*
Question, Mr. J. D. Lewis; Answer, The Solicitor General *April* 20, 1389

Queen's Messengers
Question, Mr. Stopford-Sackville; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 16, 52

RAIKES, Mr. H. C., *Chester*
Conference of London, Res. 976
Education—National School Teachers (Ireland), 596
Education—New Code, 1387
Wales—Education—Building Grants, 568

Railway Companies Bill
(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Hinde Palmer, Mr. Rowland Winn*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 15, 1 [Bill 5]
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Leeman*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after long debate, Motion, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Denison*), put, and negatived
Question again proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" Debate adjourned

Railways
Alleged Collision at Burton-on-Trent, Question, Mr. M. T. Bass; Answer, Mr. A. Peel *Mar* 23, 462
South Yorkshire Coal Owners' Railway, Question, Mr. Buckley; Answer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue *April* 28, 1851
[See title IRELAND]

RATHBONE, Mr. W., *Liverpool*
Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, Amendt. 1210, 1220
Merchant Shipping, 988
Parochial Councils, 2R. 857
Public Prosecutors, 2R. 1754

Rating and Local Government Bill
(*Mr. Goschen, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. William Edward Forster*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Goschen*) *April* 3, 1115; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*); Debate adjourned
Bill ordered; read 1° * *April* 4 [Bill 106]

READ, Mr. Clare S., *Norfolk, S.*
Bribery at Norwich, 463
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1370

Rectory of Ewelme Bill
(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 30 [Bill 96]
Read 2° * *April* 24
Committee *; Report *April* 26
Considered * *April* 27
Read 3° * *April* 28
l. Read 1ª * (*The Lord Chancellor*) *May* 1 (No. 82

REDESDALE, Lord (Chairman of Committees)
Chairman of Committees, 1381
Charters (Colleges), 2R. 1925
Habitual Criminals Act, 1683

REED, Mr. C., *Hackney*
Art and Science Museum, East London, 46
Post Office—Sunday Labour, Res. 1259, 1278

Registration of Partnerships Bill
(*Mr. Norwood, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Monk, Mr. Serjeant Simon*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 22 [Bill 86]

Registry of Deeds, &c. (Middlesex)—The Vacant Registrarship
Question, Mr. Cubitt; Answer, The Attorney General *Mar* 30, 886

Representation of the People Acts Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Hardcastle, Mr. Bayley Potter, Mr. Gilpin*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *April* 3 [Bill 98]

RICHARD, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Parochial Councils, 2R. 851
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1547
Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1968

RICHMOND, Duke of
Bankruptcy Disqualification, 2R. 1579
County Property, 2R. 167, 168
France—State of Paris, 448
Habitual Criminals Act, 1682
Ireland—Westmeath, &c. (Unlawful Combinations), 1548, 1549
Prison Ministers, 2R. 166
Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 740, 741
United States—Fishery Question, 1381

RIDLEY, Mr. M. W., *Northumberland, N.*
Army—Small Arms for the Militia, 1929
India—Lahore and Peshawur Railway, 169

RODEN, Mr. W. S., *Stoke-on-Trent*
Army Regulation, 2R. 100

ROSEBERY, Earl of
Greece—Murder of British Subjects by Brigands, 262

ROYSTON, Viscount, *Cambridgeshire*
Metropolis — Communication between St. James's and Westminster, Motion for an Address, 606

RUSSELL, Colonel Sir W., *Norwich*
Army Regulation, 2R. 219

Russia
Khiva—Concentration of Russian Troops, Question, Mr. Eastwick; Answer, Viscount Enfield *April* 18, 1241

RYLANDS, Mr. P., *Warrington*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 300
Army Estimates—Pay and Allowances, 533
*Conference of London, Res. Amendt. 918, 973
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1108, 1109
*National Expenditure, Res. 1593
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1457
Prussia—British Representative at Berlin, 1386
Supply—Civil Services, 308, 1029
  Embassy House, Constantinople, 309
  Miscellaneous Expenses, 319
  National Gallery, 315
Ways and Means, Report, 1532

Sabbath Observance Act
Question, Mr. Brady; Answer, Mr. Bruce *Mar* 23, 461

SACKVILLE, Mr. Sackville G. STOPFORD-, *Northamptonshire, N.*
Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, 1221
Queen's Messengers, 52

ST. AUBYN, Mr. J., *Cornwall, W.*
Education—New Code, 456

SALISBURY, Marquess of
Charters (Colleges), 2R. 1924
China — Tien-tsin Massacre, Address for Papers, 558
Emanuel Charity, Westminster, 1550, 1575
Habitual Criminals Act, 1683
Ireland—Westmeath, &c. (Unlawful Combinations), 1549
Justices Procedure (England), 2R. 262
Prison Ministers, 2R. 165
Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 745, 746
University Tests, 2R. 43

Salmon Fisheries Bill
(*Mr. Dodds, Mr. Liddell, Colonel Amcotts, Earl Percy, Colonel Edwardes*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 15 [Bill 75]
Bill read 2°, after short debate *Mar* 28, 801

SALOMONS, Alderman Sir D., *Greenwich*
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1230
Currency—Half-Crown Pieces, 266
Workshop Regulation Act Amendment, 174

SALT, Mr. T., *Stafford*
Private Chapels, Consid. *add. cl.* 1333

SAMUDA, Mr. J. D'A., *Tower Hamlets*
Epping Forest, Res. 1864
Match Makers' Procession, 1774
Naval Scientific Committee, Res. 1826
Navy Estimates—Men and Boys, 723, 725

SAMUELSON, Mr. B., *Banbury*
Coal Supply, Commission on, 766
Education—New Code, 456

SANDON, Viscount, *Liverpool*
Parochial Councils, 2R. 822, 858, 873

SANDWICH, Earl of
Army—Militia, Assembly of the, 980, 981

SCLATER-BOOTH, Mr. G., *Hampshire, N.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 304
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. 2R. 324
Rating and Local Government, Leave, 1143
Supply—Miscellaneous Expenses, 316, 318
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1450

SCOTLAND
Administration of Justice — Sir John Orde, Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The Lord Advocate *May* 1, 1926
Defences of the Firth of Forth, Observations, Mr. Macfie; debate thereon *April* 21, 1520
Education — Cambusnethan Roman Catholic School, Question, Mr. O'Reilly; Answer, Mr. Bruce *Mar* 30, 885
Greenock Police—Superannuation Fund, Question, Mr. Grieve; Answer, Mr. Bruce *Mar* 30, 887
Pedlars' Certificates, Question, Mr. Dyce Nicol; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 27, 1778
Poor Law—Select Committee appointed and nominated; List of the Committee *April* 26, 1766

Scourfield, Mr. J. H., *Pembrokeshire, S.*
Army Estimates, Res. 508
Parliament—Private Bill Legislation—Court of Hustings (London) Abolition, Motion for a Select Committee, 615
Ways and Means, Comm. 1802

Sea Fisheries Act (1868) Supplemental Bill
(*Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Mr. Arthur Peel*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 21 [Bill 83]
Bill withdrawn * *Mar* 27

Seditious Language—London Republicans
Question, Mr. G. Bentinck; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 24, 574

Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J., *Essex, W.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 305
Army Regulation, 2R. 149
Epping Forest, Res. 1858
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1097
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1162
National Expenditure, Res. 1604
Navy—Deptford Dockyard, 339; Res. 680, 683
Navy Estimates, 662
Parliament—Business of the House, Committee on, 687
Parochial Councils, 2R. 845
Railway Companies, 2R. 1, 19, 39
Ways and Means, Comm. 1809

Sequestration Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Bishop of Winchester*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *Mar* 21 (No. 54)

Sequestration of Benefices Bill
(*Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. Bouverie, Sir John Pakington*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 21 [Bill 80]

Shaftesbury, Earl of
Habitual Criminals Act, 1682
Prison Ministers, 2R. 165

Sheridan, Mr. H. B., *Dudley*
Army—Ordnance Maps, 573

Sherlock, Mr. Serjeant D., *King's Co.*
County Justices Qualification Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 807

Simon, Mr. Serjeant J., *Dewsbury*
Declaration of Paris, Res. 1479
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 818

Simonds, Mr. W. B., *Winchester*
Education—Building Grants, 1582

Sinclair, Sir J. G. T., *Caithness-shire*
Army Regulation, 2R. 93, 660

Smith, Mr. J. B., *Stockport*
Army Retirement, Res. 285
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1421, 1454

Smith, Mr. T. E., *Tynemouth, &c.*
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1111
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1462

Smith, Mr. W. H., *Westminster*
Education—Census, The, 1930
Local Government and Taxation, 1147
Metropolis—Thames Embankment, 1047
Parliament—Private Bill Legislation—Court of Hustings (London) Abolition, Motion for a Select Committee, 609, 618
Parochial Councils, 2R. 859
Ways and Means, Res. 1937, 1995

Solicitor General, The (Sir J. D. Coleridge), *Exeter*
Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen), Consid. 1177, 1178
Jury System, 1383
Private Chapels, Consid. *cl.* 1, 1333; *add. cl.* 1334
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 817; *cl.* 3, 978
Winchester College, Fellowships at, 1390

Somerset, Duke of
Armour-Clad Vessels—Coast and Harbour Defences, Motion for a Return, 883
China—Tien-tsin Massacre, Address for Papers, 562
United States—Recognition of the Southern Confederacy, 334

Spain—Case of the "Tornado"
Question, Mr. Grieve; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 27, 659

Spain and Mexico
Question, Mr. Laird; Answer, Viscount Enfield *April* 20, 1386

Speaker, The (Right Hon. J. E. Denison) *Nottinghamshire, N.*
Army—Promotion by Selection, 306, 307
Army Regulation, 2R. 150, 258
Charity Commissions, Res. 1513
Epping Forest, Res. 1870
Gibraltar—Armament, Motion for a Return, 774
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 403
Parliament—Business of the House, Committee on, 688
Order in Debate, 178
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1459
Scotland—Defences of the Firth of Forth, 1525
Sunday Trading, 2R. 1743
Supply, 1514
Trades Union Comm. 811

Stacpoole, Mr. W., *Ennis*
Army Regulation—Militia, 1466
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1225, 1234
Glebe Land (Ireland) Act, 1241
Post Office—Money Orders, 890
Purchase System—High Political Offices, 267

Stamp Act (1870) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)
c. Read 3°* *Mar* 15 [Bill 46]
l. Read 1^{a}* (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) *Mar* 16
Read 2^{a}* *Mar* 23 (No. 45)
Committee*; Report *Mar* 24
Read 3^{a}* *Mar* 27
Royal Assent *Mar* 30 [34 *Vict.* c. 4]

Stamp Duties on Appointment to High Political Offices
Question, Mr. Stacpoole; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 20, 267

Stanhope, Earl
Prison Ministers, 2R. 166

Stanley, Hon. Captain F. A., *Lancashire, N.*
Navy—Cheyne, Commander, Case of, 1834

Stansfeld, Right Hon. J. (Chief Commissioner of the Poor Law Board), *Halifax*
Milk, Adulteration of, 460
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. 2R. 323; Comm. 1542
Poor Law—Milk Supplies to Unions, 269
Small-Pox, 1147
Supply—Compensation to Sufferers by Fire at Pera, 321, 324
Ways and Means, Comm. Res. 1956

Stapleton, Mr. J., *Berwick-on-Tweed*
Army—Exchanges, 984
Promotion by Selection, 288
Berwick-on-Tweed, Nationality of, 891
Hypothec Abolition (Scotland), 2R. 427

Stevenson, Mr. J. C., *South Shields*
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 375

Storks, Right Hon. Major General Sir H. (Surveyor General of Ordnance), *Ripon*
Army—Questions, &c.
Breech-loading Field Guns, Value of, 891
Commissariat Officers, 1584
Equipments for Volunteers, 1849
Martini-Henry Rifle, 49
Militia, Small Arms for the, 1929
Promotion by Selection, 294
Army—Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1910
Army Estimates—Land Forces, Report, 633, 634
Medical Establishments, 1204, 1206, 1207
Gibraltar—Armament, Motion for a Return, 778, 780
Scotland—Defences of the Firth of Forth, 1526
West, Thomas, Case of, 1932

Straight, Mr. D., *Shrewsbury*
Exciseable Liquors (Licensing), Comm. 1101
Public Prosecutors, 1755
Torpey, Martha, Case of, 1017

Strathnairn, Lord
Army—Military Education, Address for Returns, 752, 765

Sunday Trading Bill (*Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. John Gilbert Talbot, Mr. Thomas Chambers, Mr. M'Arthur*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *April* 26, 1723 [Bill 8]
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Taylor*); after short debate, Question put, "That 'now' &c.;" A. 47, N. 80; M. 33; words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; Bill put off for six months

SUPPLY
Considered in Committee *Mar* 20, 308—Civil Service Estimates (Supplementary Estimates) Revenue and Post Office, Packet Services—Excesses—Resolutions reported; and, after short debate, agreed to *Mar* 21, 406
Considered in Committee *Mar* 23, 517—Army Estimates—Resolutions reported; and, after debate, agreed to *Mar* 24, 619
Considered in Committee *Mar* 27, 689—Navy Estimates—Resolutions reported *Mar* 28
Considered in Committee *Mar* 31, 1028—Post Office Telegraph Service £70,000 on Account—Civil Services £1,786,100 on Account—Resolutions reported *April* 3
Considered in Committee *April* 17, 1200—Army Estimates — Resolutions reported *April* 18
Considered in Committee *April* 27, 1835—Navy Estimates — Resolutions reported *April* 28

Sykes, Colonel W. H., *Aberdeen City*
Army—Breech-loading Field Guns, Value of, 891
Promotion by Selection, 291, 296, 297, 306
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1172
India—Recruits for, 1382, 1383;—Cost of, 1582
Supply—Law Charges, 309
Miscellaneous Expenses, 318

Sykes, Mr. C., *Yorkshire, E.R.*
Harbours of Refuge, Motion for an Address, 358

Synan, Mr. E. J., *Limerick Co.*
Ireland—Education—National School Teachers, 602
Ireland—Labourers' Residences, Res. 586
Italy—Disturbances in Rome, 171

Talbot, Hon. Captain R. A. J., *Stafford Bo.*
Army Estimates—Pay and Allowances, 539

Talbot, Mr. J. G., *Kent, W.*
Sunday Trading, 2R. 1737

Taylor, Right Hon. Lt.-Colonel T. E., *Dublin Co.*
Army—Unattached Officers, 1147

Taylor, Mr. P. A., *Leicester*
*Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1349, 1377
*Sunday Trading, 2R. Amendt. 1725, 1743
Supply—Miscellaneous Expenses, 318

Terminable Annuities
Question, Mr. Candlish; Answer, Mr. Baxter *Mar* 31, 983

Torrens, Mr. R. R., *Cambridge Bo.*
Army Regulation, 2R. 216

Torrens, Mr. W. M., *Finsbury*
Cattle Disease (Metropolis)—Waterside Cattle Market, 1779
Emigration, 272

Tracy, Hon. C. R. D. Hanbury- *Montgomery, &c.*
Army—Employment of Soldiers in Trades, 265

Trades Unions Bill
(*Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Shaw Lefevre*)
c. Committee deferred, after short debate *Mar* 24, 638 [Bill 28]
Committee *Mar* 28, 808
Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power to divide the said Bill into two Bills" (*Mr. Secretary Bruce*); after short debate, Motion agreed to; Committee—R.P.
Committee *Mar* 30, 976
Report, That the Committee had divided the Bill into two Bills
Considered *April* 4, 1173 [Bill 94]
Read 3°* *April* 17
l. Read 1ª* (*The Earl of Morley*) *April* 20 [Bill divided]

Trades Unions Bill (No. 68)
Criminal Law Amendment (Violence Threats, &c.) Bill (No. 69)
l. Bills read 2ª *May* 1, 1911

Treasurers of Rates Bill
(*Mr. Donald Dalrymple, Sir William Bagge, Mr. Dodds*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *May* 1 [Bill 120]

Treaty of Paris (1856)—*Conference of London*
Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 16, 53
Moved, "That this House regrets that Her Majesty's Government accepted a proposition for the assembling of a Conference under the circumstances disclosed in the Papers relating to Prince Gortchakof's Circular Note, which have been laid before Parliament" (*Sir Charles Dilke*) *Mar* 30, 894

[*cont.*

Treaty of Paris (1856)—*Conference of London*—cont.
Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "in the opinion of this House, the course taken by Her Majesty's Government in accepting a proposal for the assembling of a Conference upon the Treaty of Paris of 1856 was consistent with the honour and interests of this Country, and calculated to promote the maintenance of the peace of Europe" (*Mr. Rylands*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Otway*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn; after further short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; after further short debate, original Question put, and negatived

Trelawny, Sir J. G. S., *Cornwall, E.*
Army Retirement, Res. 285

Trevelyan, Mr. G. O., *Hawick, &c.*
Army Retirement, Res. 274, 284
Army Estimates—Pay and Allowances, 534, 544

Trial by Jury (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Lambert, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. M'Combie*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *April* 19, 1335
Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Maguire*); Question proposed, "That 'now' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. and Motion withdrawn; Bill withdrawn [Bill 47]

Tribunals of Commerce
Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the expediency of establishing Tribunals of Commerce, or of otherwise improving the administration of justice in causes relating to commercial disputes in England" (*Mr. Whitwell*); List of the Committee *Mar* 31, 1042

Truro, Lord
Army—Volunteer Artillery—Arms, 566

Turnpike Acts Continuance
Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the eighth and ninth Schedules of 'The Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1870'" (*Mr. Winterbotham*); List of the Committee *Mar* 17, 259

United States
British Claims on the United States Government, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Viscount Enfield *April* 27, 1773
Homicide of Captain Wilfred Speer, Question, Mr. Cubitt; Answer, Viscount Enfield *Mar* 23, 458
Island of San Juan, Question, The Earl of Lauderdale; Answer, Earl Granville *May* 1, 1921

[*cont.*

United States—cont.
  Recognition of the Southern Confederacy—Intervention of Russia, Question, Lord Houghton; Answers, Earl Granville, The Duke of Somerset *Mar* 21, 332
  The Joint High Commission—The Fishery Question, Question, The Duke of Richmond; Answer, Earl Granville *April* 20, 1381

University Tests Bill (No. 26) (*The Earl of Kimberley*)
l. Bill read 2^a, after short debate *Mar* 16, 40

Vaccination Act—Penalties
  Question, Mr. T. Chambers; Answer, Mr. Bruce *May* 1, 1935

Vaccination (Scotland) Bill (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Bruce, Mr. Adam*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *April* 27 [Bill 118]

Vane, Earl
  Army—Volunteer Artillery—Arms, 565

Verney, Sir H., *Buckingham*
  Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, 1214
  New Forest, The, 1243

Villiers, Right Hon. C. P., *Wolverhampton*
  Conventual and Monastic Institutions, Motion for a Committee, 197

Vivian, Lord
  Reserve Forces—Lords Lieutenant, Motion for a Committee, 734

Vivian, Hon. Captain J. C. W. (Lord of the Treasury), *Truro*
  Army—Artillery Retirement, 337
  Army Regulation, 2R. 114
  Army Regulation—Colonels of Artillery, 1689
  Army Estimates—Land Forces, Report, 625
    Pay and Allowances, 533, 534, 535
  National Expenditure, Res. 1625

Vivian, Mr. H. Hussey, *Glamorganshire*
  Army—Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1910
  Coal Supply, Commission on, 766

Walker, Major G. G., *Dumfriesshire*
  Army—Chaplains in Camps, 1581
    Promotion by Selection, 306
  Army Regulation, 2R. 224
  Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, 1211
    Yeomanry Cavalry, 1224
  Navy—Working Ships Guns—Moncrieff's Plan, 176
  Supply—Miscellaneous Expenses, 317

Walpole, Right Hon. Spencer H., *Cambridge University*
  Education—New Code, 271

Walpole, Hon. F., *Norfolk, N.*
  Navy—"Megæra," The, 54, 339

Waterhouse, Major S., *Pontefract*
  India—Railways, 573

Waters, Mr. G., *Mallow*
  Trial by Jury (Ireland), 2R. 1344

Ways and Means—Miscellaneous Questions
  Inhabited House Duty, Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 20, 273; Question, Mr. Eykyn; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May* 1, 1933
  Income Tax and Inhabited House Duty (Metropolis), Question, Mr. Morley; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April* 3, 1049
  Inland Bills of Exchange—Adhesive Stamps, Question, Mr. Fothergill; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 27, 655
  The Income Tax—Deductions from Dividends, Question, Mr. W. Ormsby Gore; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Crawford *April* 28, 1848
  Pedlars' Certificates, Question, Mr. Dyce Nicol; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 27, 1778
  Property Tax—Tenant Farmers, Question, Mr. Baker; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April* 3, 1048
  Terminable Annuities, Question, Mr. Candlish; Answer, Mr. Baxter *Mar* 31, 983
  The Tax on Matches, Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Reply, Mr. Disraeli *April* 25, 1685; Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May* 1, 1931
  The Matchmakers' Procession, Questions, Mr. Baillie Cochrane, Mr. Samuda, Mr. Eykyn; Answers, Mr. Bruce *April* 27, 1774
  Law of Public Processions, &c., Questions, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Baillie Cochrane; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *April* 25, 1684; Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Bruce *April* 27, 1779
    See title *Charity Commission—Exemption of Endowed Charities from Income Tax*

WAYS AND MEANS
  Considered in Committee *April* 20, 1391—Financial Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on moving the First Resolution, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged and paid for and upon every box or other enclosure of Lucifer Matches, Fusees, or other Matches prepared so as to be capable of being ignited by friction or otherwise than by the application of actual fire or heat (hereinafter called 'Matches'), whether manufactured in or imported into the United Kingdom, which shall be sold, or exposed to sale, or be offered or kept ready for sale, in the United Kingdom, on or after the 10th day of May 1871, a Duty of Excise as follows (that is to say):

[*cont.*

Ways and Means—cont.
Where the box or other enclosure contains Matches which, independently of the substance for ignition are composed wholly of Wood— £ *s.* *d.*
If the number of Matches therein contained does not exceed 100 . . 0 0 0½
If the number of Matches therein contained exceeds 100, then for every 100, and also for any fractional part of 100, of such number 0 0 0½
[And other details.]
After long debate, Question put; A. 201, N. 44; M. 157
Resolution reported *April* 21, 1528
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Resolution be now read a second time"
After short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Dixon*); A. 50, N. 116; M. 66
Original Question put; A. 113, N. 51; M. 62; Resolution read a second time, and agreed to
Bill ordered (*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baxter*); presented, and read the first time [Bill 116]
Order for Committee read *April* 24; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker, &c."
Amendt. to leave out from "That" and add "in the opinion of this House, the additional taxation proposed by Her Majesty's Government will entail burdens upon the people which are not justified by existing circumstances" (*Mr. James White*) *April* 24, 1585; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 257, N. 230; M. 27
Division List, Ayes and Noes, 1673
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.;" agreed to; Committee—R.P.
Notice of Resolution (*Mr. Disraeli*) *April* 25, 1685
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.;" Statement (*Mr. Gladstone*) *April* 27, 1780; after debate, Motion withdrawn; Committee deferred
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker, &c." *May* 1, 1937
Amendt. to leave out from "That" and add "it is inexpedient that the income tax should be increased to the extent contemplated in the financial proposals of Her Majesty's Government" (*Mr. William Henry Smith*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, A. 335, N. 250; M. 85
Division List, Ayes and Noes, 2035
Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c." put, and agreed to; Committee, 2039
Moved, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, there shall be charged, collected, and paid for one year, commencing on the 6th day of April, 1871, for and in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act passed in the 16th and 17th of Her Majesty, c. 34, for granting to Her Majesty Duties on Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices, the following Duties (that is to say): For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of all such Property, Profits, and Gains (except those chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act,) the Duty of Sixpence; [and other details] (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*); Moved to report Progress (*Mr. Robert Fowler*); Question negatived; original Question put, and agreed to
Resolution reported *May* 2

Weights and Measures (Metric System) Bill (*Mr. John Benjamin Smith, Sir Charles Adderley, Mr. Graves*)
c. Ordered * *Mar* 21
Read 1° * *Mar* 22 [Bill 85]

Wellington Monument
Question postponed, Earl Cadogan *Mar* 23, 450

WEST, Mr. H. W., *Ipswich*
Public Prosecutors, 2R. Amendt. 1749

West African Settlements Bill [H.L.] (*The Earl of Kimberley*)
c. Committee *; Report *Mar* 20 [Bill 57]
Considered, after short debate *Mar* 21, 406
Read 3° * *Mar* 24
l. Royal Assent *Mar* 31 [34 *Vict.* c. 8]

West India Islands
The Leeward Islands, Confederation of—Island of Nevis, Question, Mr. Peek; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen *Mar* 31, 985
The Windward Islands—Consolidation of Governorships, Question, Sir Charles Adderley; Answer, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen *Mar* 31, 987

Westmeath, &c. (Unlawful Combinations) Committee
Question, The Marquess of Clanricarde; Answer, Earl Granville *Mar* 20, 263; Question, Mr. Gathorne Hardy; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *April* 18, 1242
Notice of Bill, Motion for Papers (*The Earl of Kimberley*) *April* 24, 1548; after short debate, Motion agreed to
Message to the Commons for the Report of and Evidence taken before the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of Westmeath and certain parts adjoining of Meath and King's County, the nature, extent, and effect of a certain unlawful combination and confederacy existing therein, and the best means of suppressing the same
Observations, Mr. Gladstone *April* 24, 1580
[See title *Protection of Life and Property in certain Parts of Ireland Bill*]

WHALLEY, Mr. G. H., *Peterborough*
Murphy, Mr., Case of, 1850
Navy, Controllership of the, Res. 1821
Pauper Inmates Discharge, &c. Comm. 1543
Supply—Civil Services, 1029

[*cont.*

WHATMAN, Mr. J., *Maidstone*
British North America (Public Works), Res. 1244, 1250, 1252

WHEELHOUSE, Mr. W. St. James, *Leeds*
Harbours of Refuge—Motion for an Address, 352

WHITBREAD, Mr. S., *Bedford*
Navy—Robinson, Sir S., Motion for a Committee, 1330

WHITE, Hon. Captain C. W., *Tipperary Co.*
Military Attachés, 56

WHITE, Mr. J., *Brighton*
France and Germany—Capture of British Ships, 569
National Expenditure, Res. 1585, 1635
Prayer Book (Tables of Lessons), Comm. 1463
Supply—Law Charges, 309
Ways and Means—Financial Statement, 1419

WHITWELL, Mr. J., *Kendal*
Army—Martini-Henry Rifle, Motion for a Committee, 1897
Army Retirement, Res. 287
Army Estimates—Militia Pay and Allowances, 1212
Education—New Code, 269
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1171
Ireland—Labourers' Residences, Res. 594
Supply—Civil Services, 1029
  Relief of Paris, 322
Trades Unions, Comm. 813

WILLIAMS, Mr. Watkin, *Denbigh, &c.*
Bank Holidays, Comm. *add. cl.* 1042
Bills of Exchange, &c. 2R. 1242; Comm. Amendt. 1844
Education Act—Chairmen of School Boards, 54
Parliament—Private Bill Legislation—Court of Hustings (London) Abolition, Motion for a Select Committee, 617
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 817

WILMOT, Colonel H., *Derbyshire, S.*
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1234

WINCHESTER, Bishop of
Benefices Resignation, Report, *cl.* 7, 331; *add. cl.* 332

Wine Measure—Bottles
Question, Sir James Elphinstone; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 31, 988

Wines in Bond—Order of 20th February, 1864
Question, Sir James Lawrence; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 16, 46; *Mar* 23, 454

WINGFIELD, Sir C. J., *Gravesend*
Army—Indian Artillery and Engineers, 893

WINTERBOTHAM, Mr. H. S. P. (Under Secretary of State, Home Office), *Stroud*
Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen), Consid. 1175
Dogs, 2R. 1846
Education—The Census—Returns of Children, 335
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1378, 1380
Inclosure Law Amendment, 2R. 1159
Trades Unions, Comm. *cl.* 5, 817; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 819; Consid. Amendt. 1174

WOODS, Mr. H., *Wigan*
Criminal Law Amendment (Masters and Workmen), Consid. 1178

Workshop Regulation Act (1867) Amendment Bill (*Sir David Salomons, Sir Thomas Bazley, Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. John Talbot*)
c. Committee*; Report *Mar* 15 [Bills 58-74]
Question, Mr. Macfie; Answer, Sir David Salomons *Mar* 17, 173
Re-comm. * *Mar* 22
Read 3° * *Mar* 27
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl of Airlie*) *Mar* 28 (No. 63)

WYNDHAM, Hon. P. S., *Cumberland, W.*
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1233
Game Laws Abolition, 2R. 1357

WYNN, Mr. C. W. Williams, *Montgomeryshire*
Ordnance Survey—North Wales, 1583

YARMOUTH, Earl of, *Antrim Co.*
Army Estimates—Volunteer Corps, 1236

YOUNG, Mr. A. W., *Helston*
Post Office—Mails between Bristol and Cornwall, 604

END OF VOLUME CCV., AND SECOND VOLUME OF SESSION 1871.

LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK, 23, PATERNOSTER ROW. E.C.

UL 13 MAR 1959